



PC  
975.402  
W57W  
v.1  
1194965 )

M. L.

GENEALOGY COLLECTION

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 02167 619 9



Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2016

<https://archive.org/details/historyofgreater01wing>









*Charles A. Wingerton*

HISTORY OF  
Greater Wheeling and Vicinity

*A Chronicle of Progress and a Narrative  
Account of the Industries, Institutions and People of the  
City and Tributary Territory.*

---

BY

CHARLES A. WINGERTER, A. M., M. D., LL. D.  
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

AND  
ASSOCIATE EDITORS

---

Vol. I

---

ILLUSTRATED

---

PUBLISHERS:  
THE LEWIS PUBLISHING COMPANY  
CHICAGO AND NEW YORK

1912

Je  
975.402  
W 75 w  
V. 1

Copyright, 1912  
BY  
**THE LEWIS PUBLISHING COMPANY**

1194965

## PREFACE

---

In line with the original title and purpose, the following pages have been prepared as a "History of Greater Wheeling and Vicinity." The design has been to present a comprehensive, accurate and readable narrative. The entire ground has been gone over from the beginning, with consultation of original documents, a number of which were not in reach of previous writers. A free citation of authorities has been made to facilitate research by those who may care to investigate any question more fully. That it will be a reference work, and a base line from which the future progress of city and vicinity may be computed, is both the anticipation and hope of those who have prepared this volume.

We are what we are because of what has gone before. A community whose history is neglected grows weak; a community whose history is false becomes diseased. The story of the past is the object lesson for the future. This story cannot be read intelligently in figures and unconnected facts. Therefore the present volume is not a book of statistics. We must integrate the dead past if we are to make it live. Integration consists in the putting together of a mass of infinitely small details so that the sum of them shall take on body and form. If, in the following pages, has been presented an integrated and fairly distinct picture of Wheeling and vicinity and its relations to the larger phases of national history, the purposes of the writer have been accomplished.

To mention names of those who have aided in gathering facts or verifying statements, or to give a list of books read and authorities quoted, would be an endless task. The author has used freely all the information that could be found and acknowledgment is hereby accorded for this indebtedness.

C. A. W.

Wheeling, W. Va., June, 1912.



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

---

## CHAPTER I.

The Period of Preparation.....	1
--------------------------------	---

## CHAPTER II.

The Wars Before Settlement.....	35
---------------------------------	----

## CHAPTER III.

Coming of the Pioneers.....	45
-----------------------------	----

## CHAPTER IV.

The Foreswearing of King George III in Ohio County.....	61
---	----

## CHAPTER V.

The Period of Indian Strife.....	72
----------------------------------	----

## CHAPTER VI.

Wheeling and Vicinity at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century .....	102
---	-----

## CHAPTER VII.

Early River Highways and the National Road.....	113
---	-----

## CHAPTER VIII.

The Early Railroad Era.....	162
-----------------------------	-----

## CHAPTER IX.

Wheeling and Vicinity in 1860.....	185
------------------------------------	-----

## CHAPTER X.

Wheeling During the Civil War.....	195
------------------------------------	-----

## CHAPTER XI.

The Era of Larger Growth.....	226
-------------------------------	-----

## CHAPTER XII.

The Municipality .....	241
------------------------	-----

## CHAPTER XIII.

Manufacturing .....	291
---------------------	-----

## CHAPTER XIV

Banking and Finance.....	300
--------------------------	-----

## CHAPTER XV.

The Principal Town Centers of the Greater Wheeling District	313
---	-----

## CHAPTER XVI.

The Wheeling Conventions and the Birth of West Virginia...	359
--	-----

## CHAPTER XVII.

The Bench and Bar.....	387
------------------------	-----

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Concerning Medical Practice.....	426
----------------------------------	-----

## CHAPTER XIX.

Education .....	444
-----------------	-----

## CHAPTER XX.

The Press, the Library and the Theatre.....	471
---	-----

## CHAPTER XXI.

Founding and Growth of the Churches.....	488
--	-----

- Abolitionism, 196, 197.  
 Abolitionists, 191.  
 Academies (see schools), 465.  
 Adams, Elijah, 788.  
 Adams, George, 305, 609.  
 Addleman, Robert M., 816.  
 Aetna-Standard Mill, 297.  
 Aetnaville, 235.  
 Alexander, Edgar W., 626.  
 Alexander, Seaton, 733.  
 Alexander, William, 350.  
 Allegheny Mountains, 2; barrier to the English, 11; first English settlers, 14; geography of, 30; barrier to transportation, 163, 164.  
 Allegheny Portage railroad, 165.  
 Allegheny river, 3, 20.  
 Allen, Walker, 778.  
 Alley, J. F., 786.  
 Allison, Benjamin S., 772.  
 Althar, George W., 537.  
 Anderson, W. H., 456.  
 Anti-Tuberculosis League, 436, 510.  
 Arks, 119, 152.  
 Armstrong, Charles L., 825.  
 Armstrong Sand Company, The, 825.  
 Armstrong, Walter M., 825.  
 Armstrong, William H., 825.  
 Armstrong, W. I., 874.  
 Ashe, Thomas, 107.  
 Associated Charities, 436, 510.  
 Athenaeum, 166, 193; as a prison, 206; 218, 364, 484.  
 Attorneys (see Bench and Bar).  
 Aul, Charles, 813.  
 Austin, R. G., 610.  
  
 Bachman, Wheeler H., 861.  
 Baer, Benjamin S., 774.  
 Baer, Hannah, 544.  
 Baer, Herbert O., 776.  
 Baer, Joseph H., 775.  
 Baer, Lee, 544.  
 Baguley, Florence E., 546.  
 Baguley, H. Byron, 545.  
 Baird, Dr. George, 212.  
 Baker, Lewis, 475.  
 Baltimore, its western trade, 163; its railroad enterprise, 175.  
 Baltimore & Ohio railroad, 154, 163; building of, 175 et seq.; celebration at Wheeling, 177; route into Wheeling, 179; blockade raised in 1862, 208; construction and consolidation, 227; arbiter of transportation, 228; and Wheeling district, 296, 297.  
 Balzer, Henry, 647.  
 Banking and Finance (see also Money), 300 et seq.; panics of the '50s, 187; after Lincoln's election, 190; at Wellsburg, 318; at Moundsville, 331; Martins Ferry, 342; Bridgeport, 346; at Bellaire, 358.  
 Bank of the Ohio Valley, 305.  
 Bank of Wheeling, 302.  
 Baptist church, 498.  
 Bar (see Bench and Bar).  
 Batson, W. H., 840.  
 Bayha, Louis J., 307, 824.  
 Bayha, William F., 782.  
 Beach, Albert H., 558.  
 Beall, I. M., 620.  
 Beall, Wylie W., 318.  
 Beans, James H., 671.  
 Beans, Oliver E. G., 649.  
 "Beautiful River" (see Ohio river).  
 Beech Bottom, 56.  
 Beech Bottom fort, 86.  
 Beetham, A. C., 666.  
 Behrens, H. Fred, 581.  
 Bellaire, 181, 182, 232, 234, 237, 238, 282, 350 et seq.; pioneers, 351; Pultney postoffice, 352; school and church, 352, 358; coal mining, 352; railroads, 353; name and incorporation, 354; industries, 355, 357; press, 356; banks, 358.  
 Bellaire Brewery Co., 886.  
 Bellaire, Zanesville & Cincinnati railroad, 354.  
 Belmont county, population, 236; county seat, 352, 356; schools in 1850, 450 (Note).  
 Belt, Clifford L., 641.  
 Bench and Bar, 387 et seq.; early courts and justice, 387; Virginia judicial system, 388; character of old county court, 390; first justices, 391; early legal procedure, 391, 392; changes in county court, 392; superior courts, 395; first circuit court, 396; law and chancery courts, 396, 397; West Virginia judicial system, 397; judges of circuit courts, 397, 398-403; pioneer lawyers, 403; list of attorneys, 405-417; court officials, 418, 419; county seat buildings, 420; of Brooke county, 320; at Moundsville, 327; at Martins Ferry, 341.  
 Beneke, George C., 784.  
 Benwood, founding and first trustees, 182; 234, 237, 238, 281.  
 Berkshire, Ralph L., 398, 399.  
 Berry family, 152 (Note).  
 Berry, George W., 720.  
 Bethany, 469, 499.  
 Bethany College, 469.  
 Beymer's tavern, 107, 145.  
 Bickerstaff, Isaac C., 639.  
 Bickerstaff & Coleman, 639.  
 Biebersen, Henry, 657.  
 Birch John M., 456, 469, 598.

- Bishops of Wheeling, 501.  
 Black Forest, 3, 11, 12; trails and ways, 5; settlement of, 49.  
 Black Hawk, Indian chief, 151.  
 Blankensop, R. G., 755.  
 Blennerhassett, Harman, 127.  
 Bloch Brothers Tobacco Co., 523.  
 Bloch, Harold S., 523.  
 Block-houses, in the Pioneer era, 58; in Wheeling vicinity, 87; at Wellsburg, 315.  
 Block-house period of existence, 103.  
 Bloyd, J. E., 827.  
 Blum, John A., 819.  
 Board of Control, 257, 259 (see Wheeling Municipality).  
 Board of Trade, 292, 294, 299, 425, 436, 486.  
 Boat building, 118, 123, 291, 296.  
 Boats, classes of early, 118.  
 Boggs, Captain, 97, 99.  
 Boggs, E. N., 701.  
 Boggs family, 56.  
 Boggs, John, 55.  
 Bonar, E. I., 868.  
 Bone, Benjamin F., 736.  
 Booher, W. T., 666.  
 Boone, Dexter W., 694.  
 Boreman, Arthur I., 883.  
 Boundary, between English and Indians, 44, 74; between Pennsylvania and Virginia, 75; Pennsylvania-Virginia dispute, 92.  
 Bouquet, Colonel, 40; expedition, 44.  
 Bowers, Charles A., 761.  
 Boyd, George E., 398, 403.  
 Braddock's campaign, 38; results of, 39.  
 Braddock's Road, 39, 105, 106, 131; route of National road, 135.  
 Brady, Charles N., 542.  
 Brady, Joseph C., 538.  
 Brady, Sobieski, 181, 304, 540.  
 Brady, William S., 539.  
 Brand, Louis F., 651.  
 Branum, Alexander C., 642.  
 Brennan, Ignatius, 813.  
 Brennan, John H., 686.  
 Brennan, Patrick, 872.  
 Bridgeport, 237, 238, 343 et seq.: settlement, 343; trade and industry, 344, 345; railroads, 345; coal mining, 345; shipping, 346; banks, 346; Indian troubles, 346, 348; churches, 347; schools, 348; bridge, 349; first physicians, 349.  
 Bridges, of National road, 168; back-river bridge, 169; Bellaire railroad bridge, 182, 226, 353; The Terminal, 230; steel bridge, 231; over Wheeling creek, 267; at Bridgeport, 349 (see also Suspension bridge).  
 Brockunier, C. W., 283, 302, 562.  
 Brodhead, General, campaign, 91.  
 Brooke Academy, 465.  
 Brooke county, 422; population, 236; organization and courts, 320; schools, 448, 450, 451; churches, 496.  
 Brown, M. L., 732.  
 Browne, Andrew G., 711.  
 Browne, Robert M., 697.  
 Brownsville, 13, 33, 37, 90, 150.  
 Bruce, Dr. George W., 326.  
 Brues, Charles H., 877.  
 Buffalo, in early Ohio valley, 4.  
 Buffalo Seminary, 499.  
 Burchinal, John W., 313, 477.  
 Burkley, Harry, 689.  
 Burley, James D., 667.  
 Burton, D. T., 834.  
 Bushy Run, battle of, 44.  
 Business (see Trade), of a community, 115.  
 Caldwell, Alexander, 636.  
 Caldwell, Alfred, 305, 361, 387.  
 Caldwell, Elbert H., 398, 400.  
 Caldwell family, 56, 97.  
 Caldwell, John, 46.  
 Caldwell, Joseph, 304.  
 Callin, Elizabeth J., 579.  
 Callin, William L., 579.  
 Cameron, 333 et seq.: settlement, 333; schools and churches, 334, 335, 336; trade and industry, 335; municipal improvement, 336; banks, 336.  
 Campbell, Alexander, 469, 498, 499.  
 Campbell, Alexander R., 790.  
 Campbell, A. W., 196, 370 (Note), 474.  
 Campbell, Harold W., 565.  
 Campbell, John A., 398.  
 Camp Charlotte, 82.  
 Canal building, 162, 163.  
 Canton (see Bridgeport).  
 Capital, at Wheeling, 383.  
 Carlile, Walter D., 609.  
 Carlisle, John S., 365, 367, 368, 369, 372, 373, 374, 376 (Note).  
 Carnegie steel plant at Bellaire, 358.  
 Carnegie Steel Works, 297.  
 Carney, Edward B., 803.  
 Carver, Howell A., 569.  
 Casey, William B., 710.  
 Cassell, Peter, 794.  
 Cassell, William H., 795.  
 Catholic church, 499.  
 Catholic institutions, 502.  
 Catholic schools, 462-465.  
 Celoron's expedition, 19 et seq.; at Wheeling, 22 et seq.; purpose of, 27, 35.  
 Center Wheeling, 235.  
 Center Wheeling Savings Bank, 309.

- Central Glass Company, The, 794.  
 Central Ohio railroad, 181.  
 Centre Market, 274.  
 Certified Milk Commission, 436.  
 Chapline, Moses, 46.  
 Chapline's Mill, 104.  
 Charitable Organizations, 509.  
 Charlestown (See Wellsburg).  
 Charters, of English colonies, 14, 18.  
 Chase, J. E., 784.  
 Chenoweth, Lloyd, 767.  
 Chesapeake & Ohio canal, 164; a rival of railroads, 176.  
 Christian church, 498.  
 Churches, 192, 193; 488-509; among pioneers, 59; during the war, 225; at Wellsburg, 318; at Moundsville, 326; at Cameron, 334, 335, 336; at Martins Ferry, 341, 343; Bridgeport, 347; at Bellaire, 352; and early schools, 449; first churches, 488; Presbyterian, 488-493; Methodist, 494-496; Episcopal, 496-498; Baptist and Disciples, 498-499; Catholic, 499-503; Lutheran and other denominations, 503; Y. M. C. A., 504; charitable organizations, 509.  
 Citizens Railway Company, 277.  
 City Bank of Wheeling, 306.  
 City council (see Wheeling Municipality).  
 City Hall, old, 253.  
 City Hospital, 439; directors and officers, 442, 443.  
 Civic spirit, before the war, 185.  
 Civil war, 195 et seq.; boundary between two eras, 185; issues at Wheeling, 196; division of local sentiment, 198; Fort Sumter, 198; military preparation, 199; peace and order in city, 201; festive spirit of preparation, 201; fast day, 202; vote on secession, 203; McClellan's advance, 203; aid from local women, 203; hostility to secessionists, 203; law and order, 204; First Bull Run, 205; taking the oath, 206, 209, 214 (Note); hardening of people's spirit, 206; military prison, 206; restored government, 206; rowdism and drunkenness of soldiers, 207; army headquarters established, 207; battle of Winchester, 208; review of first year, 208; money scarcity, 209; constitutional liberties, 209; reverses of 1862, 209; meeting of 1862, 210; Second Bull Run, 210; arrest of women, 210; Antietam, 211; refusal to take the oath, 211; liquor and disorder, 211; emancipation proclamation, 211; admission of West Virginia, 211; city election of 1863, 212; elections and issues of 1863, 212; crucial period of war, 213; contempt of the flag, 213; conscription act, 214; first West Virginia elections, 214; Gettysburg, 215; Vicksburg, 215; first boat for New Orleans, 215; Morgan's raid, 215; difficulty of recruiting, 215; northern opposition to war, 215, 216, 217; suppression of *Register*, 216; abuse of military power, 216, 217; business permits, 218; local prisons and hospitals, 218; elections of 1864, 218; the draft, 219; bounty jumping, 219; Battle of Cedar Creek, 219; government quarters at Wheeling, 220; tragic glories, 220; fall of Richmond, 220; Lincoln's assassination, 220; radical measures against secessionists, 221, 222; court house meeting and resolutions, 221; election of 1865, 222; local results, 223; local relief societies, 223; Brooke county in, 319; West Virginia, 359; anti-secession in western counties, 364; McClellan's campaign, 369; Bull Run and the Wheeling conventions, 374; Wheeling hospital, 438; Democratic newspapers, 475.  
 Clark, George Rogers, 77, 79, 80, 83, 92; conquest of the northwest, 90; arrives at Fort Henry, 93; results of campaigns in northwest, 94.  
 Clark, Robert B., 808.  
 Clark, Schilling & Company, 808.  
 Clark, Walter B., 809.  
 Clarke, Asbury J., 586.  
 Clarke, Nannie M., 587.  
 Clarke, James M., 835.  
 Clay, Henry, 141, 142, 151, 161, 317.  
 Clay Monument, 141, 142.  
 Clemans, William M., 685.  
 Cleveland & Pittsburg railroad, 182.  
 Cleveland, Lorain & Wheeling railroad, 227.  
 Clinton, 237, 238.  
 Coal, 295, 296; early use of, 127, 156; for manufacturing, 291; mining industry, 299; mining about Wellsburg, 317; mining in Marshall county, 329, 331; mining at Martins Ferry, 339; mining at Bridgeport, 345; mining at Bellaire, 352.  
 Cockayne, Vincent L., 724.  
 Coleman, David L., 639.  
 Coleman, John, 640.  
 College, Wheeling Business, 629.  
 Collins, James M., 785.  
 Colonial jealousy, 77.  
 Colonies, character and relations of, 32.

- Colonizing enterprises, 18.  
 Columbus, 1.  
 Commerce (see Trade, Manufacturing, etc.).  
 Commercial Bank, 304.  
 Confederate, volunteers from Wheeling, 200.  
 Coniff, John J., 767.  
 Connolly, John, 77, 78, 80.  
 Conscription Act, 214.  
 Conservative Life Insurance Company, 802.  
 Constitutional convention, 212, 379, 382.  
 Conventions, at Wheeling in 1861, 359.  
 Coocy, William R., 832.  
 Cope, E. C., 662.  
 Cotton growing, during war, 210.  
 Court Theatre, 486.  
 Courts (see Bench and Bar).  
 Courts, municipal, 255.  
 Cowden, W. J. W., 307.  
 Cox family, 56, 314.  
 Cox, Friend, 571.  
 Cox, Ralph K., 653.  
 Cracraft, William A., Sr., 776.  
 Cracraft, William A., Jr., 777.  
 Craig, A. S., 631.  
 Crawford, William, 78, 80, 81, 82.  
 Crawford's Sandusky expedition, 95.  
 Cresap, Michael, 77, 80.  
 Cresap, Thomas, 33.  
 Croghan, George, 27, 29.  
 Crow, R. E., 751.  
 Crow, Solomon E., 815.  
 Crow, William F., 822.  
 Cruger, Daniel, 143.  
 Cruger, Lydia S., 99, 143.  
 Cullinan, Michael J., 872.  
 Cumberland Gap, 5.  
 Cumberland Road (see National Road).  
 Custom House, 201, 202, 276, 369, 373, 379.  
 Dalzell, A. B., 330.  
 Dalzell, R. C., 307, 311.  
 Davis, Edward S., 763.  
 Davis, Rebecca Harding, 159.  
 Day, John E., 475.  
 Delawares, 5, 49.  
 Delaware towns, Brodhead's campaign, 93.  
 Democratic party in 1860, 189.  
 Detroit, campaign against, 91.  
 Dickey, James V., 530.  
 Dickey, John L., 509, 529.  
 Dickson, Robert J., 870.  
 Diller, Louis A., 603.  
 Dinwiddie, Governor, 36, 50; proclamation of 1754, 74.  
 Discovery of America, 1.  
 Distilling, 112.  
 District of West Augusta, 77; 103; organization of civil government, 84.  
 Dobbins, P. B., 307.  
 Doctors (see Medical Practice).  
 Doddridge, Dr. Joseph, 56, 321, 496.  
 Doddridge, Philip, 320.  
 Dollar Savings & Trust Company, 307.  
 Donahue, Bishop P. J., 438.  
 Dorer, C. L., 561.  
 Dovener, B. B., 556.  
 Doyle, James E., 646.  
 Drake, George W., 833.  
 Dramatic history, 481.  
 Drenen, E. J. A., 866.  
 Duncan, Charles H., 620.  
 Dungan, W. J., 663.  
 Dunmore, Lord, 75, 76, 78, 80.  
 Dunmore's war, 76 et seq.; results of, 83.  
 Duquesne, Marquis, 35.  
 Dutch, American exploration by, 2.  
 Duval, Gen. I. H., 319.  
 Easton treaty of 1757, 40.  
 Ebeling, J. F., 309.  
 Eckhart, George W., 306, 644.  
 Economic wealth, 113, 114.  
 Edgewood, 234.  
 Edgington, Jesse, 229.  
 Education (see Schools), 108, 444 et seq.; of pioneer times, 59; free public school system, 166.  
 Edwards, J. C., 405.  
 Electric railways, 280, 281, 282.  
 Electricity (see Wheeling Municipality).  
 Elizabethtown, 322, 332 (see Moundsville).  
 Ellet, Charles, 169.  
 Elm Grove, 104, 144, 233, 279, 310; "Stone church," 489.  
 English, early discoveries, 2; conflict with French, 2; and the Allegheny barrier, 11; traders, 11; methods of settlement, 12; individuality in government and settlement, 14; first movement to Alleghenies, 14; attitude toward Indians, 14, 15; sovereignty over Iroquois, 18; colonial charters, 18; traders and Celoron, 21; debt to Pennsylvania traders, 27; colonial settlement, 30; character of colonies, 32; plans of western conquest, 35; isolation of colonies, 37; and Indians, 38; conquest of Ohio valley, 40; character of pioneers, 41; boundary with Indians, 44; colonial industries, 47; aid the Indian against the settlers, 83.  
 Eoff, Dr. John, 430, 484.  
 Episcopal church, 496.  
 Erie Canal, 163.

- Etz, Henry W., 589.  
 Ewing, J. Dallas, 587.  
 Ewing, James W., 590.  
 Exchange Bank, 303, 304.  
 Exploration and occupation of Ohio valley, 2.  
 Fairs, 193.  
 Fankhauser, Forrest F., 653.  
 Federal court, during the war, 206.  
 Feeny, George A., 528.  
 Feeny, George S., 526.  
 Feinler, Charles, 485, 486.  
 Feller, William H., 880.  
 Ferries, 170, 267; at Wheeling, 106; to Bellaire, 354.  
 "Field schools," 450.  
 Fire companies, 193.  
 Fire department (see Wheeling Municipality), 260 et seq.  
 Fire engines, introduction of, 186.  
 First Things:—First white man in Ohio valley, 8; first English settlement west of Alleghenies, 18; first civilized speech at Wheeling, 25; first English fort in Ohio valley, 37; first permanent settlers in western Virginia, 41; first settlement at Wheeling, 54; first attack on Fort Henry, results, 89; first newspaper west of Alleghenies, 97; first town in Ohio county, 104; first cause of Wheeling's founding, 105; first ferry, 106; first steamboat on the Ohio, 118; first line of packet boats, 119; first mail route to the Ohio valley, 120; first market house, 127; first roads, 130; first bridge over the Ohio, 169; first American railroads, 174; first B. & O. railroad depot, 178 (Note); first telegraph line, 183; first harvesting machines, 186; first sewing machine, 186; first election of state and county officials of West Virginia, 214; first municipal institution, 242; first plat of Wheeling, 243; first municipal activities, 245; first market house, 247; first brick paving, 267; first sewer, 268; first use of gas, 269; first electric lights, 272; first electric car to Elm Grove, 280; first trolley car, 281; first telephones, 284, 285; first settlement in Ohio, 337; first courts, 387; first lawyers, 403; first court house, 420; first court house in Wheeling, 423; first woman physician, 431; first German church, 494; first church building in Wheeling, 494.  
 First Virginia Regiment, 203, 206, 208.  
 Fisher, B. F., 765.  
 Fisher, Emma, 765.  
 Fitton, James R., 534.  
 Five Nations, 5, 6.  
 Flaccus, Ella B., 547.  
 Flaccus, George A., 546.  
 Flat boats, 119, 128.  
 Fleming, Malcolm D., 814.  
 Forbes expedition, 40.  
 Forbes, Hannibal, 302.  
 Forbes road, 40.  
 Ford, George M., 754.  
 Foreman massacre, 89, 324.  
 Foreman monument, 325.  
 Foreman, Capt. William, 89.  
 Forest, the Black, 3.  
 "Forks of the Ohio," 3, 33, 37.  
 Forks of Wheeling, 84, 490.  
 Forsythe, Gideon C., 426.  
 Fort Dunmore, 77.  
 Fort Duquesne, 37, 38, 40.  
 Fort Fincastle (see Fort Henry), 79 (Note).  
 Fort Henry, 57, 79, 91, 93, 105, 117, 242; as a church, 59; building of, 78; description of, 80; Lord Dunmore at, 82; change of name, 84; garrison, 84; garrison, 86; first attack, 87; impregnable to Indian attack, 88; garrison in 1780, 91; garrison, 94; siege of 1782, 95 et seq.; garrison, 96; powder and garrison stores, 98, 99; religious services, 480.  
 Fort Kirkwood, 344, 346, 348.  
 Fort Ligonier, 40.  
 Fort Necessity, 37.  
 Fort Pitt, 40, 41, 77, 105.  
 Fort Randolph, 87, 91.  
 Fort Stanwix treaty, 49, 54, 74.  
 Fort Sumter, 198.  
 Fort Van Metre, 95.  
 Forts, French, in Ohio valley, 36.  
 Forts, of French, 12.  
 Forts, stockades, to protect settlements, 41.  
 Foster, Frank E., 659.  
 Fostoria Glass Company, 330.  
 Fourth Street M. E. church, 193.  
 Fox, Fred J., 309, 310.  
 Fox, Henry, 873.  
 Franchises, 260, 269 (Note), 277, 278.  
 Franzheim, C. W., 307.  
 Franzheim, E. B., 486.  
 Franzheim, George W., 604.  
 Franzheim, Mary A., 604.  
 Fremont, General, 207, 208.  
 Fremont, Jessie Benton, 208 (Note).  
 French, exploration, 2; conflict with English, 2; occupation of middle west, 9; methods of colonization, 9; empire of New France, 10; traders,

- 11; character of their trade, 12; character of their occupation, 14; conflict with English, 16; trading posts, 17; common policy among, 32; taking possession of Ohio valley, 35; their Indian allies, 38; aid in Pontiac's war, 43.
- French and Indian war, 13, 35; results of, 17; scouts in Ohio valley, 29.
- Frew, John, 304, 474.
- Frissell, Charles M., 735.
- Frissell, John, 432, 734.
- Frontier, Indian ravages, 39.
- Fry, James L., 553.
- Fry, Joseph L., 398.
- Fry, William H., 558.
- Fulton, 233, 237, 238, 310.
- Fulton's steamboat, 127.
- Furniture, of pioneer era, 58.
- Gallatin, Albert, 142.
- Garden, John B., 728.
- Gas, first uses of, 268 (see Wheeling municipality); early prices, 271.
- Gas works (see Wheeling Municipality), 166.
- Gavin, Luke, 575.
- Geography, of Ohio valley, 3; of Allegheny region, 30; relations to political and economic conditions, 362.
- George, Lucy F., 606.
- George Paper Company, 319.
- George, Samuel, 605.
- German Bank, 307.
- German Fire Insurance Company, 885.
- German newspapers, 477.
- Germania Half Dollar Savings Bank, 309.
- Germans, among pioneers, 53; in Wheeling, 503.
- Giesey, John L., 675.
- Gilchrist, G. R. E., 308.
- Gilhooly, Patrick F., 629.
- Girty, Simon, 87.
- Gist, Christopher, 13 (Note), 27, 28, 34, 36.
- Glades, 3.
- Glass, Alexander, 862.
- Glass, 110; factories, during 18th century, 57; manufactures, 156 (see also Manufactures); glass making, 292, 293, 296, 297, 355; of pioneer times, 317; at Moundsville, 330.
- Glennova, 234.
- Good, Moses C., 222.
- Good's Bottom, 144.
- Government, establishment of civil government, 103.
- Graham, William T., 299.
- Grand Opera House, 485.
- Grave Creek (see also Moundsville), 5, 56, 84, 104, 113, 322, 135; residents during the Revolution, 84, 85 (Note); garrison, 86; massacre, 89; rivalry for county seat, 424.
- Gray, W. W., 700.
- Great Glades of the Yoh, 3.
- Great Meadows, 37.
- Great mound on Grave Creek, 5.
- Greater Wheeling, 233, 235, 295 (see Wheeling and Vicinity, etc.); population statistics, 235, 236; native and foreign born, 239; principal town centers, 313 et seq.; health organizations, 436; and the churches, 495.
- Greathouse, Daniel, 77.
- Green, James E., 654.
- Green, Thomas H., 614.
- Greenbrier Company, 48.
- Greer & Laing, 152 (Note).
- Grier, Laverty, 490.
- Grimes, W. C., 759.
- Grotz, A. R., 707.
- Guyasuta, 36, 44.
- Hagans, L. A., 474.
- Hall, G. D., 474.
- Hall, John D., 847.
- Hamilton, Col. Henry, 86.
- Hammond, T. H., 853.
- Hancher, Charles N., 860.
- Hand, General Edward, 86.
- Handlan, William C., 857.
- Hanen, S. R., 644.
- Harris, Frank R., 589.
- Harrod, William, 84.
- Hart, Charles B., 475.
- Haskins, Thomas M., 687.
- Hastings, Howard H., 618.
- Hayne, John C., 601.
- Hazlett, Howard, 308, 310, 509.
- Hazlett, Robert, 514.
- Hazlett, Robert W., 513.
- Hearne, Frank J., 299.
- Hearne, Julian G., 563.
- Heath, J. M. S., 642.
- Hedges family, 56.
- Heedy, John J., 721.
- Heiskell family, 152 (Note).
- Hempfield railroad, 180, 227.
- Hendricks, A. L., 773.
- Henry, Charles W., 806.
- Henry, Patrick, 84.
- Hensley, G. B., 756.
- Hensley, James M., 758.
- Hersey, Randolph J., 810.
- Hervey family, 56.
- Hervey, George B., 622.
- Hervey, H. C., 398, 403.
- Hervey, H. M., 624.
- Hervey, Rev. James, 490.

- Hervey, John C., 456.  
 Hess, Christian, 865.  
 Hess, John A., 865.  
 Hiatt, Blanchard E., 845.  
 Higgins, William H., 881.  
 Hildreth, E. A., 426, 431, 634.  
 Hilton, W. B., 477.  
 History, objects of, 6.  
 Hobbs, Brockunier & Company, 297.  
 Hoffman, F. C., 310.  
 Holliday's Cove, 91.  
 Holliday's Cove railroad, 229.  
 Hollingshead, Robert A., 614.  
 Homeopathy, 431.  
 Homes and living conditions of pioneers, 56.  
 Home industries in pioneer times, 57.  
 Hook, George, 307, 309.  
 Horan, Peter, 818.  
 Hotels, 110, 125, 150; of early Wheeling, 144; along National road, 140 et seq.  
 Hough, Elmer, 660.  
 House raisings, 59.  
 Hubbard, Chester D., 218, 228, 302, 307, 365, 367, 368, 371, 374, 375 (Note), 383.  
 Hubbard, Chester R., 519.  
 Hubbard, Dana, 293.  
 Hubbard, W. P., 520.  
 Hughes, Alfred, 431.  
 Hughes, Eliza, 431.  
 Hullihen, Dr. S. P., 431.  
 Hundt, Herman A., 685.  
 Hupp, Frank LeM., 157, 684.  
 Hupp, John C., 432, 681.  
 Hutchins, W. S., 612.  
 Hutchisson, T. T., 306, 878.  
 Hutchison, William M., 615.  
 Huth, Leo, 596.  
 Illiteracy in 1850, 451 (Note).  
 Indiana colony, 75.  
 Industrial development, 162.  
 Industrialism, era of, 115; beginning of, 128.  
 Ingles-Draper settlement, 18.  
 Inns (see Hotels).  
 Internal improvements, 162.  
 Indian side of the Ohio, 76.  
 Indians, 2; mound builders, 5; tribes of Ohio valley, 5, 6; return of, 6; hunting ground in Ohio valley, 7; population and villages about 1750, 7, 8; French relations with, 9; relations with English and French, 12; fur trade with, 12 (Note); relations with English colonists, 14, 15; English policy, 16; alliance with French, 38; oppose immigration, 39; attitude toward English settlers, 42; lose bal-  
 ance of power, 42; boundary, 44; treaty for lands, 49; period of strife, 72 et seq.; adjustment of boundary, 74; occasion of Dunmore's war, 76; methods of war, 78; council at Fort Pitt, 83; murder at Grave Creek, 84; as allies of British against Americans, 83; Ohio river boundary, 90; raid of 1780, 91; Moravian villages, 94; at Martins Ferry, 340; hostilities at Bridgeport, 346, 348.  
 Iron and steel industries, 296.  
 Iron foundries, of pioneer times, 57.  
 Iron works, 156, 293, 296 (see also Manufactures).  
 Iroquois Indians, 5; conquest of Ohio valley, 5; monopoly, 7; allegiance of, 16; land cessions, 49.  
 Irvine, Gen. William, 94.  
 Irvine, William B., 300, 302, 526.  
 Irwin, Isabella, 575.  
 Irwin, Joseph S., 574.  
 Isett, William A., 306.  
 Israel, Jacob E., 825.  
 Jackson, George F., 848.  
 Jail, of Ohio county, 423, 425.  
 Jeffers, C. W., 304.  
 Jefferson, Jacob A., 547.  
 Jefferson, town of (see Martins Ferry).  
 Jepson, F. P., 306.  
 Johnson Brothers, 579.  
 Johnson, George W., 580.  
 Johnson, James C., 580.  
 Johnson, J. F., 592.  
 Johnson, J. W., 704.  
 Johnson, Sir William, 13, 16 (also Note), 27, 49.  
 Johnson, Thomas, 702.  
 Johnson, Thomas H., 581.  
 Johnson, William G., 580.  
 Johnston, Frank L., 676.  
 Jones, Charles A., 848.  
 Jones, Isaac F., 717.  
 Jones, John J., 304.  
 Jordan, L. S., 387.  
 Jordan, Lewis S., 528.  
 Judges, 395 (see Bench and Bar).  
 Junkin, Joseph, 294.  
 Justice, early administration, 387 (see Bench and Bar).  
 Kanawha river, 78.  
 Keel boats, 119.  
 Keller, Ezekiel, 602.  
 Kelley, B. F., 203, 205.  
 Kelly, Alice S., 867.  
 Kelly, Samuel H., 867.  
 Kelly, T. A., 854.  
 Kelly, Thomas W., 598.  
 Kemper, Peter, 576.

- Kennedy, P. A., 584.  
 Kennedy, Patrick, 677.  
 Kentucky, settlement, 90, 116.  
 Kimberland, H. Maynard, 569, 835.  
 Kimberly, C. B., 675.  
 Kimberly, The C. B. Company, 675.  
 King George III, 61.  
 Kirchner, Edmund M., 701.  
 Kirkland, Floyd A., 543.  
 Kirkland, Samuel A., 543.  
 Kirkwood (see Bridgeport).  
 Kirkwood, Joseph, 344.  
 Klein, Charles, 884.  
 Kletzly, Leo B., 531.  
 Koch, W. H., 612.  
 Koehnline, George M., 600.  
 Krim Brothers, 608.  
 Krim, Frank A., 608.  
 Krim, John R., 608.  
 Krupp, William E., 806.  
 Kuntz, Philip, 658.  
 Kyle, Robert W., 713.  
 LaBelle Iron Works, 236 (Note), 297.  
 Lamb, Daniel, 201, 301, 372, 375 (Note).  
 Lancaster, Charles W., 538.  
 Lancaster, James H., 706.  
 Lancasterian Academy, 466.  
 Lands, Indian rights in, 18; grant to Ohio Company, 19; hunger for in colonies, 47; Indian cessions, 49; settlers claims, 49, 50, 51; disposition of, 50; military grants, 50; speculators, 50; settlement rights, 51; soldiers' claims, 74; open to settlement in Ohio valley, 74; contention between Virginia and Pennsylvania, 75; first sought for agriculture, 104, 105; tomahawk claims, 325.  
 LaSalle, 10.  
 Latimer, Brown, 664.  
 Laughlin, George A., 475, 693.  
 Laughlin, Samuel, 304, 692.  
 Laughlin tin plant, 297.  
 Lawless conditions of early Ohio valley, 123.  
 Lawyers (see Bench and Bar).  
 Leach, W. S., 617.  
 Leatherwood, 234.  
 Lecturers, before the war, 192, 193.  
 Le Fever, Frank, 830.  
 Lery, Chaussegros de, 10.  
 Lewis, Col. Andrew, 81.  
 Library, 127, 192, 478.  
 Lighting of streets, 268.  
 Lincoln, Abraham, inaugural address, 197; assassination, 220; on the admission of West Virginia, 381.  
 Lincoln Bastile, 206.  
 Lind, Jenny, concert in Wheeling, 151, 193, 484.  
 Linn, William, 86, 89, 95.  
 Linsly Institute, 382, 383, 384, 466-469.  
 Linsly, Noah, 55, 108, 404, 466.  
 List, A. S., 306.  
 List, D. C., 302.  
 List, Henry K., 306.  
 List, John, 301.  
 List, Thomas H., 304, 305.  
 List, W. M., 305.  
 Lists of pioneers, in 1777-78, 62.  
 Literature (see The Press); magazines of early day, 160; of 1860, 192.  
 Lobmiller, Joseph, 652.  
 Lobmiller, Christian, 652.  
 Lochry, Archibald, massacre of, 93.  
 Log rollings, 59.  
 Logan, James, 77, 78.  
 Logan, Thomas H., 735.  
 Logstown, 8; Celoron's visit, 21 (also Note).  
 Lohr, E. W., 755.  
 Long, Agnes, 869.  
 Long, Heyward, 599.  
 Long, O. S., 475.  
 Longueill expedition, 10 (also Note).  
 Loper, Walter H., 842.  
 Lotteries, for water works, 252.  
 Loveland, 234.  
 Lutz, Geo. W., 515.  
 McAdams, John, 546.  
 McCamic, Charles, 835.  
 McClure, David, 55, 85.  
 McClure, Rev. J. T., 492.  
 McConaughy, Earl, 595.  
 McConaughy, William, 606.  
 McCortney, John, 144.  
 McCulloch family, 56.  
 McCulloch, John, 46.  
 McCulloch, Samuel, 55, 85, 87, 88, 95, 316.  
 McCulloch's Leap, 88.  
 McCuskey, James, 836.  
 McDermott, John F., 474.  
 McDermott, Matthew, 783.  
 McDonald, Angus, 79, 80, 81.  
 McDonald, J. H., 306.  
 McFadden, H. S., 641.  
 McFann, L. M., 585.  
 McGuigan, Joseph A., 861.  
 McKee, David A., 800.  
 McKee, Redick, 302, 493.  
 McKinley, Johnson C., 729.  
 McLure Hotel, 166.  
 McMechen, 234, 237 (Note).  
 McMechen, Alcinda C., 724.  
 McMechen, B. B., 691.  
 McMechen, C. C., 832.

- McMechen Family, 56, 831.  
 McMechen, J. L., 632.  
 McMechen, Shepherd, 724.  
 McMechen, William, 721.  
 McRoberts, Thomas, 577.
- Mader, Basil, 573.  
 Magnetic telegraph, 183.  
 Mahone, Albert S., 536.  
 Mahood, Joseph, 771.  
 Mail transportation, 120, 127, 147.  
 Malone, Creed, 696.  
 Manufacturers, 105; 166; 291 et seq.; during pioneer times, 56; boat building, 118, 123; pottery, 124; rope making, 124, 125; use of coal, 127; foundation of, 152; iron works in 1818, 152; in 1837, 156; during the '30s, 162; depression during '50s, 187; during the war, 223; development through transportation, 231; consolidation of district, 234; natural gas, 283; pioneer industries, 291; glass, 292, 293, 296; nail making, 292, 296; early statistics, 292, 293; in 1865, 294; statistics, 298; notable men, 299; iron smelting in 1795, 317; at Wellsburg, 319; at Moundsville, 329, 330, 331; silk industry, 338; at Martins Ferry, 339, 340; at Bridgeport, 344, 350; in Bellaire, 355, 357.
- Marietta, 100.  
 Market house, 273.  
 Market House Auditorium, 274.  
 Market Square, 424.  
 Markets, 247.  
 Marsh, George T., 647.  
 Marsh, Mifflin, 298.  
 Marshall county, 424; first settlers, 56; early residents, 84 (Note); population, 236; organization and courts, 328; schools in 1850, 450, 451 (Note).
- Martins Ferry, 230, 233, 234, 237, 238, 281, 337, et seq.; founding and pioneers, 337; trade and industries, 338, 339, 340; railroads, 340; municipal improvement, 340; churches, 341, 343; physicians, 341; lawyers, 341; banks, 342; schools, 342.
- Martinsville (see Martins Ferry).  
 Mason, Orlando P., 572.  
 Mason and Dixon's Line, 75.  
 Material progress, during the '50s, 186.  
 Mathison, George J., 309, 787.  
 Maury, Fred L., 727.  
 Maxwell, Alexander O., 817.  
 Maxwell, James, 302, 508.  
 Maxwell, M. L., 608.  
 Mayor (see Wheeling Municipality).
- Meagle, Elmer H., 773.  
 Meason, Capt. Samuel, 87.  
 Medical Practice, 426 et seq.; present profession, 426; first doctors, 426; training and appliances, 427; pioneer therapeutics, 428; character of old-time doctors, 430, 432-435; early doctors, 430; the physician in modern life, 435; organizations and health agencies, 435; Wheeling Hospital, 436; City Hospital, 439; Wellsburg, 321; at Moundsville, 325; at Martins Ferry, 341; in Bridgeport, 349.
- Meehan, Owen, 595.  
 Meek, Henry G., 554.  
 Melvin, Thayer, 398, 400.  
 Mendel, G. Edward, 708.  
 Merchants & Mechanics Bank, 30.  
 Methodist church, 494.  
 Meyer, Albert L., 802.  
 Michaux, Dr. F. A., 106.  
 Middle Wheeling, residents in 1792, 100, 101.  
 Military hospital, 207.  
 Military organizations, 111.  
 Military permits, 50.  
 Miller, J. A., 306.  
 Mills, during pioneer era, 56; in a new country, 103.  
 Mills, Thomas, 56.  
 Mingoos, 8.  
 Missouri iron works, 223.  
 Mitchell, Alexander, 308, 310.  
 Mitchell, Baird, 302, 785.  
 Moebus, Charles, 669.  
 Money (see also Banking and Finance), scarcity of change, 190; scarcity during 1862, 209.
- Monongahela country, 105.  
 Monongahela river, 3.  
 Monongahela settlements, 49.  
 Monroe, Verne, 695.  
 Montiegel, Bartlin, 828.  
 Montour, Andrew, 28.  
 Monument Placc, 143.  
 Mooney, George S., 628.  
 Moorefield, J. H., 855.  
 Moravian Indians, 94.  
 Moravian villages, Williamson expedition, 94.  
 Morgan, Daniel, 86.  
 Morgan, John, raid, 215.  
 Morgan, W. J., 852.  
 Morningstar, Charles, 811.  
 Morris, C. W., 852.  
 Morris, Roy E., 812.  
 Morton, Joshua, 430.  
 Mound, at Moundsville, 322.  
 Mound builders, 5.  
 Mound City Coal Company, 671.

- Moundsville (see also Grave Creek), 56, 84 (Note), 90, 322 et seq.; settlement, 322, 325; physicians, 325; schools and churches, 326; lawyers, 327; penitentiary, 328; trade and industry, 329; municipal improvement, 331; banks, 331; press, 332; churches, 492, 496.
- "Mouth of Wheeling," 78, 105.
- Moye, Oscar H., 566.
- Mt. de Chantal Academy, 166, 765.
- Municipal development, 166, 241, et seq.
- Municipal evolution, 242.
- Municipal improvements, 255 (see Wheeling Municipality).
- Municipal service, scope of, 241.
- Municipality, night police, 194.
- Music and the stage, before the war, 193; during the war, 225.
- Mutual Savings Bank, 308.
- Nager, Anthony J., 812.
- Nail City, 296.
- Nail making, 292, 293, 296.
- National Bank of West Virginia, 301.
- National Exchange Bank, 304.
- National Road, 113 et seq.; 159; Wheeling's debt to, 129; building of, 133 et seq.; and the Appian way, 134 (Note); original route of, 135; opening of travel, 137; method of construction, 138; subsequent career of, 139; appropriations for, 139; a free highway, 140; under state control, 140; taverns, 140; stage-coach lines, 146; fast time, 147; fares, 148; decline of, 153; pike men opposed to railroads, 153; statistics of traffic, 154; its service to the nation, 161; efforts to maintain, 168; residents along oppose railroad, 180; and Bridgeport, 344.
- National Telephone Corporation, 856.
- Natural gas (see Wheeling Municipality).
- Natural Gas, 283, 296; and Bellaire industries, 355.
- Natural Gas Company of West Virginia, 272, 283.
- Naylor, John S., 603.
- Naylor, Roy B., 291, 513.
- Nelson, Hugh, 396, 398.
- Nemacolin's path, 13, 33, 36, 39, 131.
- Nesbitt, David, 874.
- Nesbitt, Frank W., 398, 403, 708.
- Nesbitt, Mary E., 874.
- Neuhardt, Benjamin J., 806.
- Neutzling, D. L., 559.
- Newman, Charles C., 762.
- New Orleans, 121, 131.
- Newspapers (see The Press).
- "New Virginia," 367.
- Nichols, William H., 621.
- Nolte, Henry A., 847.
- Norristown, 337 (see Martins Ferry).
- Northwest territory, 100.
- Northwestern Bank of Virginia, 300.
- Northwestern Virginia railroad, 178.
- Northwood, Harry, 752.
- Northwood, H., Company, 705.
- Oath of Allegiance, during Revolution, 61; in Civil war, 206, 209.
- O'Brien, Frank A., 799.
- O'Brien, John J. P., 799.
- O'Brien, Thomas, 306, 308, 796.
- O'Brien & O'Brien, 796.
- Ogden, H. C., 475, 476, 513.
- Ogle, Captain, 87.
- Oglebay, Crispin, 302.
- Oglebay, E. W., 302.
- Ohio City, 235.
- Ohio Company, 18, 28, 29, 33, 36, 37, 39, 41, 48, 49, 74; purpose of, 19.
- Ohio Company of Ohio, 100.
- Ohio county, census, 61; archives, 61; establishment of, 84; first militia officers, 85; population in 1777, 102; the first county seat, 103; removal of county seat, 106; early court house, 125, 127; liberal support to railways, 180; vote in 1856 and 1860, 189, 190; contributions to the Union, 205; election of 1863, 212; vote in 1864, 218; railroad subsidies, 230, 231; population, 236; removal of court house, 244; court house, 384; organization and courts, 387 (see Bench and Bar); county court, 393; officials, 418; court houses, 420; removal of county seat, 422, 424; schools, 447, 448, 450; church and settlers, 490.
- Ohio county court, 57, 59, 103; road making, 130.
- Ohio river, 2, 13, 224; discovery of, 9, 10; boundary between English and Indians, 44; as boundary, 54; Indian side of, 76; an Indian boundary, 90; ceases to be an Indian boundary, 100; emigration along, 106; trade, 107; head of navigation, 107; navigation era, 113 et seq.; cornerstone of Wheeling, 115; West Virginia's jurisdiction over, 116 (Note); early navigation, 117, 118; early travel and traffic, 120; rough work and men, 123; steamboat era, 127; statistics of traffic, 154; travel in 1837, 156; head of navigation, 157; advantages and disadvantages, 168; the first bridge, 168; obstructed

- navigation by bridges, 172; steamers in 1860, 191; opening of navigation in 1863, 215; Bridgeport, 346; early coal shipment, 353.
- Ohio state, settlement of, 116.
- Ohio valley, 1; exploration and occupation, 2; geography, 3; animals and primitive life of, 4; Indian tribes and conquests, 5; primitive character of, 7; coming of white men, 8; battle of barter, 11; great routes into, 13; scene of struggle between French and English, 16; first great road to, 34; wars before settlement, 35; Washington's expedition, 37; immigration after Braddock's defeat, 39; English conquest of, 40; character of first settlers, 41; settlement prohibited in 1763, 43; causes of settlement, 47; prohibition of settlement, 48; disposition of lands, 49, 50; Virginia's jurisdiction over, 73; colony projects, 75; result of Clark's expedition, 92; first mail route, 120; New Orleans market, 121; character of early residents, 122; political and economic relations to east, 359 et seq.; education and culture of pioneers, 446.
- Olmstead, Herbert C., 823.
- Ong, Roscoe T., 606.
- Orr, Lawrence G., 671.
- Ott family, 152 (Note).
- "Out the Pike," 133.
- Owens, Michael J., 299.
- Pack trains of pioneer era, 59.
- Panhandle, land claims in, 50; population at end of 18th century, 102; early roads, 131; proposed annexation of, 186, 198, 199; vote in election of 1860, 189; private railroad across, 229.
- Panhandle Railroad Company, 230; incorporators of, 230.
- Panhandle Route, 227.
- Panhandle Traction Company, 282.
- Paper mills, 293.
- Park, F. J., 307.
- Parkman, Francis, 9.
- Park View, 234.
- Pathfinders, types of, 28; era of, 33.
- Patrick, James R., 581.
- Patti, Adelina, 193.
- Paull, Archibald W., 833.
- Paull, Joseph F., 302, 750, 878.
- Paull, Joseph R., 398, 402.
- Paxton, James W., 301, 368, 372, 560.
- Pears, Thomas C., Jr., 664.
- Peck, Daniel, 493.
- Pedicord, R. M., 626.
- Pemberton, James, 294.
- Pennsylvania, packmen, 27; interest in Ohio valley, 37; promotes transportation, 164.
- Pennsylvania canal, 153, 164, 165.
- Pennsylvania Railroad, 165; lines at Wheeling, 227 et seq.
- Pentecost, Dorsey, 84.
- Peoples Bank, 306.
- Peters, Clemens E., 802.
- Peterson, B. Walker, 307, 522.
- Petticord, Charles C., 547.
- Photography, 110; early advertisements, 187 (Note).
- Physicians (see medical practice).
- Pierpont, Francis H., 370, 371, 372, 383.
- Pioneer axe, 17, 53.
- Pioneers, 41, 314; their predecessors, 28; coming of, 45 et seq.; causes of their coming, 47; cause of restlessness, 51; whence they came, 51; racial stocks, 52; character of, 53; homes and living conditions, 56; mills, 56; implements and manufactures, 57; woman's work, 57, 59; social life, 58; civil justice, 59; first courts and justice, (see Bench and Bar); food, 58; schools and churches, 59; families during the revolution, 61; as soldiers, 72; restlessness of, 76; at Grave Creek, 84, (Note); as soldiers of the revolution, 87; poverty of, 92; character of, 102; co-operation among, 103; passing of, 109; character of, 122; at Moundsville, 322; at Cameron, 333; at Martins Ferry, 337; at Bellaire, 351; racial stocks, 362; furniture, 392; doctors and medical treatment, 427, 428, 435; early education, 445, 446; early culture, 483; church and religion, 488; work of early ministers, 489.
- Pitt, Sir William, 40.
- Pittsburg, rivalry with Wheeling, 162.
- Pittsburg, Wheeling & Kentucky, 227, 228, 229, 230.
- Pittsylvania, 49, 75.
- Play Ground Association, 510.
- Pleasant Valley, 144, 234.
- Point Pleasant, battle of, 81, 82.
- Political revolution of 1860, 188.
- Politics, 222; elections of 1856 and 1860, 189; methods of voting, 192; in 1864, 215.
- Pollack, Augustus, 305, 307, 582.
- Pontiac's conspiracy, 42, 72.
- Pony express, 147.
- Population, 102, 166; Indians in 18th century, 7; of Monongahela country in 1770, 49; at beginning of revolu-

- tion, 76; of towns in 1800, 113; relations to transportation, 115; in 1860, 190; statistics of Greater Wheeling district, 235, 236.
- Port of entry, 152, 156.
- Porter, Aaron, 875.
- Porterfield, Allan B., 633.
- Postoffice and federal building, 276.
- Powder exploit, 98.
- Pratt, Charles E., 719.
- Presbyterian church, 52, 489; (see churches).
- Press, The, 471-477; early telegraphic news, 183, 184; at Wellsburg, 321; at Moundsville, 332; of Martins Ferry, 343; of Bellaire, 356; pioneer newspapers, 471; local literature, 471; *Gazette*, 473; *Intelligencer*, 474; *Register*, 475; other papers, 476.
- Prise de Possession*, ceremony of, 24.
- Property line, 74, 75, 104.
- Public Library, 478 (see Library).
- Public schools, (see schools).
- Public works boards, 256, (see Wheeling municipality).
- Pultney (see Bellaire).
- Puritans, and Indians, 15.
- Quarter Savings Bank, 309.
- Race courses, 108.
- Races, 112, 144.
- Railroads, rivalry with national road, 153; combined with wagon routes, 155; early era, 162 et seq.; "inclined plane" railroad, 165; suspension bridge as a proposed link, 170; terminals at Bellaire and Benwood, 171; definition of, 174; first in America, 174; pioneer road of America, 175; early methods of construction, 176; the great lines through the middle west, 178, et seq.; at Wheeling before Civil war, 181; bridge at Bellaire, 182; and the telegraph, 184; in 1860, 185; bridge over Ohio, 188; since the war, 226; two great systems, 231; and manufactures, 296; at Wellsburg, 318; at Martins Ferry, 340; at Bridgeport, 345; at Bellaire, 353; B. Z. & C. Railroad, 354; (see street railways).
- Ralston, James W., 594.
- Ramsey, Robert L., 684.
- Red Stone Old Fort (see Brownsville).
- Redd, John S., 778.
- Reed, Robert J., 531.
- Rees, William H., 726.
- Reister, F., 485.
- Religion (see also churches), 108.
- Rennard, John H., 643.
- Rennie, J. C., 630.
- Repository*, of Wheeling, 109.
- Republican party, 188.
- Restored Government of Virginia, the plan, 370, 372, 379, 383.
- Revolutionary war, 61; beginning of, 82; part of western settlers, 83; the powder expedition, 86; western soldiers in, 87; importance of Clark's campaigns, 94.
- Reymann Family, 883.
- Reymann, Lawrence A., 884.
- Reymann, Paul O., 309.
- Richardson, E. P., 804.
- Richland, 234.
- Riedle, J. A., 674.
- Riester, Fidelis, 885.
- Riester, Frank C., 552.
- Riester, Nicodemus, 550.
- Riester, Nicodemus C., 551.
- Riggs Brothers, 820.
- Riggs, J. Harvey, 820.
- Riggs, William G., 670.
- Riggs, William M., 820.
- Ritchie, John, 235.
- Ritchietown, 233, 235 (Note).
- Riley, T. S., 387, 523.
- Rithner, Henry, 578.
- Rivers, and great cities, 116.
- Riverside Glass works, 298.
- Riverside Tube works, 297.
- Roadmakers, era of, 33.
- Roads, 4; path of returning Shawnee Indians, 6; great routes to Ohio valley, 13; followed by first trans-Allegheny settlers, 31; Nemaacolin's path, 33; Braddock's 39; Forbes' road, 40; of pioneer times, 58; from Wheeling to Limestone, 106; importance of, 129; pioneer highways, 130; era of building, 132; about Wellsburg, 317; (see Railroad Transportation).
- Roberts, Evan G., 679.
- Roberts, Frank M., 593.
- Robinson, Cecil A., 868.
- Rodefer, Charles M., 555.
- Roebing, John A., 169.
- Rogers, David, 85.
- Rogers, George J., 718.
- Rogers, James P., 716.
- Rogers, M. Joanna, 717.
- Rogers, Thomas H., 668.
- Roney's Point, 141.
- Rosecrans, General, 207.
- Ross, Henry, 669.
- Rothermund, Henry M., 585.
- Russell, Henry M., 307, 308, 387, 516.
- Russell, Charles W., 172.

- St. Clairsville, 357.  
 St. Joseph's Cathedral, 502.  
 St. Joseph's convent, 465.  
 St. Vincent's Cathedral school, 463.  
 St. Vincent's College and High school, 464.  
 Sands, L. E., 302, 304, 310.  
 Sandusky expedition, 95.  
 Sandy Creek Glades, 3.  
 Sarchett, Moses, 354.  
*Saturday Review*, 477.  
 Schafer, Clark G., 647.  
 Scheuffler, Harry J., 309, 792.  
 Schilling, Robert L., 810.  
 Schmeichel, Frederick, 650.  
 Schmidt, Charles C., 534.  
 Schmulbach, Henry, 307.  
 Schools, 444 et seq.; at Wellsburg, 124, 319; during the war, 225; at Moundsville, 326; at Cameron, 334; at Martins Ferry, 342; in Bridgeport, 348; in Bellaire, 352; Wheeling Female College, 441; origin of American education, 444, 445, 446; Virginia and New England, 446; Ohio county's first schools, 447; free schools and literary fund, 448; schools in 1833, 448; first Wheeling schools, 449; schools in 1850, 450 (Note); struggle for public schools, 450-455; Wheeling public schools, 455-462; Catholic schools, 462-465; Academies, 465; the public library, 481; in the early churches, 488, 489; Sunday schools, 493; of Catholic church, 502.  
 Schram, William A., 855.  
 Schramm, Andrew A., 781.  
 Schulz, Nicholas, 839.  
 Schwinn, Jacob, 591.  
 Scotch-Irish, 52, 362.  
 Scott, Molly, 99.  
 Scott, N. B., 307.  
 Scott, Smith J., 588.  
 Scroggins, Frank R., 619.  
 Searls, G. F., 801.  
 Secession, 196; agitation before the war, 188; in western Virginia, 363.  
 Secession ordinance, 364, 368.  
 Security Trust Company, 310.  
 Semaphoric telegraph, 183.  
 Serig, Henry, 308.  
 Settlement, character of English, 12, 14; after Forbes expedition, 40, 41; genius of American settlers, 41; prohibited in Ohio valley, 43; lure of the wilderness, 47; in Black Forest, 49; first points for west of Alleghenies, 49; actual settlers and other claimants, 50; local character of pioneers, 52; by Scotch-Irish, 52; time of first, 56; opposition of Indians, 73; royal order of 1763, 73; effects of Clark's campaigns, 92; the year 1782, 95; early centers, 103; emigration to Ohio, 109; emigration through Wheeling, 109, 116; travel by the river route, 118; homeseeker's voyage down the Ohio, 119 (Note).  
 Seven Years War (see French and Indian war).  
 Shadyside (see Bellaire).  
 Shannafelt, William, 839.  
 Shawnee Indians, 5; 11, 29, 49, 76; return of, 6.  
 Shepherd, David, 46, 56, 84, 85, 92, 100.  
 Shepherd, Moses, 137, 142.  
 Shepherd's mill, 104.  
 Short Creek, 5; settlers, 56.  
 Shriver, Jacob, 199.  
 Shriver Greys, 199, 200.  
 Sigafoose, Frank D., 824.  
 Sigafoose, James A., 858.  
 Simpson, Robert, 366.  
 Simpson, W. B., 308.  
 Sinsel Hardware Co., The, 749.  
 Sinsel, H. W., 749.  
 Sisters of the Visitation, 765.  
 Slavery, 111; issue in 1863, 212; in western Virginia, 362, 363; in the first constitution, 380, 382.  
 Slaves, number in 1860, 190.  
 Smith, Daniel, 398.  
 Smith, George T., 691.  
 Smith, O. T., 613.  
 Smith, S. G., 387, 739.  
 Social life, of pioneers, 58; as affected by river traffic, 122; of the '30s, 159; before the war, 193; during war, 224; the fire companies, 261.  
 Society, state of, 108.  
 Soldiers, land claims, 50.  
 Sommerville, James B., 820.  
 South Side Bank of Wheeling, 309.  
 Speidel, Joseph, 280.  
 Sprigg House, 207.  
 Sprigg, Samuel, 235.  
 Stage coach companies, 146.  
 Stalnaker, Daniel E., 870.  
 Stamm House, 144, 149.  
 Standards of conduct, 108.  
 Steam motors, 279.  
 Steamboat era, 127.  
 Steamboat New Orleans, 126.  
 Steenrod, Daniel, 137.  
 Steenrod's tavern, 144.  
 Stein, Henry, 570.  
 Stengle, H. A., 882.  
 Sterling, Hugh, 859.  
 Sterling, Matilda S., 860.  
 Stevenson, A. M., 630.

- Stewart, H. M., 879.  
 Stifel, George E., 524.  
 Stifel, J. L., 305.  
 Stifel, L. F., 307, 308.  
 Stifel, Louis F., 517.  
 Stone, W. E., 532.  
 "Stone Church," 489.  
 Storck, Daniel, 665.  
 Storck, Louis, 729.  
 Street railways, 233, 277 et seq.  
 Streets, grading and paving, 265 (see  
   Wheeling municipality).  
 Stroehlein, J. L., 725.  
 Stroehmann, Fred G., 787.  
 Strong, Thomas L., 548.  
 Strophe, Lloyd, 807.  
 Stuart, Chapman J., 378.  
 Sullivan, John, 353, 354.  
 Suspension bridge, 161, 169, 399; com-  
   pleted, 170; as a railroad link, 170;  
   subsequent career of, 173; a monu-  
   mental enterprise, 173.  
 Swearingen, Eli B., 474.  
 Sweeney, A. J., 218, 272.  
 Sweeney, Andrew T., 830.  
 Sweeney, John M., 280, 281.  
 Sweeney, Thomas, 181.  
 Sweeney, Thomas B., 627.  
 Taney, Charles H., 476.  
 Taney, James B., 476.  
 Tanner, Dr. James, 430.  
 Tanneries, of pioneer times, 57.  
 Tavern keepers, of National road, 145.  
 Taverns (see hotels).  
 Taylor, Dent A., 706.  
 Taylor, Oliver I., 474.  
 Taylor, Zachary, visit to Wheeling, 160.  
 Teeple, W. S., 591.  
 Telegraph, invention and first use of,  
   182, 183; fire-alarm, 186, 263.  
 Telephone, invention and development  
   of, 284, 285.  
 Tennessee path, 121.  
 Terminal bridge, 230.  
 Theatre, The, 481-487; before the war,  
   192, 193; during the war, 224; early  
   plays and players, 481-483; old play-  
   houses, 484; modern theatres, 485;  
   "motion pictures," 486; celebrities  
   at Wheeling, 485, 486; local the-  
   atrical people, 487.  
 Thoburn, Joseph, 207, 432; killed at  
   Cedar Creek, 219.  
 Thompson, George W., 398, 399.  
 Tobacco manufacture, 296.  
 Todd, Dr. Archibald, 431.  
 Todd, Dr. M. L., 430.  
 Tomahawk land claims, 49, 50, 54.  
 Tomlinson, Joseph, 56, 322.  
 Tomlinson, Mary D., 698.  
 Topping, John A., 299.  
 Trade, Indian, 12; on Ohio river, 107;  
   of early Wheeling, 107; early mer-  
   cantile enterprises, 109, 110; in furs,  
   113 (Note); salt and iron, 113; first  
   markets, 120, 121; the Tennessee  
   path, 121; early character of, 129;  
   necessity of transportation, 131;  
   Philadelphia and Baltimore and the  
   west, 134; through Wheeling over  
   National road, 148, 150; of the '30s,  
   162; influences of railroad termin-  
   als, 182; panic of 1857, 187; affected  
   by Lincoln's election, 190; embargo  
   during the war, 201; high prices  
   and money scarcity during war, 209,  
   210; war regulations, 218; effects of  
   war, 223; and modern transporta-  
   tion, 231; early and modern meth-  
   ods, 239; of Martins Ferry, 338;  
   at Bridgeport, 344; (see banks).  
 Trade and Industry, era of, 109.  
 Traders, 28; of Pennsylvania, 11, 21,  
   22.  
 Trades, of pioneer times, 57.  
 Trails, (see roads).  
 Transportation (see also Ohio river and  
   National Road, Roads and Railroads,  
   Street Railways); by pack trains,  
   113; cost of, 132; of mails, 147;  
   commission houses, 152; cost of,  
   153; fast freight over National  
   road, 154; reduction of freight rates,  
   155; by canals, 162, 163; cost of  
   wagon freighting, 163; the Alle-  
   gheny, barrier, 164; canal building  
   era, 164; railroad and canal route,  
   165; need of in 1850, 168; domi-  
   nance of water traffic in 1850, 173;  
   changes through railroad building,  
   179; railroad building since the war,  
   226 et seq.; suburban, 233, 234;  
   early and modern methods, 239;  
   electric railways, 280; by ferry and  
   bridge to Bellaire, 353, 354.  
 Travelers, notables on National road,  
   151.  
 Treason during the revolution, 67.  
 Treaty of 1763, 35, 42.  
 Treaty of Bouquet, 44.  
 Treaty of Charlotte, 82.  
 Treaty of Fort Stanwix (see Fort Stan-  
   wix treaty).  
 Triadelphia, 141, 237, 238, 502.  
 Truschel, William H., 674.  
 Turnpikes (see roads).  
 Ulfert, W. G., 503.  
 Ulrich, Alfred F., 561.  
 Uneeda Brewing Co., 781.  
 Union sentiment, 188, 189, 196.

# INDEX

x x i

- United Presbyterian church, 492.
- United States Steel Corporation, 297.
- Upper Ohio valley (see Ohio valley).
- Valley of the Ohio (see Ohio valley).
- Vance, J. N., 304, 310.
- Vance, James N., 731.
- Vandalia, 75.
- Van Swearingen, Captain, 315.
- Viele, Arnord, 8.
- Virginia, colonists and Indians, 14; charter of 1609, 18 (Note); opposes French advance, 36; and Washington's expedition of 1754, 37; loyalty of western settlers, 52; charter, 73; boundary dispute with Pennsylvania, 75; struggle for the west, 90; boundary dispute, 92; cession of Northwest Territory, 100; restored government, 205; western counties, 359; cession and organization of western territory, 360; credit for plan of restored government, 370; judicial system, 388; school system, 444.
- Virginia Theatre, 486.
- Voitle, J. F., 780.
- Voorheis, G. V., 871.
- Voting, oral, 192; viva voce, 203; change to ballot form, 214.
- Wade, Frank, 827.
- Wagner, John 302.
- Wakotomica campaign, 81.
- Walker, Joseph M., 655.
- Walker, Dr. Thomas, 18.
- Walpole Company, 50, 75.
- Ward, O. K., 844.
- Warner, Jesse, 849.
- Wars, before settlement, 35 et seq.
- Warwood, 234, 310.
- Washington, George, 36, 40, 50, 133; journey down the Ohio, 54.
- Washington's Road, 13.
- Washington Hall, 166, 178, 193, 224, 307, 361, 366, 369, 484, 485 (Note); burning of, 263.
- Wassmann, Charles, 568.
- Watches and clocks, 110.
- Water works, 251, 264, (see Wheeling municipality).
- Waters, John E., 616.
- Watkins, Charles H. Jr., 597.
- Wayne, Anthony, 100.
- Weber, Edward E., 564.
- Webster, Daniel, at Wheeling, 151.
- Weisgerber, H. E., 850.
- Wellington, Samuel, 844.
- Wells, George C., 843.
- Wells, George N., 711.
- Wells, Nathaniel, 229.
- Wells, T. M., 719.
- Wells & Wingerter, 712.
- Wells settlement, 84.
- Wellsburg, 56, 104, 110, 113, 115, 123, 137 (Note), 229, 230, 282, 291, 465, 484, 496, 499; in 1807, 124; history of, 313; early settlement, 314, 315, 316; trade and manufacturing, 317, 319; banks, 318; churches, 318; schools, 319; municipal improvement, 320; lawyers, 320, 321, 322; press, 321; physicians, 321.
- Welty, John S., 850.
- Werner, Joseph, 607.
- Werner, Theresa, 607.
- West Augusta district, 77, 103.
- West Augusta court, 403.
- West Liberty, 104, 106, 107, 113, 115, 237, 238, 387, 422, 423, 489, 496, 499; the county seat, 103; Normal School, 469; Academy, 469.
- West Virginia, admitted, 211; formation of, 359 et seq. (see Wheeling Conventions, Civil war); convention debates over formation, 373 et seq.; proposed names for, 378; division and constitutional convention, 379; debates in Congress, 380; Lincoln's argument, 381; inauguration of state government, 383; location of capital, 383; courts, 393.
- Wetzel, Lewis, 346, 348.
- Wharton, James E., 473.
- Wheat, Albert A., 770.
- Wheat, Conrad, 56.
- Wheat, George K., 301, 305, 768.
- Wheat, James S., 368, 372.
- Wheeler, Charles H., 750.
- Wheeling (See also Greater Wheeling, Wheeling and Vicinity, Wheeling Municipality); first road from the ginning of recorded history, 23; and Braddock's campaign, 39; pioneer, 13; site of in 1749, 22; beneers, 45; an early home, 53; first settlers, 54; residents in this vicinity during the revolution, 62; during Indian warfare, 72; outbreak of Dunmore's war, 77; Fort Henry, 78, 79; site of Fort Henry, 80; its earliest founders, 80; establishment of civil government, 83; arrival of powder expedition, 86; massacre on the bottom, 88; the "town of Zanesburg," 89; results of Clark's expedition, 90; Indian hostilities of 1782, 95; last Indian attacks, 100; population in 1800, 103; origin of town, 104; early development, 106; town established, 106; in 1802, 107; as a commercial town, 107; in 1806, 107, 108; manners and customs in

1806, 108; celebration of Independence day, 111; light infantry, 111; population in 1800, 113; rivalry of Wellsburg and other towns, 115; Ohio river the cornerstone, 115; at the head of navigation, 117; first postoffice, 120; in 1800, 120 (Note); as a river town, 122; boat building, 123, 125; in 1807, 124, 125; business and population in 1811, 124 (Note); in 1811, 125; first market house, 127; beginning of industrial era, 128; sleepy river town, 129; distinctive character of, 129; first stage lines, 132; location on National road, 135, 136; early taverns, 144; postoffice in 1839, 147 (Note); value of National road, 148; culture and society during National road cra. 150; in 1817, 151; in 1818, 151; a port of entry, 152; manufacturing and wholesale trade, 152; in 1837, 155; as a shipping town, 152, 153; in 1839, 157; at head of navigation, 157; citizenship, 158; pen pictures in the '30s, 159; social life, 159; President Taylor's visit, 160; as a commercial center, 162; relations with Erie canal, 163; relations to early railroads and canals, 165; population in 1850, 166; era of progress after Mexican war, 166; spirit of achievement in '40s, 166; in 1852, 167; critical period of commercial history, 171; rivalry with Pittsburg, 172; completion of B. & O. Railroad, 177; as a railroad terminus, 178, 179; route of B. & O. Railroad, 179; subsidies to railroads, 180, 181; railroad situation in 1860, 181; loses railroad terminals, 182; first telegraph line, 183; passing of the old city, 185; and the railroads, 185, 186; water front during the war, 186; business depression of '50s, 187; politics before the war, 188; the city in 1860, 191; economic and social conditions in 1860, 192; literary and entertainments before the war, 192; first night police, 194; during the Civil war, 195 et seq.; custom house, 201, 202; merchants during the war, 202; women's part in Civil war, 203; contributions to Union cause, 204; spirit of citizens during the war, 206; army headquarters during war, 207; war bounties, 210; city election of 1863, 212; elections of 1864, 218; war regulations

on commerce, 218; as government headquarters during the war, 220; municipal court, 222; oil excitement, 223; business and industry during war, 223; social life during war, 224, 225; since the war, 226; first street railway, 226; rivalry of adjacent states, 228; terminal bridge, 230; modern trade and industry, 231; railroad systems, 231; horse-car railway, 233; suburban development, 233; location of, 235; corporate limits, 235; population statistics, 236; the municipality, 241 et seq.; first streets, 243; city boundaries, 253; public spirit awakened, 256; postoffice and custom house, 276; postmasters, 276 (Note); pioneer in electric transportation, 280; manufactures, 291; manufacturing during the war, 294; banks and bankers, 300; bank clearings, 311; rivalry with Wellsburg, 316; as the state capital, 383, 384; old court house, 386; county buildings, 420; becomes county seat, 422; old court house, 425; state house, 425; medical practice, 426 et seq.; public health organizations, 436; city hospitals, 439; modern civic spirit, 443; schools, 444 et seq.; independent school district, 452; public school superintendents, 456; high school, 457; public library, 478; early books and libraries, 478; theatres and public amusement, 481; the town clock, 491; early Sunday school, 493; Y. M. C. A., 504; charitable organizations, 509.

Wheeling & Belmont Bridge Company, 168, 169; early directors of, 168, 169 (Note); suit with Pennsylvania, 172.

Wheeling & Elm Grove Railway, 233, 278, 279.

Wheeling & Lake Erie Railroad, 231.

Wheeling and vicinity, material development during 18th century, 102; beginning of villages and towns, 103; economic status in 1800, 113; source of early wealth, 114, 121; in 1860, 185 et seq.; rivalry of adjacent states, 186; politics and elections of 1860, 188; population in 1860, 190; relations with adjacent states, 199; conditions during the war, 204; since the war, 226; suburban development, 233, 234; concentration, 239; native and for-

- eign born, 239; members of second Wheeling convention, 369 (Note); illiteracy in 1850, 451 (Note).
- Wheeling Board of Trade, 274.
- Wheeling Bridge Company, 231.
- Wheeling Bridge & Terminal Railway Co., organizers, 230.
- Wheeling Business College, 629.
- Wheeling Can Company, The, 672.
- Wheeling Clearing House Association, 310.
- Wheeling Conventions, (see also Restored Government and West Virginia), 188, 205, 276, 359 et seq.; character of members, 365, 366; a Union meeting, 356; assembling of first, 366; second convention, 368; place of meeting, 369, 373; restored government, 370, 372, 373; adjourned session of second convention, 373; debates over new state, 373 et seq.; "compromise committee," 378; names proposed for new state, 378; the first constitution, 379.
- Wheeling Corrugating Company, 864.
- Wheeling Creek, 5, 10, 54, 104; Celoron's expedition, 22; Indian name of, 23; first preaching on, 59.
- Wheeling Creek valley, 278; development of, 233.
- Wheeling Directory of, 1839, 157.
- Wheeling District, expansion of, 232; (see Greater Wheeling).
- Wheeling Electric Light Company, 272.
- Wheeling Electrical Company, 272.
- Wheeling Female Seminary and College, 166, 441, 465.
- Wheeling Gas Company, 270.
- Wheeling *Gazette*, 473.
- Wheeling Hill, 88, 125, 137 (Note).
- Wheeling Hospital, 166, 218, 431, 436, 509.
- Wheeling Island, 23, 224, 282, 366, 372; bridge over back river, 169; development of, 170; in 1860, 191; Union camp, 203.
- Wheeling *Intelligencer*, 188, 196, 474, 475.
- Wheeling *Majority*, 477.
- Wheeling Municipality, The, 241; first streets, 243; town of Zanesburg, 243; first town plat, 243; town established, 243, 244; early local government, 245; town incorporation, 245; first officials, 246; the town government, 247; markets, 247; streets, 247, 249; primitive fire department, 249, 250; first water supply and works, 251, 252; city government, 253 et seq.; boundaries, 253; first charter and official, 254; mayor and council, 254; courts, 255; improvements, 255; gas works, 256; streets and water works, 256; public agitation, 256; public works board, 256, 257; old and new charters, 257; qualifications of voters, 257; city council, 258; municipal ownership and operation, 258; officers and powers, 258; board of control, 259; legal department, 259; franchises, 260; civil service, 260; fire department, 260; water works, 264; street improvement, 265; sewerage, 266; bridges and ferries, 267; lighting of streets, 268; gas works, 268, 269; early prices of gas, 271; natural gas and electricity, 271, 272; town and city buildings, 273, 274; electric light plant, 273; urban and inter-urban transportation, 277; public franchises, 278; natural gas, 283; telephones, 284; town and city officials, 286; city hall, 384.
- Wheeling Natural Gas Company, 283.
- Wheeling *News*, 476.
- Wheeling Orphan Asylum, 439.
- Wheeling Railway Company, 280.
- Wheeling *Register*, 196, 475; suspension by government, 216.
- Wheeling *Repository*, 471.
- Wheeling Savings Institution, 309.
- Wheeling Stamping Co., 833.
- Wheeling Steel & Iron Company, 297.
- Wheeling stogies, 295, 296.
- Wheeling *Telegraph*, 476.
- Wheeling Title & Trust Company, 308.
- Wheeling Traction Company, 282.
- Whelan, Bishop R. V., 436, 500.
- Whitaker-Glessner Company, 297, 863.
- White, Robert, 739.
- Wholesale trade, 152, 232; at Bridgeport, 344.
- Wiedebusch, August, 737.
- Wiedebusch, August H., 738.
- Wilde, Joseph L., prophecy of, 234.
- Wilhelm, George, 861.
- Willey, Waitman T., 367, 370, 372.
- Williamson expedition, 94.
- Willis, Nathaniel P., 191, 233.
- Wilson, Anna B., 481.
- Wilson, Joseph B., 611.
- Wilson, J. R., 625.
- Wilson Richard H., 638.
- Wilson, W. A., 305.
- Wilson, William A., 713.
- Wingerter, Adrian L., 712.
- Winter, Albert S., 851.
- Wittman, Joseph, 658.

- Woman's Hospital Association, 441, 443.  
Women, their place in the pioneer  
home, 57, 59; their part in Civil  
war, 203, 224.  
Woods, Archibald, 602.  
Woods family, 56.  
Woods' mill, 104.  
Woods, Thomas, 301.  
Woodsdale, 234.  
Work, Hervey B., 454, 457, 547.  
Worthen, C. H., 671.  
Wright, J. E., 876.  
  
Yahn, Conrad, 869.  
Yellow Creek massacre, 77.  
Young Men's Christian Association,  
504.  
  
Zane, Betty, 99, 338.  
Zane, Ebenezer, 54, 55, 77, 80, 96, 106,  
111, 243, 343.  
Zane family, 54.  
Zane homestead in Wheeling, 98.  
Zane Jonathan, 46.  
Zane, Noah, 46, 169, 301.  
Zane, Platoff, 545.  
Zane Samuel S., 564.  
Zane, Silas, 55, 96.  
Zane's block house, 96.  
Zanesburg, town of, 89, 105, 243.  
Zink, H. F., 617.

# GREATER WHEELING AND VICINITY

---

## CHAPTER I.

### THE PERIOD OF PREPARATION.

"These things befell not, they were slowly done;  
Not in an hour, but through the flight of days."

The world has in it countless wonderful, beautiful and historical valleys, but in many respects there is none on the whole expanse of the earth more worthy of note than the Valley of the Ohio. Its importance in the story of mankind can hardly be exaggerated. In beauty, in fertility, in romance, in historical significance, though it is rivalled, it is not surpassed even by the wondrous Valley of the Nile. Decades and centuries must pass away before men can gain the proper perspective from which to measure adequately the Ohio's greatness. Near as we are to the beginnings of its recorded history, however, it is yet possible for us to forecast in a vague sort of fashion some of the notes that shall mark its place in the pages of the future chronicler. And as we follow the study of the Ohio's story we shall find that one portion of the Valley looms up to the mind's eye as the strategic center of its important relations to history. That portion is the region whereof these chapters treat. Here where Wheeling now stands was the gateway that opened into the marvellous and treasure-laden central confines of a new-found continent, which is already, less than a century and a half from its first exploration, notable amid all the regions of the earth.

The old world had grown decrepit and sclerosed. The spirit of man had fettered itself by the bonds of caste and privilege. Man, made free by God, but with his will weakened by a spiritual fall, had sown evils that grew up to choke his path to further greatness. A new world was needed, and it was ready and waiting. A discoverer was required, and in the providence of God he came. Columbus, at the end of the fifteenth century, led the way to a new world, and during the three centuries that first followed his discovery, bold and daring men made a foothold upon all the edges of the new-found continent.

The ships of the adventurous Spaniard traced the bays and estuaries of the Caribbean Sea, of the Mexican Gulf, and of the Pacific seaboard, founding settlement after settlement. Later on, the French, led by Sieur de Monts at Port Royal and the brave and tender Samuel de Champlain at Quebec, colonized the north and sent their missionaries and explorers, by way of the lower St. Lawrence and the Ottawa, to trace the streams and pierce the forests, performing, as they went, astounding deeds of heroism and devotion, and making no pause until they had reached their hands to their brethren at the mouth of the Mississippi. The English followed the French in order of time, planting a colony upon the shores of Virginia and another on the bleak coasts of Massachusetts. The Dutch came in turn and found the Hudson at a point between the two English colonies. As the decades passed, the English and Dutch gradually crept westward over the watershed of the rivers that drained into the Atlantic. Every passing year found these colonists advancing westward till the Alleghenies were reached. At this barrier their progress paused.

Behold then the great new-found continent possessed and invaded from south and west and north and east. We of the after-time know that there remained to be discovered and explored two great interior regions. The great Desert Tableland of the Far West was reserved for the conquest of our own day and generation. But the rich treasureland, the wondrously fertile Central Basin of the Middle West, the watershed of the Ohio river and its tributaries, a region embracing two hundred thousand square miles and furnishing nearly one-fourth of all the water that reaches the Gulf of Mexico through the mouths of the Mississippi, was the prize for which the early colonists were to contend. Almost three hundred years after the discovery of the New World, the beginnings of exploration and occupation of this vast region were inaugurated. From two entirely separate centers, converging movements of human energy started forth having the same objective. The French and English were to come together in irreconcilable conflict. The Indian, bewildered and overwhelmed, was to be an unwilling buffer for the collision, but at the same time a powerful and anarchic influence upon the final result. The story of the conflict for the Ohio Valley is full of gripping interest and abounds with romantic adventure, and its conquest was fraught with results that endure and are enlarging under our own eyes even in this present time.

Through pre-historic ages the stream which was well named the Beautiful River lay outstretched in the lap of the continent, and when the white man came and the English settlements lay like a narrow

strip between the wilderness and the sea, its alluring arms, wide-spread, reaching out to the foothills of the Alleghenies on the north and the Cumberland mountains on the south, seemed beckoning to the colonists to come through the gateways of the mountains and possess the rich treasure stored up and waiting through the centuries.

The northern or Allegheny branch of the Ohio was born and bred in the forest-covered mountains. From its source to its juncture with the Monongahela, the shadows of the Alleghenies fell upon its dancing waters. The southern branch of the great river took its rise in the country of the glades, where the dense forests were broken up by spaces covered with long grasses. "The Great Glades of the Yoh," the Sandy Creek Glades, the Great and Little Meadows, where the sun's rays could pierce to the soil, where the deer revelled in their browsing, and where the pioneers made their first settlements, saw the beginnings of the waters that made up the Monongahela. The southern stream joined the northern waters at the famous "Forks of the Ohio."

After hundreds of miles, when these twin streams from the grassy glades and the wooded mountains had reached the country that is now central Kentucky and Indiana, they were to bask again in the sunshine of the western prairies; but between the bright uplands left behind and the levels of the sunny meadowlands far ahead, there lay, to be traversed, the Black Forest, illimitable, dense, somber and silent. Mile upon mile, the majestic stream was to wind its dismal way, broadly sweeping in lonely grandeur through the dark, primeval valley, following the undulations of a double chain of paralleled mountains whose tops shut out the glint of the sun upon the waters except for a few hours about the noontide. Its immediate shores were made uninhabitable by the intricate network of water-soaked trunks and branches of fallen forests that formed a repellent barricade on either side. At long intervals would appear, on one hand or the other, some opening in the fantastic barriers of tangled driftwood that lined its devious course.

The dim and stilly forest through which the river ran stretched in either direction for mile upon mile and league upon league, sweeping over hill and hollow in endless undulations, climbing the mountains to their summits and robing their sides and crests with a limitless mantle of green. A man could journey for days at a time and see no human form or hear no sound of human voice. Wild beasts were the only tenants of the vacant waste. A twilight darkness pervaded everywhere, except along the devious windings of the countless brooks and rivers that threaded the seams of the vast wilderness. Where these

waters went the sunlight could pierce the meshes of the overhanging tree-tops that veiled the streams. But in the depths of the dense woods darkness reigned supreme. Giant trees, centuries old, rose in myriad columns to support an impenetrable canopy of intricately intertwining branches. Vines of the wild grape clung to the trunks of the trees and, mounting to their tops, bound the luxuriant crests of oak and walnut and beech and sycamore into one confused mass.

Underfoot, after the slimy ooze of the river shores was left behind, the sunless ground was free from undergrowth of any kind, so that progress was easy and rapid. The observant eye could trace an interlacing network of many roads. Here the narrow path of the deer led to the spots where the dense overgrowth was sparsest; there broad highways, wide enough for several wagons abreast, told of the wild rush of buffalo herds that had gone that way; and the trail followed by the Indian, hastily gliding by to seek and kill his quarry of beast or fellow-man, crossed and recrossed the silent expanse. No hum of bee nor song of bird was heard, for these creatures came only with the white man. Silence, grim and well-nigh absolute, contended with the darkness for mute predominance in the mighty solitude. There is a silence of the desert and a silence of the open sea, silences that are almost positive and concrete things, silences that smother you and bear you down and under, that make you instinctively cry out audibly for relief. Akin to these was the silence of the Black Forest of the Great Valley. The stillness that forever haunted this grim wilderness had an additional note of terror. It seemed to close in about you from every side, to beat at you from behind even while it repelled you in front, crushing you into nothingness.

The lazy lapping of the river in the driftwood at the water's edge, the occasional smothered swish of a tree dropping into the stream, or the far rarer splash of the paddle from an Indian's canoe, relieved the dread quietude near the river's banks, but in the depths of the woods the silence was unbroken and profound. The rattlesnake glided across the paths and between the rocks, but so seldom was he disturbed that there was scant need of his warning rattle. The copperhead was noiseless. The forest was ever mute save when beast or man disturbed the awed hush of the centuries. The cry of the wildcat or the call of the wild turkey was heard at rare intervals only. The feet of the elk or the deer might lightly rustle the dead and fallen leaves of the autumn, but the slouch of the stealthy wolf and the lurch of the clumsy bear were almost soundless. The Indian went on his way silent as the grave, and the buffalo was the only living thing that shattered the solemn hush of the grim and awful wilderness.

Myriad as were the ways that man and beast had silently traced through the Black Forest, and capricious as their courses might seem, some of them were nevertheless roads of predilection. The hunters for whom the far-stretched wilderness served as a game preserve, and the painted and feathered warriors who used it as a skirmish ground in times of conflict, knew well that nature had marked out favored passages, broad channels along which human currents might journey with easier and more rapid advance. Grave creek and Fishing creek and the Short creek were such avenues, but the valley of the Wheeling creeks was the inviting path and gateway through the mountains that had no rival except the Cumberland Gap far away, many weary miles to the south. Here was the chief door from the east, opening into the mighty arena where the red man wrought and fought through unrecorded centuries.

What romantic human dramas, what grim savage tragedies, were enacted here in the forgotten years before the white man's coming, is among the secrets of God. We know little about the mound-building Indians except that they were here and left their vestiges in the wilderness, probably making their homes in prehistoric times on the lesser inland tributaries, building their habitations on the sunny upland meadows that, oasis-like, were occasionally found in the interior. The Great Mound on Grave creek, still existent, is unusual in that it is located so near the Great River itself. The historian finds indications that tempt him to weave ingenious theories concerning this interesting people, but actual positive knowledge about them is wanting.

The nomad Shawnees and the Delawares possessed the upper Ohio valley from the dawn of history, and until the energetic and warlike Iroquois, or Five Nations, coveting it for a hunting ground, chose to take it. What deeds of daring, of blood and cruelty, accompanied its conquest no records tell, but we know that by 1675 the Shawnees were expelled. Driven towards the mouth of the Ohio by the victorious northern tribes, the Shawnees made their way up the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, through the Cumberland Gap and into Carolina and Georgia, where they had two or more villages during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The tribe of the Eries, broken and scattered, likewise fled before the conquerors. They, however, sought refuge at the north with their kindred people, the Hurons, the Wyandots and the Susquehannocs. Many of them doubtless crossed Lake Erie to the northwest coast and became affiliated with the Tobacco tribe or Wyandots.

For fifty years after the Iroquois conquest, that is to say, during

the interval between the years 1675 to about 1725, there were no Indians resident south of Lake Erie on either side of the upper Ohio or its tributaries. The whole region from the Blue Ridge to the Falls of the Ohio, to the Great Lakes and the Ottawa river, and as far as the island of Montreal, was claimed and held by the Five Nations. The members of this savage but masterful confederation had their permanent abodes in the region that is now the state of New York. The broad basin of the Ohio valley, the fruit of victorious conflict, was reserved by them as a lordly hunting preserve.

But in the first half of the eighteenth century the descendants of the vanquished and fugitive tribes began to return to their former abodes. From north and south and east and west they came. The Shawnees were the most numerous. These Indians had moved from Carolina into Maryland and Pennsylvania in the years between 1692 and 1712, and they began their return to the Ohio valley, to claim it, soon after 1725. By the time the eighteenth century was half-spent most of them had returned to the land of their ancestors, fitfully to contest it again with the foes of their own race. The path followed by the returning exiles had been marked out for them by nature, and is the same path that, since then, has been followed again and again by the soldiers of fortune, the explorers, the traders, the pioneer settlers, the colonists, the road-makers and the railway-builders, who make up the skirmish-line, the vanguard and the successively advancing hosts of the irresistible army of civilization. The straggling trail of the returning Shawnee marked out the westward course of empire for the masterful race that was to conquer not only him, the vanquished, but also the proud conqueror from whom he had fled aforetime in defeat.

Every thoughtful student of history must realize that a mere narrative of isolated events is devoid both of interest and of value. We strive instinctively to sense the workings of unseen laws and influences behind those events. We are looking at the reverse side of an intricately woven pattern of human activities. All is a confusion of threads, some with torn and ragged ends. Actions, measures, achievements, failures, movements, pauses, counter movements, are all at first tangled and ravelled. The mind's eye must endeavor to carry the vision to the obverse side, where the orderly design can be seen. The facts that make up the narrative are but the stuff and fabric of the weaving. Laws both universal and ever constant are at work behind and beneath. Certain dominant thoughts, desires and passions that rule all the others shape human conduct on certain definite lines.

These must ever be kept in mind. If we bear in memory also that the economic needs of man and the physical surroundings in which he finds himself at any particular and definite time vitally determine his conduct to a greater or less extent, we are in a fair way to read the story of an age or period with a vision that is not all disordered and confused.

These truths must be kept before the reader of this survey if he is to grasp the full significance underlying the narrative of events in the Upper Ohio Valley. In addition, the physical formation and location of the region, its bearing upon the material wants of man, and its potentiality to awaken the emotions, to utter an effective call to the will and the other moral forces behind the will, may well be noted as we advance in our orderly study of events.

The individuality or character of a region is God-given. Nature had been peculiarly generous to the wide expanse now known to us as the great Middle West. At all periods it has been a veritable treasure-land to its possessors, and this early time now under our mental survey was no exception in this respect. To the Indian this hunting ground was desirable because it furnished him with food, clothing and means of shelter. The meat of deer and bear, buffalo and wild turkey, was to be obtained here abundantly, and it provided the red man with a generous sustenance. From the skins of the hairy animals he fashioned himself clothing and other coverings. The material of the Indian wigwam came from the same source. The possessors of this opulent territory were the capitalists, "the captains of industry," the millionaires of that primitive time. Since human nature has never changed in its essentials from the first dawn of any recorded history to this twentieth century, it is not hard for us to understand the human cupidity that prompted the masterful Iroquois to take forcible and exclusive possession.

This monopoly of the region was held by the Five Nations for half a century. Finding, however, that the rich area they had thus occupied was capable of furnishing more wealth than they could possibly use themselves, and there being no marts nor trade available for the disposal of the surplus, the Iroquois gradually relaxed their prohibitive control over the sources of a superabundant wealth, and as a result of their growing laxity, we find the former occupants of the soil returning unmolested. From the northwest, west, south, southeast and east the new Indian population came straggling in, until by the middle of the eighteenth century the descendants of the former tenants had practically all returned. Though the trail of the Shawnees, com-

ing from the east, led them through what is now the northern panhandle of West Virginia, neither they nor any other Indian tribes made a permanent abode in the region. In fact, there were no Indian villages anywhere south of the Ohio. Even Kentucky was merely a rival hunting ground of the northern redmen and of the nations south of the Cumberland mountains. The Iroquois were known as Mingoes, on the Ohio river, no matter from which of the Six Nations they came. What abodes they had on the waters of the river were, generally speaking, on the Allegheny and near "the forks." Their principal town was Logstown, located on the right bank of the Ohio about eighteen miles below the forks and just below the site of the present village of Economy, in Beaver county, Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> It was built by the Shawnees with the help of the Iroquois, and consisted of fifty cabins, sheltering Mingoes, Shawnees and the Loups or Delawares in proportions varying from time to time. All other tribal towns and villages on the waters of the Upper Ohio, very few in number at the most, were for the greater part at a remove of some distance west of the river.

The claim of the Six Nations to dominion was not relinquished in any jot or tittle, though it was borne with great reluctance by the Shawnees and Delawares and others, who were obliged to obtain the consent of their masters when any important matter, such as a sale of land, was to be carried through.

And now a new and powerful force to be reckoned with, an added energy destined to change mightily the play of the influences acting upon human conduct in the Valley of the Ohio, appears upon the scene—the white man.

The first white traveller in the Ohio Valley was probably Arnord Viele, the Dutch trader, from Albany, who reached the Ohio in 1692. With eleven white companions, a party of Mohicans and a few Shawnees, he set out, at the instance of Governor Fletcher, to go into the Shawnee country in the Far West. This expedition of New Yorkers left Albany in the fall of 1692, proceeded by way of the Wyoming valley and the Susquehanna river to the Allegheny, and down that stream and the Ohio to the country of the Shawnees between the Ohio and the Cumberland rivers. Returning, an advance guard of this expedition arrived at Albany in the spring of 1694, and were followed in the

---

<sup>1</sup>The Indian name of this village was Maughwawame. The French called it Chiningue, pronounced by the English traders Shenango. These latter, however, called the village Logstown, and by this name it is best known in history.

summer of the same year by the remainder of the party, bringing with them a large number of Shawnees, who afterwards settled at a point above the Delaware Water Gap. This expedition of the New Yorkers seems to have been fruitless of any appreciable effects upon the subsequent history of the Ohio. The Dutch trader and his associates went out, and "were sucked back, having accomplished nothing but an epic."

The French, established on the Saint Lawrence near its mouth, at an early date had recklessly incurred the enmity of the Iroquois, who controlled the upper waters and prevented the white men from using them. By the means of the Ottawa river, however, the French found a way westward to the Great Lakes. From here their voyageurs, traders and daring missionaries pressed on to the Mississippi by way of the Illinois, Wabash, and Wisconsin rivers, finally closing the circuit with the colony of Louisiana, of which New Orleans was the capital and chief city.

The detailed chronicle of the achievements of the French has no place in these pages. Parkman has told this story so well that no rival can follow him. With the tireless research and sane judgment of the true historian, with the keen insight of poetic vision, and with the graphic pen of a skilled artist, he has made the dead past live again for us, and has shown us characters and careers that, for romantic and picturesque charm, are unsurpassed in the records of mankind. What is of moment to us here is to grasp the spirit that animated the Frenchman in his advance upon the Ohio Basin, and in his dealing with the Indians who claimed it.

The French method of colonization and of dealing with the Indians did not necessarily involve exterminating warfare, nor oppression and injury, nor expulsion of the natives from their soil. The Frenchman's objects were occupancy of a portion of the soil, small in comparison with the territory left to the Indians; peace, commerce and trade; and the christianizing of the natives, whom they looked upon as "brothers" and "children." Their sway over the Indians, based on justice and mutual consent, was unquestioned, although the French never numbered more than one-tenth of the English population. Individual cases of aggression and violence undoubtedly occurred, especially in southern Louisiana, but they were foreign to the policy of the noble Champlain and his successors. The French and Indian wars with the Five Nations were provoked by the exterminating raids of the fierce Iroquois.

The claim was made by the French in 1752, just before the outbreak of the French and Indian war, that the Ohio had been discovered

by La Salle. A careful study of historical sources leads to the belief that this claim is well-founded. There is no doubt that La Salle had heard of the Ohio from some Senecas who went to Montreal in 1668, on a hunting and trading expedition. These Indians stayed a long time with him and inflamed in his breast a great desire to go to see the wonderful river of which they told him. In 1669 he took out an expedition, led by two canoes of Senecas, reached the country of his Indian guides, and there sought for a Shawnee captive to lead him to the great river in the land of the Shawnees. But that La Salle ever reached the Ohio above the Wabash is as yet unproven. Convincing evidence exists for the assertion, however, that a fellow countryman of his did reach the Upper Ohio as early as 1729. Chaussegros de Lery, engineer of the Niagara fortifications and chief military engineer of Canada, led a party from that stronghold, and, going by way of Lake Chautauqua, Conewango creek and the Allegheny, went down the Ohio at least as far as the Big Bone Lick, and probably to the Falls or below.

A second French expedition, under the Baron de Longueuil, Major of Montreal, traversed the whole course of the Ohio below Conewango creek in the summer of 1739.<sup>2</sup> It is not preposterous to assume that one or both of these parties, attracted by the broad and inviting doorway from the river at the Wheeling creek bottoms, may have encamped on the southern shore of the Ohio near Wheeling during the progress of the journey towards the river's mouth.

Although the indomitable French made these two official and successful expeditions into the valley of the Ohio, the authorities of New France took no notable measures at this time to hold or fortify the region. The great difficulties of the Lake Chautauqua route were doubtless a deterring factor, and Lake Erie and the country just south of it were almost unknown to the French at this time. Moreover, the

---

<sup>2</sup>This expedition of Longueuil was the first white war party to travel on the Ohio, and its full history, if we could recover it, would have more romantic interest than that of any other flotilla that had passed down the Ohio from that day to this. Among the officers who accompanied this party were Major de Lignery, Lieutenants de Vassan, Aubert de Gaspé, Du Vivier, de Verrier, La Gardeur de St. Pierre, Chevalier de Villiers, de Portneuf, de Sabrevois; Father Vernet, chaplain; Cadets Joncaire de Closonne, Le Gai de Joncaire, Drouet de Richarville the younger, Chaussegros de Lery the younger, de Gannes, Chev. Benoist, de Morville, de Selles, and seventeen others. The rank and file consisted of three sergeants, six corporals, six lance corporals, twenty-four soldiers, forty-five *habitants*, one hundred and eighty-six Iroquois from the Saut, fifty-one from the Lake of the Two Mountains, thirty-two Algonquins and Nipissings, fifty Abenakis from St. Francois and Becancour; Father La Bretonnier, Jesuit; Queret, missionary.—Hanna, Wilderness Trail, II.

tasks to which they were already committed were gigantic enough to command all of the energies of their scanty and widely scattered numbers. La Salle had dreamed of a great wilderness-empire that should make New France vaster far than the old mother-country, and his dream seemed almost likely to come true. Through three thousand long and weary leagues the border-line of French occupancy stretched from the mouth of the St. Lawrence away to the Great Lakes and from there along the Mississippi to the Gulf. At strategic points along this sprawling line forts and depots had to be maintained, for "as the sea had its ports, so the forest had its places of rendezvous and outfit." If this immense empire was to be held in secure possession by the French, they must be content for the present merely to reiterate their claims to the mighty and unexplored Black Forest that lay between their line of posts and the Alleghenies.<sup>3</sup> Not only did they claim it, but until 1749 the French were the only white men to frequent the Ohio country.

The English colonists, looking westward, saw the great, black, forest-bound horizon at the crest of the Alleghenies and for long they were well content to deem it the limit of their domain. It is true that the Pennsylvania traders made fitful journeys through the mountains and along the valley even as far as the Scioto, but these traders were looked upon as intruders by the French and treated as such, being often seized and taken to Canada as prisoners.

Preparing the way for the contest of arms to come, the cupidity of French and English traders and of Indian hunters had inaugurated a battle of barter in the silent reaches of the Ohio Basin. The French were very exacting in regard to the number and quality of the furs brought in by the Indians, and they were especially insistent that the red men should not trade with the English intruders from over the mountains at the east. Because of the lesser distance from their base of supplies, the Pennsylvania traders could undersell the French, and gradually won the trade of the Indians away from the post at Detroit. To account for the difference in price, the red men were permitted to believe that the English King made good the losses the Pennsylvanians were supposed to suffer by offering goods so much cheaper than the French. By the middle of the eighteenth century the trade of the Shawnees, even of those in the lower Shawnee town, had passed into

---

<sup>3</sup>The French claims that culminated in war about 1750 were frequently and persistently asserted more than ten years before. In fact, paper claims were in existence for nearly forty years before, but not until 1725 did France find it necessary actively to assert them.

the hands of the Pennsylvanians. The Delawares were attached to the English likewise. The Little Mingoes, or Wyandots, were divided in their allegiance between French and English, but the Illinois and Ottawas were "French Indians."

While the skirmish lines of French and English traders were thus in touch with each other in the great forest, contending unequally for the precious influence over the Indian, the mass of the stolid English settlers on the sea-coast were blind to the importance of the vast area that lay beyond the barrier of the Alleghenies, and they looked upon the hardy traders of Croghan as mere adventurers, rough soldiers of fortune who took their foolhardy journeys at their own risk.<sup>4</sup>

As for the Indian, whose greed led him to encourage the English traders, he little suspected at first that by this encouragement he was endangering his hunting ground. The French traders only brought into the Black Forest what was wanted, took away furs, and furs only, leaving the red man in possession of the territory. The forts or posts built by the French were depots for trade alone. The Indian was to learn to his sorrow that when the English settlers should awaken to the value of the trans-Allegheny region, they would covet the country itself, and come to claim and seize it for themselves, with nothing but contempt for the red man's rights. In that evil hour to come, the Indian would turn upon the English and fight them relentlessly, but in 1748 he thought they had no desires beyond trade relations with him.

The French, however, had no delusions on the matter. They knew well the pitiless greed of the English, and were ever on the alert for

---

<sup>4</sup>"These Indian fur traders of Colonial days, and particularly the Pennsylvania traders, who formed the great proportion of the first English explorers west of the Allegheny mountains, and who were the first among the Indians to 'venture themselves and their goods farther than any person formerly did,' were a class that was stigmatized by some of the provincial governors as being made up largely of men who were not content to live by cheating the Indians among whom they traded, but must also often debauch their customers' wives in the bargain. Brave, cautious, mercenary, dissolute, adventurous, disloyal, chivalrous, cruel, generous, crafty as individuals, these traders undoubtedly were; just as a like number of men in any other so hazardous a calling would probably be. The perils of their trade, like those of the soldier's made them at many times regardless of those ethics of conduct so essential to the well-being of a community; and, unlike the soldier, the many opportunities for illegal gain in their dealings stimulated and developed their cupidity to such a point that many of the traders did not scruple to cheat the Indians in the most outrageous manner. But the story of their lives and adventures, the trials they endured, the dangers they faced, the difficulties they passed through and the final great catastrophe in which perished nearly all the traders 'in the woods' at the outbreak of Pontiac's war, is a story most thrilling and one of the most instructive in the pages of American history."—Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*.

the first signs of awakening covetousness on the part of the English settlers on the Atlantic coast. When, therefore, in 1748 a new population was come from Europe to the English colonies, the watchfulness of the French was redoubled. The vulnerable point of the long French line was in the center. If that were pierced, New France would be cut in twain, and Canada severed from Louisiana. There were two great routes to the west along which an advance against the centre of the French position could be made. The northern route was by way of Albany and the Niagara river, but there were inherent disadvantages attaching to this line of advance. Sir William Johnson held the key to this avenue secure for the English, and had not chosen to use it as yet. The southern route was the one to be feared. From Baltimore or Philadelphia the way would be comparatively easy and direct through the mountains to the Ohio river. Slightly to anticipate future events, it may be noted here that the portage from the Potomac to the Monongahela was not long. From Will's Creek (now Cumberland, Maryland) along Nemacolin's Path, afterwards Washington's Road, Laurel Hill, the last spur of the Alleghenies was reached and thence the trail ran down by an overland route to the "Forks of the Ohio." Or the traveler might push a few miles west from Laurel Hill, reaching the Monongahela at the future site of Red Stone Old Fort (now Brownsville, Pennsylvania), thence floating down the river to the "Forks."<sup>5</sup> A third, and still more direct route to the Ohio from the pass in the mountains at Laurel Hill led from Red Stone Old Fort directly west to the present site of Wheeling.

Here was the gateway of the mountains to be feared and watched. Should the English colonists at the east of it ever awaken to an adequate conception of the transmontane region, and be able to concentrate their power to win it, through this avenue they would likely come.

Gradually the English did begin to appreciate the possibilities of the land beyond the Appalachian range, but they long strove futilely to bring about a concert of action to win it. What actually did happen was that through the individual initiative of separate groups, acting from personal motives, they wandered afield, and finally blundered into a great war that lasted seven long years and changed the maps of three continents.

---

<sup>5</sup>Christopher Gist was commissioned on July 16, 1751, by the committee of the Ohio Company to visit their grant of land in the West, and, among other things, "to look out & observe the nearest & most convenient Road you can find from the Company's Store at Will's Creek to a Landing at Monongeyela." Gist's path touched the Monongahela at Red Stone Old Fort.

- About the middle of the eighteenth century the English began sifting up the waterways into the Alleghenies. From New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia they came, and the manner of their coming and the spirit that imbued them were so different from the advent and purpose of the French as to warrant a brief consideration at this time, in order to a better understanding of events that are to follow.

The French explorers and traders were members of a great conscious organism whose parts functionated in harmony. New France inspired, directed, protected and controlled. The voyageur, the missionary, the coureur des bois and the soldier felt that the soul of his nation was to be depended on, and lay behind him, alert, ready, energetic. He was, as it were, merely the instrument which the hand of his people, seated on the banks of the St. Lawrence had reached out to do a certain work of exploration or colonization. Not so with the English. The mother country, England, had thrust the American colonies from her bosom, permitting them to bear her name, it is true, but leaving them to their own devices, to thrive as best they might. She took no heed of them unless, from time to time, it were to attempt to drain from them the resources they had acquired. Connecticut and Rhode Island were fortunate in having charters that allowed them to choose their own governors; but the other colonies were proprietary or under the rule of a royal governor in whose choice they had no part. Like disjointed fragments, the colonies lay strewn along the Atlantic sea-coast, separate, self-centered, and, for a time at least, repellent of each other. The individualism of the communities was reflected in the individualism of the colonists themselves. Men and families and groups in the community were, to a greater or less degree, self-dependent. The sifting through the Alleghenies was not a concerted movement. It was a series of more or less isolated emergings, fitful, irregular and mostly unsupported.

In the next chapter more will be said concerning the personality of the pioneers; what is to be noted here is first, the dissociated character of their advances into the region beyond the mountains; and secondly, their attitude of mind towards the aborigines with whom they were destined to come into contact there.

The Quakers, the Moravians and the colonists of Maryland in their relations with the Indians were touched with the same spirit as the French, though to a lesser degree. The Virginian, likewise, seemed at first not unfriendly to the natives, although it is significant that a day came when he was known to the Indian by the name of the

"Long Knife." Most of the pioneers advancing through the Appalachian range were of Puritan stock, however, and they were very far from holding the view that the red men were fellow humans and brothers, children of the same God and Father as themselves, and to be met in a spirit of peace and conciliation.

"The New England Puritans looked upon the natives as 'a doomed race of Adam' under a curse, whose existence had no value even to the Indian himself. Although a number of very loose contracts were made with the Indians, in which valuable districts were bought for trinkets, wampum strings, tools, arms, kitchen utensils or small sums of money, yet the real principles upon which the settlers acted, were clearly expressed by Dr. Increase Mather, who calls the Indians 'the heathen people, amongst whom we live, and whose lands the Lord God of our fathers has given to us for a rightful possession.' Cotton Mather calls Satan 'the old landlord' of the Indian country. Governor Bradford writes of the colonies as 'vast and unpeopled countries, which are fruitful and fit for habitation, being devoid of all civil inhabitants, where there are only savage and brutish men which range up and down little otherwise than the wild beasts of the same.' The general opinion of the Puritans and Dutch Calvinists was, that the Indians were a part of the vermin and wild beasts such as wolves and wild cats, which the whites have a right to exterminate in order to render the territory habitable to civilized man. The few meagre attempts to convert the Indians to Puritanism were ridiculed and strenuously opposed by the mass of the settlers. Of course, the Indians themselves contributed their part to this antagonism. Their fierce retaliations, the night attacks, the tomahawks, the scalping knife, the massacre and the torture, used by them unsparingly when they had the upper hand, bred a savage spirit in the hearts of the magistrates, preachers and people, without one redeeming trait of pity."<sup>6</sup>

The consequences of this attitude of the English mind in respect to the Indian were inevitable. No bond of even savage affection was possible. The red man was held, if at all, by the lure of material advantage. That once withdrawn, he was likely to raise the war-hoop, and, with tomahawk and fire-brand, revel in merciless massacre with

---

"Our forefathers of that time had come to regard Indians very much in the light of wolves and panthers, to be hunted and slain wherever found. Parties of yeomanry were enlisted for the purpose of penetrating into the wilderness and finding the enemy in his lair. The regular wages paid by the Commonwealth for such service were half a crown a day, paid in currency so depreciated that the half-crown amounted to about twenty-five cents of our money; but, in addition, there was a liberal bounty of a hundred pounds for each Indian scalp. Even in that detestable rag money a hundred pounds was worth securing."—New France and New England, Fiske.

no moment's warning. Even the allegiance of the Iroquois, the "Long House" of the Six Nations, was precarious. The slender cord that held it might snap any day. Had it not been for the astute diplomacy of Sir William Johnson and the regard in which he was held by the Indians, peace between the settlers and their red neighbors could not have been maintained as long as it was.<sup>7</sup> While and where Johnson was in control there was some semblance to a constant and consistent Indian policy. Elsewhere in the colonies this was not the case. The individualistic character of the people, the popular nature of the constitution of the communities, and the resultant constant quarrels between the governors and the assemblies were unfavorable to efficient action in this as in other matters. Against these disadvantages under which the English labored must be ranged other elements in the situation favorable to them. The English colonists were by far more numerous than the French, and were, moreover, much less widely dispersed. In addition, when the pressure of increasing population should urge them westward, the physical formation of the land, and the human instinct to follow lines of least resistance would combine to push them into that gateway of the mountains that was a point of election for cleaving the dominion of New France. Haphazard and desultory as was their advance, unconsciously almost, the English were concentrating at the point of a wedge threatening the French center. A conflict was inevitable; the arena was prepared in the primeval forest; the combatants were approaching, the one weaker, but alert, with loins girt; the other strong but unheeding and unprepared.

Two advancing and opposing waves of civilization were thus surging slowly forward, to collide at full swing and overwhelm the barbaric society that was to be caught between them. The struggle between France and England for the possession of the Ohio Basin was destined to stir up unsuspected depths of human interest. In the

---

<sup>7</sup>"In 1738 the English influence was still further increased by the arrival of that remarkable man, William Johnson, a native of Ireland, who waxed rich in the Indian trade, built for himself two strongholds in the Mohawk valley, and acquired such a reputation among the Mohawks that they revered him like one of their natural chiefs."—New France and New England, Fiske.

"Johnson soon became intimate with his Indian neighbors, spoke their language, joined in their games and dances, sometimes borrowed their dress and their paint, and whooped, yelled, and stamped like one of themselves. A white man thus playing the Indian usually gains nothing in the esteem of those he imitates; but, as before in the case of the redoubtable Count Frontenac, Johnson's adoption of their ways increased their liking for him and did not diminish their respect. The Mohawks adopted him into their tribe and made him a war-chief."—A Half-Century of Conflict, Parkman.

contest would be involved the control of these same powers over the greater part of all of North America, and the whole subsequent history of Europe and of the world would hang likewise upon the issue of the conflict. The war that was ominously looming up in 1748, breaking into flame in 1755, is known in our history as the French and Indian war; but in Europe it involved the nations in what they called the Seven Years' war. Because of it new European alignments were drawn. New alliances were made. England and Prussia were ranged against France and Austria. The ostensible prize to be contended for was the colonial supremacy of America; the echoes of the conflict were to go ringing down the ages, and the influence of the issue was to be world-wide in effect. Memorable, indeed, in history was to be this war "which, kindling among the forests of America, scattered its fires over the kingdoms of Europe and the sultry empire of the Great Mogul; the war made glorious by the heroic death of Wolfe, the victories of Frederic, and the exploits of Clive; the war which controlled the destinies of America, and was first in the chain of events which led to her Revolution with all its vast and undeveloped consequences. On the old battle-ground of Europe, the contest bore the same familiar features of violence and horror which had marked the strife of former generations—fields plowed by the cannon-ball, walls shattered by the exploding mine, sacked towns and blazing suburbs, the lamentations of women, and the license of a maddened soldiery. But in America, war assumed a new and striking aspect. A wilderness was its sublime arena. Army met army under the shadows of primeval woods; their cannon resounded over wastes unknown to civilized man. And before the hostile powers could join in battle, endless forests must be traversed, and morasses passed, and everywhere the axe of the pioneer must hew a path for the bayonet of the soldier."<sup>8</sup>

The war was inevitable because the claims of the French and those of the English were irreconcilable. The French contended generally that they were entitled to all the territory drained by the rivers discovered by them, and that by virtue of the discovery of the Mississippi and Ohio by La Salle, those rivers and their tributaries belonged indisputably to themselves; that this claim was further strengthened by the location of French trading posts<sup>9</sup> in the claimed territory, and by

---

<sup>8</sup>Parkman.

<sup>9</sup>The French had more than sixty military, trading and missionary posts from the Great Lakes to New Orleans in a country wholly uninhabited by the English.

its use as a route of communication between Canada and Louisiana by way of Lake Erie and the Maumee and Wabash rivers; by the expressed consent of the Indians whom the French did not dispossess of their lands; and by the conversion of many tribes. It was further contended that the English had undertaken to trade there only within a few years; that, up to the present time, the English had not maintained claim to these rivers, but "only pretended that the Iroquois were masters of them, and that they, being sovereigns of these Indians, can exercise their rights; that it is certain these Indians have none, and moreover the sovereignty of the English over them is a chimera."<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, the English contended that the discovery of the coast by Cabot and Drake entitled the English crown to all the land in the interior and that the English sea-to-sea charters<sup>11</sup> were therefore valid; that any supposed Indian rights to the lands resided in the Iroquois, who had conquered them by force of arms, and that the English claim to mastership over the Iroquois must also carry supremacy wherever the power of the Five Nations extended; that the Iroquois had moreover formally assigned these rights to them at the Treaty of Lancaster in 1744; and finally that the advances of the Pennsylvania traders into the Ohio Basin constituted a valid claim to the territory. These opposing contentions could not be composed except by the arbitrament of the sword.

The first regular settlement of English-speaking men made west of the Appalachian range was at "Draper's Meadow," on the New River, a branch of the Kanawha, where the Ingles-Draper party settled in 1748. In the same season Dr. Thomas Walker, accompanied by several adventurous Virginia gentlemen and a party of hunters, made his way by Southwestern Virginia into Kentucky and Tennessee. Here they hunted in the wilderness and made land-claims for themselves. In the same year the Ohio Company was formed, consisting of thirteen prominent and wealthy Virginians and Marylanders, and one London merchant. Two brothers of Washington were in the Company, and its avowed objects were to speculate in western lands,

---

<sup>10</sup>The "Minute of Instructions to Marquis Duquesne of the Home Ministry, April, 1752," summarizes the French Claims.

<sup>11</sup>Virginia's new Charter was granted in 1609 to "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first Colony of Virginia," and by it Virginia was greatly enlarged, and made to comprise the coast-line and all the islands within 100 miles of it—200 miles north and 200 miles south of Point Comfort—with all the territory within parallel lines thus distant and extending to the Pacific boundary.

and to carry on trade on an extensive scale with the Indians. In our own day and generation are to be found instances not a few of enterprises of "big business" pushing their activities into foreign fields after a fashion that ultimately involves the country of the promoters in bloody and disastrous war. It is not surprising if these instances come to the mind of the modern reader as he envisages the character and history of the Ohio Company. The purpose of the Company, to take and occupy or sell lands claimed by New France, was no secret to the French and would certainly be resented by them. No sooner, therefore, did George III., on March 18, 1749, award to this organization of wealthy men its desired grant of 500,000 acres of land in the Ohio Valley, to be located mainly between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers,<sup>12</sup> than events began to hurry on towards the actual outbreak of war.

The French had been on the alert, and the answer of France to this move from the English side was swift and significant. In less than three months after the date of the grant to the Ohio Company a military expedition bound for the Ohio river set out from Montreal. It was sent out by Marquis de la Galissoniere, commander of all New France and the country of Louisiana. It was led by Captain Celoron de Bienville, Chevalier of the Military Order of St. Louis, who holds in history the distinction of being the first European to leave a record of a journey down the waters of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers. His picturesque detachment was composed of the commander, the Rev. Father Bonnechamps, a Jesuit, who was chaplain, "mathematician," navigator and astronomer of the party; eight subaltern officers, two of whom, Messieurs Contrecoeur and Coulon de Villiers, afterwards took a prominent part in the campaigns against Washington and Braddock; six cadets, twenty-four men of the troops, including petty officers and an armorer; one hundred and eighty Canadian voyageurs, and between forty and fifty friendly Indians, Iroquois and Abenakis, almost equally divided in number.

The expedition left Montreal (La Chine) on June 15, 1749, and proceeded in their canoes to Fort Frontenac, which was reached

---

<sup>12</sup>The grant to the Ohio Company was made in answer to the petition which asked for "a Tract of 500,000 acres of land betwixt Romanettos and Buffalo's creek on the south side of the River Aligane (Allegheny) otherwise the Ohio and betwixt the two creeks and the Yellow creek on the north side of the river or in such parts of the West of the said mountains as shall be adjudged most proper by the Petitioners \* \* \* on condition of the Petitioners Seating at their proper expense a hundred Families upon the lands in seven years. \* \* \*

on the 27th; thence they sailed into Lake Ontario and followed its southern shore till Fort Niagara was reached on the 6th of July. At the portage here they shouldered their canoes into which the heavy baggage had been loaded, and toilsomely made their way to a point well above the cataract. This portage occupied a week, but on the 13th they were again afloat, this time on the Niagara river. From the river they entered Lake Erie. The southeastern shore of the lake was followed to the next portage, although stormy weather obliged them to disembark on two occasions. In the afternoon of July 16th the landing-place was reached, at a spot that is now Portland, New York. The portage from this point to Lake Chautauqua was most difficult and was not begun until the next morning. Lake Chautauqua was about ten miles distant and its waters are at a height of more than seven hundred feet above the level of Lake Erie, with a further height of two hundred feet of intervening ridge to be passed. Celoron sent ahead a party to clear the portage route, through the tangled woods. Six days sufficed to make the transit of tons of baggage up this difficult ascent rendered most arduous by a heavy rain-storm. When the mountain lake had been reached on the 22nd, a short rest was given the burden carriers while the canoes were being repaired. Next morning early, July 23rd, saw the flotilla embarked on the lake. When the expedition went into night quarters on the shore it was only a league or less from the outlet of Conewango creek where the surplus waters of the lake begin their flow to the Allegheny river. During this bivouac the Iroquois of the party reported having seen skulking Indians watching the travelers. Celoron was alarmed because the watchers had disappeared on being seen, and at the end of the next day's journey, he called a council at which it was decided to send one of the Joncaires with some Canadian Iroquois to find and confer with the watching scouts and assure them of the friendly nature of the expedition. Joncaire's party was unable to come in touch with the Indians, who had been seen, but proceeded to the village of Broken Straw (called by the French *Paille Coupe*) where Joncaire was well known. Friendly speeches and wampum were exchanged, and presents left by the visitors, but the distrust on both sides was nevertheless not entirely dispelled.

In the meantime the main party of the expedition was advancing, though slowly because of the shallowness and tortuous nature of the stream. At the end of six days, however, the Allegheny, or, as Celoron called it, *La Belle Riviere*, was reached at midday of the 29th. A pause was now made, and preparations inaugurated for the burying

of a leaden plate at the confluence of the two streams. The elaborate ceremony of the *Prise de Possession*, which will be described in detail later, was then performed, and a visit made to the Indian village in the neighborhood. July 31st saw the expedition launched again on the Allegheny. Every night the canoes were made fast to the bank and an encampment made, and the journey continued again in the morning. On the 3d of August another plate was buried about nine miles below the mouth of the Riviere aux Boeufs, now known as French creek, and continuing on, the forks of the Ohio were passed. On the 6th the expedition reached the Indian village of Chiningue, or Logstown, and here the party stayed until August 12th. When Celoron came in sight of the village he observed three French flags and one English flag. He caused the latter to be lowered at once; and the staff from which it had flown was cut down.

A camp was established on a plateau overlooking the village,<sup>13</sup> and as the size<sup>14</sup> and importance of the place decided him to make a stay of several days. The English traders were interviewed, and ordered to leave. "They agreed," says the chaplain, "to all that was demanded, well resolved, no doubt, to do the contrary as soon as our backs were turned." Moreover, a formal letter of protest to the governor of Pennsylvania<sup>15</sup> was given them to transmit. Councils with the Indians

---

<sup>13</sup>"Near the village, I established my camp, which I made to appear as extensive as possible. \* \* \* The officers who were on guard had orders to make the rounds all night. These precautions prevented the savages from doing what they had projected. This M. de Joncaire discovered a short time afterwards by means of some women of his acquaintance."—Celoron's *Journal*.

<sup>14</sup>The village at the time of this visit consisted of about fifty cabins and wigwams, tenanted by a mixed population, chiefly Delawares, Shawnees and Mingoes. Fugitives from the deserted towns above had also come in.

<sup>15</sup>"From our camp on La Belle Riviere, at an ancient village of Chaouanons, Aug. 6, 1749.

"Sir—Having been sent with a detachment into these quarters by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissoniere, commandant-general of New France, to reconcile among themselves certain savage nations who are ever at variance on account of the war just terminated, I have been much surprised to find some traders of your government in a country to which England never had any pretensions. It even appears that the same opinion is entertained in New England, since in many of the villages I have passed through the English who were trading there have mostly taken flight. Those whom I first fell in with, and by whom I write you, I have treated with all the mildness possible, although I would have been justified in treating them as interlopers and men without design, their enterprise being contrary to the preliminaries of peace signed five months ago. I hope, sir, for the future you will carefully prohibit this trade, which is contrary to treaties, and give notice to your traders that they will expose themselves to great risks in returning to these countries, and that they must impute only to themselves the misfortunes they may meet with. I know that our commandant-general would be very sorry to have recourse to violence, but he has orders not to permit foreign traders in his government.

"I have the honor to be with great respect, sir, your humble and obedient servant.  
"CELORON."

were held on the 8th, 9th and 10th. The savages were warned against the English, and were told to use the ensuing hunting season in obtaining furs with which to pay their debts to the Pennsylvania traders, since the latter would not be permitted to frequent the region in the future. On the 11th, Celoron received the reply of the savage chiefs. While this answer was humble in tone, it was far from satisfactory to the French captain. The Indians begged that the intruders might be permitted to stay, since the goods brought by the English were of necessity; moreover, to separate them from their brothers, "was like cutting a man in two halves and then expecting him to live."<sup>16</sup> As a result of this stay at Logstown, some of the Indians who had come from Canada with the expedition were made distrustful and disaffected, and refused to accompany Celoron further. On August 12th, the French expedition broke camp and re-embarked for the downward voyage, and the next day brought the party to a point of special interest to the dwellers in the Wheeling of to-day.

Twenty years before its first actual settlement, the recorded history of Wheeling began with the landing of Celoron's party at the mouth of Wheeling creek on August 13th, 1749. There is no lack of picturesque charm in the imaginative retrospect of the event.<sup>17</sup> The vistas opened to the human eye then were vastly different from those of today. As far as the gaze could carry the rugged hills were wrapped thick in forests. The brow of the wooded bluff where the future Fort Henry was to stand glowed bright in the sunlight, overlooking the flashing waters of the creek that made its long and lazy winding through the tangle of trees and grape-vines. The tireless waters of the majestic Ohio, sweeping through the dense and silent forests, on that day were lit up in midstream by the rays of the sum-

---

<sup>16</sup>"The 11th of August the Indians came to give me their answer. \* \* \* Their interest engages them to look with favor on the English, who give them their merchandise at so low a price that we have reason to believe that the King of England, or the country, bears the loss which the traders make in the sale of their merchandise to attract the nations. It is true that the expenses of the English are not nearly so great as those which our traders will be obliged to make, on account of the difficulties of the route. It is certain that we will never be able to reclaim the nations except by giving them merchandise at the same prices as the English. The difficulty is to find the means."—Celoron's *Journal*.

<sup>17</sup>The description that here follows is not a mere fanciful one. Every detail of the picture is a definite historical truth, ascertainable, concrete, and verified by the writer through careful, laborious research. The imagination simply has been called in to assist in the assembling or integration of this mass of infinitely small detail, so that the whole event, in a form demonstrably true, might be reproduced with some degree of vividness and vigor.

mer sun. On the thickly-wooded island, that rested like a huge emerald on the bright bosom of the stream, the tree-tops were flashing back the same lights that touched with splendor the crested hills. On either side, up and down the river, in darkened contrast, the densely wooded shores lay between the stream and the foot-hills, dank, oozy, forbidding, above and below the huge cleft that lay athwart the uplands on either side of the river. That cleft was the channel-bed along whose edge the Indian had made a well-worn trail from west to east, and through its generous and luxuriant gorge the waters of the stream called by the Indians the Kanououara river, but known in our day as the Wheeling creek, came to join the broad tide of the Ohio. At the juncture of the two streams there was a break in the tangled barricade of forest plunder with which the flood-tides had fortified the long winding shores of the greater river. On the alluvial bottom-land the tomahawks of Indian hunters and warriors, passing frequently that way, had kept a partial clearing where the ashes of old camp-fires were ever to be seen. The hoof-prints of the wallowing buffalo and of the browsing elk were to be seen in the ooze near the shore, and through the tangled maze of vines at the edge of the clearing the trained eye of the woodsman could discern the tunneled way of wolf or panther.

The silence of the clearing on occasion had been broken by the deep guttural of Indian hunters or the strident cry of Indian warriors. Mayhap even the murmur of white men's voices had startled it aforetime, as the successive expeditions of La Salle, de Lery, and Longeuill, travelling on the broad highway of the Iroquois hunting ground, had passed on towards the "Falls of the Ohio." Conjecture alone is our witness concerning them. Recorded history of this Wheeling clearing begins on this sunny summer day of August, 1749. Any savage skulking in the cooling shades of the shore that day would have heard strange sounds and seen an unwonted sight. His eager ear would have caught the splashing of a hundred paddles, and, thrown back in broken echoes from the island shore, the murmur of men speaking in the strange and limpid language of France would have come ominously to his hushed listening. His eye, cast up the stream, would have caught the glint of the sunshine on French helmets and flashing paddles and the cleaving prows of scores of canoes. When the flotilla is well in view and already passing the smaller river's mouth, the sudden staccato tones of an officer's command startle the air. A momentary disorder among the drifting birchen vessels is the prompt answer to the summons. The command is meant to signal a disembarkment at the

clearing on the shore. The Canadian voyageurs who wield the deft paddles shout warnings to each other as the clustering canoes softly collide, but order soon appears again out of the momentary chaos. In time the landing is made and the many canoes are drawn well up on the shore or fastened to overhanging trees along the banks of the streams. The practiced woodsmen slowly enlarge the clearing with their hatchets, extending it farther into the welcome shadowing of the trees, where at last respite may be had from the stifling heat of the August sun. The camp-fire is soon built, and the crackling of its blazing wood and the rattle of the cooking utensils whet the appetites of the famished wayfarers for the coming meal of Indian corn and dried bison-meat.

Hunger finally appeased, preparations are begun for the usual formal ceremony of the *Prise de Possession* which Celoron has decided shall be performed at this auspicious site. The tablet of "white iron" on which the royal arms of France are emblazoned is prepared by the armorer to be fixed during the ceremony to one of the larger trees; one of the heavy leaden plates is brought from a canoe, and upon it in the spaces left vacant for that purpose the name of the River Kanououara and the date, August 13th, are inscribed; and a rude cross is made ready by the woodsmen. When all is ready, the word of command is given and soon officers and men are drawn up in battle array, fully equipped and under arms. The few Indians who did not desert the party at the village of Chiningue stand or crouch or recline at full length, with eye and ear alert. Though they have seen this ritual performed twice before, they understand neither it nor the symbol of the emblazoned royal arms, and are distrustful of them both as of some sinister and evil charms. The Jesuit chaplain of the party, Father Bonnechamps, dons his priestly vestment, and, in solemn form, pronounces a blessing on the large wooden cross, the sacred emblem of Christianity, which is then reared and planted in the ground. While this is being done the Frenchmen, uncovered, sing the *Vexilla Regis*. The supreme sovereignty of God having been thus acknowledged, the rights of the earthly King are to be proclaimed. The metal plate, engraven with the royal arms, is now attached to the tree already selected, while the *Exaudiat* is being sung, followed by a prayer for the King uttered by the priest. Next, Celoron advances, and, holding his sword in one hand, and raising with the other a sod of earth, proclaims in a loud voice,

"In the name of the Most High, Mighty, and Redoubted Monarch, Louis, Fifteenth of that name, Most Christian King of

France and of Navarre, I take possession of this place, of this river Kanououara and of the river Ohio and of those which empty into them and of all the lands of both sides as far as the sources of said rivers, both those which have been discovered and those which may be discovered hereafter, in all the length and breadth; declaring to the people thereof that from this time forth they are vassals of His Majesty, bound to obey his laws and follow his customs; promising them on his part all succor and protection against the incursions and invasions of their enemies; declaring to all other potentates, princes, sovereigns, states, and republics, —to them and to their subjects,—that they cannot and are not to seize or settle upon any parts of the aforesaid countries, save only under the good pleasure of His Most Christian Majesty, and of him who will govern in his behalf, and this on pain of incurring his resentment and the efforts of his arms. *Vive le Roi.*"

The ringing tones of the French commander are the only sound that breaks the solemn hush of the primeval forest during the impressive moments of the actual proclamation, but no sooner is it ended, than, at an officer's signal, the waiting soldiers fire a musketry volley whose detonations ring and echo and re-echo from the hills at the east to those whose wooded sides and crests loom up across the river to the west. While the echoes are still ringing, another command is heard, and immediately the whole assembly of white men unite in a great chorus of, almost two hundred voices shouting, "*Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi!*" No doubt the clearing and the forest that surrounded it had been filled with human voices before this day; the calls of Indian hunters or the ominous yells of savage warriors. And we know that in days to follow the multitudinous murmur of humanity is destined to invade this very spot in every increasing volume, as the pioneer, the settler, the soldier, the riverman, and the builders of state and republic come in turn to this gateway to the Ohio. The historical and authentic fact remains, however, that the first great chorus of civilized speech to be heard here was a hymn of Christian adoration to God, and that there followed fast upon that a pledge of loyalty to the duly constituted authority of secular government of men. At the foot of the tree which bore the royal arms the leaden plate<sup>18</sup> intended to serve as a monument of the occasion is now buried, and then Celoron and all

<sup>18</sup> "L'AN 1749, DV REGNE DE LOVIS XV, ROI DE FRANCE, NOVS CELORON, COMMANDANT D'VN DETACHIMENT ENVOIE PAR MONSIEVR LE MIS. DE LA GALLISSONIERE, COMMANDANT GENERAL DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE, POVR RETABLIR LA TRANQUILLITE DANS QUELQUES VILLAGES SAUVAGES DE CES CANTONS, AVONS ENTERRE CETTE PLAQUE A L'ENTREE DE LA RIVIERE, ET SUR RIVE SEPTEN TRIONALE DE KAN-

the officers of the expedition sign and witness the *Proces Verbal* that is the usual memorial of the ceremony.

The night bivouac follows. Sentinels are regularly posted in accordance with military usage. The Canadian *voyageurs* make sure that the canoes are securely fastened, groups of tired men cluster about in the flickering shadows of the fires, smoking their evening pipes and rehearsing the events of the day, until it is time to seek their beds of bear-skin for a slumber under the stars.

Thus ended the day, August 13th, 1749, on which began the recorded history of the spot now occupied by the city of Wheeling. Early the following day, while the haze of the morning mist was still hanging over the broad Ohio, the party of French was astir. The fires were freshened, the morning meal prepared, the canoes made ready, and before day was far advanced, Celoron's expedition was again on its way to the southwest, gliding calmly on the tranquil stream. The records of the voyage note that they passed two rivers of striking beauty, but not until the mouth of the Muskingum was reached was the ceremony of taking possession repeated. Here, on August 15th, the fourth plate was buried. At the mouth of the Great Kanawha a fifth was interred on August 18th, and the sixth and last, on the 31st of August, at the mouth of the Great Miami. From this point the expedition ascended the Miami to the head of canoe navigation, where the boats and part of the baggage were burned, and began the long and difficult portage through the wilderness to the French

---

OUOUIARA, QUI SE DECHARGE A LEST DE LA RIVIERE OYO, AUTREMENT BELLE RIVIERE, CE 13 AOUT, POUR MONUMENT DU RENOUVELLEMENT DE POSESSION QUE NOUS AVONS PRIS DE LA DITTE RIVIERE OYO, ET DE TOUTES CELLES QUI Y TOMBENT, ET DE TOUTES LES TERRES DES DEUX COTES JVSQVE AVX SOURCES DES DITTES RIVIERES, AINSI QV'EN ONT JOVI OU DV JOVIR LES PRECEDENTS ROIS DE FRANCE, ET QU'ILS S'Y SONT MAINTENVS PAR LES ARMES ET PAR LES TRAITTES, SPECIALEMENT PAR CEVX DE RISWICK, D'VTRECHT ET D'AIX LA CHAPPELLE."

"In the year 1749, of the reign of Louis XV, King of France, we Celoron, commander of a detachment sent by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissioniere, commandant-general of New France, to re-establish tranquillity in some savage villages of these cantons, have buried this plate at the entrance of the river, and on the north bank of the Kanououara, which, from the east, empties into the Ohio river, otherwise Beautiful river, this 13th of August, as a monument of the renewal of the possession we have taken of the said River Ohio, and of all those which empty into it, and of all the lands on both sides as far as the sources of the said rivers, just as the previous kings of France have enjoyed, or should have enjoyed them, and have maintained themselves there by arms and by treaties, especially by those of Riswick, of Utrecht, and of Aix la Chapelle."

post on the Maumee, the Miami of the Lake. Here, obtaining other boats from the garrison, Celoron floated down to Lake Erie. The further route homeward was by way of the lake, the portage of the Niagara river, Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence. Montreal was not reached until November 10th, 1749.

The purpose of the expedition was to assert formally the claim of France to the valley of the Ohio; to gain some official knowledge of its physical conditions and of the approaches to it; to ascertain what, if anything, the English were doing; to learn the temper and attitude of the Indians frequenting the region, and to win them to the French cause if they were disaffected. All these objects were attained except the securing of the loyalty of the red men. The expedition had revealed many things, among them it revealed clearly the deplorable condition of French interests in the basin of the upper Ohio.<sup>19</sup>

The advantageous position in which the cause of the English found itself in 1749 was due to the packmen from Pennsylvania. The most conspicuous and important of these was George Croghan, of whom Christopher Gist wrote from Logstown, "he is a mere idol among his countrymen, the Irish traders." Shrewd, brave, diplomatic, and generous, gifted with an intuitive vision and urged by an untiring loyalty to the interests of his colony, endeared to the Indians no less than to his fellows, Croghan was a most powerful element in the play of forces that at this time were preparing events in the Ohio basin. He was fully awake to the importance of keeping the friendship of the savages in the valley, and almost single-handed he guarded the interests of the neglectful and indifferent colonists beyond the mountains. Sir William Johnson, of New York, and Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, recognized his zeal and influence, and the latter especially availed himself of the services of Croghan on many occasions. When the news of Celoron's expedition reached the Pennsylvania governor, he at once sent Croghan to Logstown to learn

---

<sup>19</sup>Celoron concludes his *Journal* by saying that his journey to the posts on the Ohio and its tributaries had been one of more than twelve hundred leagues. "All that I can say is, that the tribes of those localities are very badly disposed towards the French and entirely devoted to the English. I do not know by what means they can be brought back. \* \* \* If we send to them for trade, our traders can never give our merchandise at English prices, on account of the costs that they are obliged to incur. Besides, I think it would be dangerous to make conditions easier for those who inhabit the Beautiful River than for those of our posts of Detroit, Miamis and others. It would depopulate our ancient posts and perpetuate the tribes on the Beautiful River, which are convenient to the English government."

the true nature and purpose of it and to ascertain the attitude of the Indians resulting from it. Croghan reached the Indian town in August, a few days after the French had left, and, after interviews with the red men, he was able to report favorably to Hamilton.

In November of the following year, 1750, the governor sent him on another mission, that of delivering a present to the Twightwee Indians, "to renew the chain of friendship" between the natives and the English. On this journey Croghan was accompanied by Andrew Montour, the interpreter, who was, like himself, a powerful force in the moulding of future conditions. While these two men were at the Wyandot village of Muskingum, there came to that place a third white man who is deserving of more than passing notice—Christopher Gist. He was a veteran woodsman and surveyor, whose home was near that of Daniel Boone on the Yadkin river on the far frontier of North Carolina. The governing committee of the Ohio Company had sent him out to explore the country in the Ohio valley and to select for them "good level land" in that region. In their instructions to him they wrote: "We had rather go quite down to the Mississippi than take mean, broken land." Gist kept a journal of his explorations, and it is the third authoritative record of a white man's travels in the Ohio valley, those of Celoron and Bonnechamp antedating it. Gist, unlike the Frenchmen, did not follow the river highway past the present site of Wheeling. He reached Logstown in November a few days after Croghan had left, and met with such a dubious welcome from the savages and white traders there that he was glad to push on to the southwest. At Great Beaver creek he met Barny Curran, a trader for the Ohio Company, and together they continued the journey as far as Muskingum.<sup>20</sup>

Here, as has been noted, Gist met Croghan and Montour. This meeting, fortuitous though it was, is noteworthy for what it suggests. These three men, Croghan, Montour and Gist, not only live in history because of their deeds as individual men of daring and energy, but they stand as types of the Pathfinders—the Trader, the Interpreter and the Woodsman—who blazed the way for the Pioneer. Their

---

<sup>20</sup>Gist's path crossed the Beaver at its mouth, where the town of Rochester now stands; from there it went northwest from the stream's mouth, passing over the present village of West Salem, Pa., to a point a little southeast from what is now New Lisbon, Ohio, on nearly the same line as the present road from Beaver to New Lisbon. Darlington gives the further details of the trail, which was through Columbiana, Carroll, Tuscarawas and Coshocton counties to Muskingum at the forks of the Muskingum river, where the city of Coshocton now stands.

presence here together at the Wyandot village in the depths of winter and in the very heart of the wilderness that lay between the Ohio and Lake Erie, gains additional significance when we remember that this was the region for which a great world-wide war was to be fought, that the time was the very eve of that war's beginning, and that pathfinders were the only men who could at all appreciate properly the prize at stake and the tremendous difficulties involved in its winning. Far away back beyond the Allegheny rampart the great mass of the English colonists were oblivious to this precious but undeveloped empire. And the few far-seeing and vigilant spirits in Virginia, Pennsylvania and New York who did catch a vision of what the future might hold, were playing at cross-purposes. But the pathfinders, the men on the far frontier skirmish-line, felt keenly the need of unity of purpose, mutual helpfulness, and concert of action. Croghan was the representative of Pennsylvania's governor, and Gist was the authorized agent of the Ohio Company, of Virginia. Though their principals on the safe side of the Appalachian barrier might be at dagger's-point in their jealous rivalry, the agents themselves here in the danger-zone did not hesitate to clasp hands and join forces. When Croghan had delivered his presents and messages of friendship to the Indians and made a compact with them, and when Gist had invited the Indians to attend a meeting with the commissioners of Virginia at Logstown the next spring "to receive a present of goods which their father, the King of Great Britain, had sent them," the two pathfinders went on together. The Shawnee town at the mouth of the Scioto was visited and they were warmly received there. Thence they turned to the northwest and rode along the forest path to Pickawillany, on the upper waters of the Great Miami. Here again were welcomes, and councils, speeches of friendship and a treaty of peace solemnly made between the English and the confederate tribes. On the first of March, Gist turned his face towards the Ohio again, and reaching it, crossed, and then started towards the east. The mountains about the sources of the Kanawha were crossed with toil and difficulty; and finally, after an absence of seven months, the indomitable woodsman reached his frontier home on the Yadkin. From there he went to Roanoke to make a report of his journey.

The hour that should see the beginning of the great conflict was approaching, slowly, it is true, but none the less inevitably. We have seen the scouts of two great civilizations inspecting the arena of the coming contest, and returning to report. It will not be amiss for us, even at the risk of some slight repetition, to limn again, though from

another angle, as clear a mental picture as we can of the great battleground and the approaches to it. The psychological attitude of the two great contestants likewise not only will be of interest, but will naturally force itself upon our comprehension as we advance in the study of the physical conditions that bear upon the story.

The English colonists in America followed the explorers and therefore came by way of the Atlantic. They found themselves landed upon a coastal plain, narrow in New England and at the Hudson, but widening more and more as Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia are approached. This plain is low and flat, the rivers are tidal within the



RELIEF MAP OF THE NORTHERN APPALACHIAN REGION.

With the Coastal plain on the southeast and the Allegheny plateau and the Lake plains on the northwest. From "Geographic Influences in American History"—Brigham (Ginn & Co.) Boston.

shore line and merge into sounds, like Albemarle or Pamlico, or into bays, like the Chesapeake or the Delaware. Moving westward in the path of the first colonists, we find ourselves in a hilly country—the fall line—where the streams which were slow and sluggish in the coastal plain come towards us across this boundary in swift reaches or over abrupt falls. This hilly belt in which we are now is the Piedmont region, and it extends from the Delaware in the north to Georgia

at the south, and lies at the foot of the Blue Ridge, a true mountain chain, which the Alleghenies are not. Having passed the Blue Ridge we find ourselves in a broad, fertile valley, often a dozen miles or more in width, and running far to the northeast and to the southwest. This is the great Appalachian Valley, called the Wallkill Valley in New York, the Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania and Maryland, and the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia. It is not the channel of a great river; the streams in it flow across it, and not through it. This Appalachian Valley, with its rich and fertile soils, was most tempting to the colonist, and made the heights that lay to the west seem more forbidding than they really were. He looked upon the rough and steep wall ahead of him and deemed it another mountain range like the one he had passed on his way from the seacoast. Instead of that, it is merely an escarpment or wall whose rocks lie flat and not on edge, although they are gashed and made rugged by stress of time and storm. When this wall is scaled one finds himself upon a plateau of parallel ridges and valleys, which, as a group, though not as individuals, reach from eastern New York into Alabama. These ridges often "break joints," like bricks in a wall, and it is not a matter of wonder that the explorer into the maze of this Allegheny plateau was easily disheartened. We know now that it is not a single elevation nor a disorderly group of heights, but a mountain system, with a plan that can be analyzed. But when the colonist found it, ridges and valleys alike were covered with forests. Having passed through a gap in the barrier he found a mountain before him; having painfully and laboriously through another gap found a trail around this obstacle, it was but to find another mountain ahead of him; to pass another gap was to encounter another mountain. We know now that this barrier is not interminable, and that after the plateau is passed, an easy slope leads down to the great central plain that is surrounded by the northern and western prairies. To the early colonists the Appalachian rampart was a real barrier, and we were justified in saying on a previous page, that the first English frontiersmen "sifted" through the Alleghenies. There were openings enough for westward migration, but they were small. There was no commanding route, no natural highway.

The pressure of population from ever increasing immigration into the English colonies was forcing the inhabitants against the Appalachian barrier, and passageways must needs be found through it sooner or later. On the part of the English, had there been a vision of the importance of the Trans-Allegheny territory, and a purpose and

settled policy to win a way into it, these, united to the daring endurance and self-trusting character of the British colonists, would have soon solved the problem. But the colonies were of heterogeneous structure, with clashing interests, torn by internal disputes, and in place of any definite policy and purpose, each colony, and every faction in each colony, was ruled by penny-wise and short-sighted economy. "The attitude of these colonies towards each other is hardly conceivable to an American of the present time. They had no political tie except a common allegiance to the British Crown. Communication between them was difficult and slow, by rough roads traced often through primeval forests. Between some of them there was less of sympathy than of jealousy kindled by conflicting interests or perpetual disputes concerning boundaries. The patriotism of the colonist was bounded by the lines of his government, except in the compact and kindred colonies of New England, which were socially united, though politically distinct. The country of the New Yorker was New York, and the country of the Virginian was Virginia. The New England colonies had once confederated; but, kindred as they were, they had long ago dropped apart. . . . . Nor was it this segregation only that unfitted them for war. They were all subject to popular legislatures, through whom alone money and men could be raised; and these elective bodies were sometimes factious and selfish, and not always far-sighted or reasonable. Moreover, they were in a state of ceaseless friction with their governors, who represented the king, or, what was worse, the feudal proprietary. These disputes, though varying in intensity, were found everywhere except in the two small colonies which chose their own governors. . . . . The occasion of difference mattered little. Active or latent, the quarrel was always present. . . . . divided in government; divided in origin, feelings and principles; jealous of each other, jealous of the Crown; the people at war with the executive, and, by the fermentation of internal politics, blinded to an outward danger that seemed remote and vague,—such were the conditions under which the British colonies drifted into a war that was to decide the fate of the continent."<sup>21</sup>

On the part of the French, there was a common policy and a fixed purpose, and a central organization with harmonious counsels. The English were stubbornly blind to the urgency of the situation. Even as late as 1753, when the French were actually on the Ohio, and Washington had brought back certain intelligence of their in-

---

<sup>21</sup>"Montcalm and Wolfe," Parkman.

tentions and views, the Virginians refused supplies to Governor Dinwiddie because they declared themselves "easy on account of the French." Matters were no better in the colonies of Pennsylvania and New York. The French, however, were fully awake to the importance of the Great Valley, and to the fact that war was inevitable if it was to be held by them. Moreover, they were alive to the value, from a military point of view, of the Forks of the Ohio. Here was the key to the whole situation. Whichever side could hold that spot securely would be master of the continent beyond. From the sea-coast there were many river avenues to the Appalachian range,—the Roanoke, the James, the Potomac, the Susquehanna, the Delaware, and the Hudson and Mohawk rivers; that rocky barrier once passed, however, there was one river only,—the Ohio. No matter through which gap in the Alleghenies the intruders from the east might come, they, one and all, when following the lines of least resistance, would be led to the Forks of the Ohio as if guided by the sloping sides of a funnel.

Here was the strategic position from the military aspect at least. As we shall see in a succeeding chapter, the era of the Pioneers brought into play other factors, making Wheeling and the region immediately about it more important than the forks to those seeking the Ohio after the French had left it forever. But while the possession of the Ohio was yet in dispute, the point where the Allegheny and the Monongahela join their waters had to be secured at all hazards. The English must find a road to it. The Pathfinders had already blazed a trail, and now the hour of the Roadmakers had come.

In 1750 a storehouse of the Ohio Company was built at Will's creek on the Potomac, the farthest out of Virginia's outposts towards the west. The Company, through the agency of the trained woodsman, Colonel Thomas Cresap, engaged a Delaware Indian, Nemacolin by name, to blaze a pathway from this place to the Monongahela river. The buffalo and the deer had already outlined the trail for the Indian; his task was to mark it for the white man by blazing with his tomahawk the trees that skirted it. It led from the Potomac to that point on the Monongahela where Red Stone Old Fort afterwards was built, and where Brownsville, Pennsylvania, now stands. This was the beginning of the most historic highway in America, to be made notable by scenes as memorable as any on the continent. The trail wound in and out through the Alleghenies, over the successive ranges known as Will's, Savage, and Meadow Mountains. From the latter it dropped down into Little Meadows. Here, in the open ground, covered with rank grasses, the first of the western water was crossed, a branch of

the Youghiogheny river. From "Little Crossings," as the ford was called, the narrow trail vaulted Negro Mountain and came down upon the upper Youghiogheny, this ford being named "Big Crossings." Another climb, over Briery Mountain, brought the traveler down into Great Meadows, the largest tract of open land in the Alleghenies. By a zig-zag climb of five miles the summit of the last of the Allegheny ranges—Laurel Hill—was reached.<sup>22</sup> From this point the road was comparatively easy to the Monongahela at the mouth of Redstone creek.

On July 16, 1751, Christopher Gist was commissioned by the committee of the Ohio Company to visit their grant of land in the west, and, among other things, he was "to look out & observe the nearest & most convenient Road you can find from the Company's Store at Will's Creek to a Landing at Monongeyela." He followed "Nemacolin's Path" and was perhaps the first white to travel it and leave a record of it.

As has been said already, there was no natural highway, no commanding channel from the east to the Ohio valley. Man had to carve a road where nature had made none for the westward course of empire through the Allegheny plateau. Carve it he did, in stress and strain, amid travail and tragedy. That road was wet with sweat of toil from the brows of hardy axemen, and marked with the blood from the hearts of heroes. The history of that road is a story in itself, full of romance and pathos, and the telling of it in full would entail the recital of the most spectacular tragedy in American history. Here, because of the limitations of our theme, we must remain content with painting the past in broad sweeps of the brush, showing hurriedly, and in impressionist fashion only, the master events that led to its making.

---

<sup>22</sup>Historic Highways, Washington's Road. Hulbert.

## 1194965

## CHAPTER II.

## THE WARS BEFORE SETTLEMENT.

"And now art thou come unto a feast of death."

The previous chapter has described the setting of the stage for the historical drama that has been enacted in the valley of the Ohio during the past century and a half. The first act of the drama presents the expeditions and military exploits of the war which preceded and cleared the way for the peaceful conquests by the pioneers and home builders.

The English and the Atlantic colonies, pushing their plans of military conquest and colonizing enterprise together, are preparing to make the first breach in the ramparts of the western mountain chains. Preceded by Celoron's reconnaissance and ceremonies of occupation, the French are also making ready for invasion. The scouts of either side have chosen the field. And now, before disclosing the panoramic progress of the sturdy but inconspicuous pioneer settlers, a brief chapter must tell of war.

The reader of history needs no rehearsal here of the major outlines of the Seven Years' War as it is known in Europe, or the French and Indian war as its American annals are called. The conflict involved France and England in a struggle for the mastery in America, concluding with Wolfe's tragic victory on the plain before Quebec in 1759. In Europe nearly all the great powers were participants on one side or the other, and the war was not formally ended until the treaty of Paris in 1763, when France relinquished to Great Britain all of the vast empire of New France, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from the Hudson's Bay to the Floridas.

It is with the scenes of this war enacted in the Ohio valley that attention must now be briefly called in order to fill the gap between the period of preparation and the coming of the pioneers. Recalling for that purpose the preliminary work of Celoron for the French, and of the Ohio Company's explorers for the English, this portion of the history may be quickly traversed.

The governorship of Canada for some years had been in weak hands, but early in 1752 the Marquis Duquesne was appointed to that office and at once began a most vigorous administration. One of his first acts was to make French possession of the Ohio valley something

more than constructive ownership. A line of military posts from the strongholds on the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi was the plan proposed. In furtherance of this scheme, a fort had been built at Presqu' Isle on Lake Erie, Fort Le Boeuf, where Waterford, Pennsylvania, now stands, and two others to the south, all four of them in what is now western Pennsylvania. These were located and garrisoned by the autumn of 1753, and the extension of the line of posts down the Allegheny and Ohio was to be taken up the following year.

The fur traders about the upper waters of the Ohio were the first to convey news of these French movements back to the English colonies. Virginia in particular was at once aroused by the reports. Governor Dinwiddie, a shrewd and obstinate Scot, and himself a member of the Ohio Company, was unusually watchful of the English pretensions in this quarter and perhaps of his own interests as well. He accordingly prepared a message to the French commandant, reiterating the claims of the English to this territory and requesting that the French withdraw their forces from the valley.

The messenger chosen by the governor was Major George Washington, who had barely attained his majority. Washington's biographers have given the governor great credit for the wisdom of this selection, and have probably magnified the whole affair because of the distinguished services which the messenger afterwards rendered to his country and the world. But for his eminent career in after life we should probably hear much less of this journey, though it proved the forerunner of very important events. Washington was a young man of good judgment, great physical strength and endurance, and being a surveyor was accustomed to the outdoor life and to finding his way through the trackless forest. These qualities fitted him for the position to which Dinwiddie assigned him. But, in addition to this, two of his half-brothers were members of the Ohio Company, and this probably influenced his selection.

Washington set out at once upon his journey, having a small party of interpreters, servants, and also for part of the way some Indian guides and hunters, one of whom was the later famous Gwaysuta. Christopher Gist was then living at Will's Creek, now Cumberland, and in his journal dated November 14, 1753, in this entry: "Came this day to my house at Wills Creek, Major George Washington with a letter from the Virginia council requesting me to accompany him to the commandant of the French forts on the Ohio." From Cumberland they followed westward along the Nemaquin's Path, which several years before had been traced across the mountains.

About ten days later they reached the Forks of the Ohio, which had not yet been occupied by the French, and which in his report Washington urged should be made the site of a company fort. On December 11th the surveyor arrived at Fort Le Boeuf, in the northwest corner of Pennsylvania, and presented the letter of Governor Dinwiddie to St. Pierre, the commandant. The English party were received with urbanity into the French outpost, and three days after their arrival Washington set out on his return. St. Pierre's reply to Governor Dinwiddie was a courteous but positive declination to retire from the Ohio valley.

The Dinwiddie letter and the reply, as also Washington's account of the journey, were widely published and read throughout the American colonies and in England, and revealed clearly to the English the true situation on the Ohio. But though it was so forcibly shown that the enemy were already sitting at the back door of the colonies, the threatened danger was practically ineffective in arousing any united resistance. At this time the colonies existed in isolation and independence of each other. Each had its own struggle and its domestic and external troubles, so that loyalty to British supremacy touched them lightly. No doubt, the enterprise of the Ohio Company about the waters of the Ohio created the impression among many that business interests were the main issues at stake, so that other colonies than Virginia, and, to less degree, Pennsylvania, had no vital concern in the matter. Virginia, indeed, voted ten thousand pounds to the cause. An expedition was organized, with Washington as one of the officers, and in February, 1754, a detachment of the main force arrived at the Forks of the Ohio and began the construction of a fort. But two months later, with the opening of spring, Captain Contrecoeur, with a thousand men, came down the Allegheny from the French posts. The little English garrison could make no resistance, and thus this first outpost of the English race on the western slope of the mountains passed to the possession of the enemy. And now beside the English building was quickly constructed a much stronger and larger post called Fort Duquesne.

In the meantime Colonel Washington was advancing with the main body of Virginians, and directed his course to the Ohio Company's store house at the mouth of the Redstone, where Brownsville now stands, but after a skirmish with a company of the French he fell back to a small open valley called Great Meadows, four miles west of Laurel Hill, there to await the attack of the enemy. On the Great Meadows was built Fort Necessity. On the 3rd of July the

French, outnumbering the English two to one, appeared and at once began the attack. Through a grey veil of mist and rain the fight was carried on until dark, when a parley was held. Washington's position, with his resources, was untenable, and he accepted the proposal to retire with colors flying, leaving only the artillery to the French. Thus the only English flag west of the Alleghenies was taken down, and Washington began his weary return to Will's Creek. Such, briefly, were the military episodes which constituted the beginning of the French and Indian war, a war that for nine years desolated the western borders, and which more than any other factor prepared the colonies for their successful resistance to Great Britain twenty years later.

Fort Duquesne was not even for its day a strong fortification, but the French very greatly added to its early strength by forming an alliance with the Indians. While it is true that both the English and French, with bribes and presents and treaties, tried to appease the wrath of the red men, yet the latter affiliated much more readily with the French than with the English. A chief reason for this was that the English were largely farmers, who cut away the forests and ruined the hunting grounds of the Indians, while the French in America dealt largely in furs and were not settlers in the real sense of the term. And as Parkman observes—"Spanish civilization crushed the Indian; English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him."

But now the English ministry was aroused to the necessity of drastic and immediate measures against the French encroachment. In 1754 three expeditions were organized for the colonial service. Two of these were directed against the north and northwest border along the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, while the third, which is of chief concern to this narrative, was under the command of General Edward Braddock, and its purpose was the reduction of Fort Duquesne.

The writers of history, whether in the substantial and erudite volume for the library and student or in the simple narratives that afford the American child his first glimpses of the national past, have never omitted the tale of Braddock's campaign of 1755. Such an oft-told story needs no repetition here. The disaster which met the English and colonial army on Braddock field, alongside the Monongahela a few miles east of Pittsburgh, is one of the most familiar events in American annals.

For the proper understanding of the historical development lead-

ing up to the settlement of Wheeling, attention should be called to only one or two points in this campaign. It is noteworthy that Braddock's army advanced into the western valley by way of Cumberland and thence followed Nemacolin's path through the mountains until the Youghiogheny was reached. The passage of an army, with its artillery and wagon trains, could only be effected over a fairly substantial though temporary roadway, and it is a matter of history that Braddock's road, as it came to be known, was for years afterwards the best defined and most used thoroughfare between the colonies and the upper Ohio valley. The enterprise of the Ohio Company in tracing this path, and the subsequent military expeditions that developed it into a real highway, produced results that entered directly into the making of the country along the Ohio, and were therefore more important than the brief military campaigns. For this route, thus established between east and west, led all the subsequent hosts of homeseekers and western travel down into the region of which Wheeling is one of the important centers. This may certainly be considered one of the efficient causes which brought about the founding of more than one town along the Ohio below the Forks.

The defeat of Braddock of course put a stop to all immigration to the Ohio country. The plans of the Ohio Company, as those of other colony-promoters and individual settlers, were frustrated or delayed for nearly ten years. Left to its natural course, the tide of settlement would have reached and occupied the entire western slope of the Alleghenies some fifteen years earlier than it did. The French themselves, with their detached forts and small garrisons, could not have prevented the steady advance of the English. But their allies, the Indians, were effective pickets and scouts whose methods of warfare fitted them perfectly for the work of harassment and devastation of the cabin homes along the valleys.

Spurred on by the temporary victory on Braddock field, the Indians became more hostile than ever, and more determined that the English should never obtain a foothold in this vicinity. The entire frontier in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, being unprotected, was subjected to their ravages. Many isolated settlers were driven back to their former eastern homes. They left their hard earned harvests ungathered; they saw their log-cabin homes in ashes, and their families murdered or carried away in captivity to Canada.

Through the autumn of 1755 the storm raged with devastating fury; but the following year brought some abatement to its violence. In 1757 the Delawares and kindred tribes in Pennsylvania were induced

to meet the provincial delegates at Easton and conclude a treaty of peace. This treaty, however, did not embrace the Indians of the Ohio, who composed the most formidable part of the Delawares and Shawnees, and who still continued their murderous attacks.

In 1758, under the more vigorous war policy pursued by Sir William Pitt, another expedition against Fort Duquesne was organized, with General John Forbes as commander. The Forbes expedition has received hardly a tithe of the fame attached to the previous and more disastrous campaign. In numbers his army was three times greater than Braddock's. Colonels Bouquet and Washington were in command of the provincial troops, and when the westward advance was begun it was decided to cut a new road entirely through the province of Pennsylvania rather than go by the old Braddock road. This was due to colonial jealousy rather than reasons of military superiority, but it is important to remember that hereafter the Forbes road, from Bedford west over the mountains to Pittsburg, was a rival route to the more southern way from Cumberland into the valleys of the Youghiogheny and Monongahela.

The Forbes army established Fort Ligonier on the west side of the Laurel Hill range, and between that point and Fort Duquesne the campaign was waged with varying success during the fall of 1758. The English made an ineffectual and ill-timed attack upon Fort Duquesne, and the French replied with a like unsuccessful attempt upon the camp at Ligonier. One important achievement of the English army was the construction of a wagon road fifty-six miles from Ligonier to the Forks of the Ohio, and when, towards the end of November, the road-building army had finally come within view of the French camp, Fort Duquesne and its surrounding buildings were in flames. The French garrison was too weak to attempt resistance, and so the gateway to the west fell into the power of the English. On this site, in 1759, rose the walls of the new Fort Pitt.

This conquest of the Ohio valley was made the easier because the French had lost the full support of their Indian allies. As soon as the tide of French success began to ebb, the red men, fearing the chastisement due them for their previous ravages, wavered in loyalty, and with the fall of Fort Duquesne sent their deputies to share in the provisions of the Easton treaty.

As the Braddock defeat had caused the abandonment of the trans-Allegheny region by English settlers, so the Forbes expedition again opened this alluring field. The construction of the Forbes road through Pennsylvania had been influenced chiefly by the desire to

facilitate the settlement of Western Pennsylvania. The newer road attracted many home-seekers to locate along its course, and in this respect militated considerably against the interests of Virginia and the Ohio Company, who had favored the older Braddock route as affording better facilities for the development of the regions south of the Ohio. But both roads were thenceforth avenues of immigration, and were highly beneficial in promoting the settlement and upbuilding of the country through which they passed.

Following the Forbes expedition came the first permanent settlers into the western valleys of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Early in 1759 most of the soldiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia were disbanded, and many of them with their families started west in search of new homes. Fort Ligonier and Fort Pitt were the chief military outposts in this western country, and proved the rallying points of settlement. But elsewhere, in the beautiful valleys of Pennsylvania and Virginia, a thin and scattered population was occupying the lands. The presence of the Indians, however, gave a war-like aspect to the whole frontier, even when hostilities of the French and Indian war had concluded with the victory at Quebec. At intervals, all along the border, small stockade forts had been erected by the joint labor of the inhabitants, and hither, on occasion of alarm, the settlers of the neighborhood congregated for refuge, remaining in tolerable security till the danger was past. Says Parkman: "In many a woody valley of the Alleghenies, the axe and firebrand of the settlers had laid a wide space open to the sun. Here and there about the clearing stood rough dwellings of logs, surrounded by enclosures and corn fields; while, farther out towards the verge of the woods, the fallen trees still cumbered the ground."

It was such practical endeavors in conquering a wilderness that characterized the genius of American settlers. And the word American is used advisedly in this connection, because in subduing the forest wilds and in pushing ever westward the borders of civilization there is little distinction to be found between the results obtained by the varying stocks of European nations that commingled and engaged as Americans in this titanic undertaking. The people who settled and did the pioneer work in this trans-Allegheny country were English and Scotch and Irish, Dutch and Swedes, were Puritans and Cavaliers, Quakers and Calvinists, Protestant and Catholic,—were Americans, and the frequent use of the word English is only for distinction from the French or Indians and is not descriptive of their racial origin.

In the remarkable achievements that have characterized our mate-

rial civilization, Americans have never, at least until recently, been content to occupy a country as trustees or overlords. Dominion to them has meant occupation, development and complete utilization of resources. The contrast with French and Spanish methods of new-world empire has already been noted. From the beginning the French showed a tendency to amalgamate with the forest tribes. But the borders of the English colonies showed no such phenomena of mingling races. Parkman describes the spirit of these frontier settlers. "Rude, fierce and contemptuous, they daily encroached upon the hunting grounds of the Indians, and then paid them for the injury with curses and threats. Thus the native population shrank back from before the English, as from before an advancing pestilence; while, on the other hand, in the very heart of Canada, Indian communities sprang up, cherished by the government, and favored by the easy-tempered people."

In February, 1763, in the treaty which brought formal peace to England and France and their allies, the French possessions east of the Mississippi were ceded to the English. To the Indian inhabitants this action appeared to have been taken in complete disregard of their rights in the territory. Hitherto, in the struggle between the two rival European nations on this continent, the native tribes had, in some measure, held the balance of power, and their importance was rated accordingly. But now the English alone held undisputed ascendancy, and the Indians could henceforth but regard them as enemies to their own existence. They viewed with wrath and fear the steady progress of the white man, whose settlements had already passed the Allegheny barrier and were eating away the forest like a spreading canker. "Already their best hunting grounds were invaded, and from the eastern ridges of the Alleghenies they might see, from far and near, the smoke of the settlers' clearings, rising in tall columns from the dark green bosom of the forest. The doom of the race was sealed, and no human power could avert it; but they, in their ignorance, believed otherwise, and vainly thought that, by a desperate effort, they might yet uproot and overthrow the growing strength of their destroyers."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, briefly stated, were the causes of Pontiac's war. Uprisings of the western Indians had already been narrowly averted in 1761 and 1762. But now, within a few weeks after the announcement of the treaty of Paris, "a plot was matured, such as was never before or since, conceived or executed by a North American Indian. It was

---

<sup>1</sup>Parkman, Conspiracy of Pontiac.

determined to attack all the English forts upon the same day; then, having destroyed their garrisons, to turn upon the defenseless frontier, and ravage and lay waste the settlements, until, as many of the Indians fondly believed, the English should all be driven into the sea, and the country restored to its primitive owners."

The scenes of frightful massacre and depredation accompanying the Pontiac conspiracy were outside the region covered by this history of Wheeling and vicinity. The western frontier had not yet extended to include this territory. Yet, in studying the background of history to this narrow Panhandle of Virginia, it is essential to comprehend the chief facts of this war, for it was one of the retarding influences which affected the development of the Ohio valley.

The French in America, to revenge their defeat, did much to arouse Pontiac and his followers to this war. They misinterpreted for their credulous Indian friends the conquest and the terms of the treaty, and the patent dangers which threatened the red men they hesitated not to augment by misrepresentation and falsehood. England, in fact, some months after the treaty of Paris, had proclaimed that the valley of the Ohio and the adjacent regions should be left as an Indian domain, and strictly prohibited the intrusion of settlers upon these lands. But this measure was published on the frontier too late, for already the forests of the west were filled with painted savages bent upon relentless warfare.

"The woods were now filled with war parties, and soon the first tokens of the approaching tempest began to alarm the unhappy settlers of the frontier. At first, some trader or hunter, weak and emaciated, would come in from the forest, and relate that his companions had been butchered in the Indian villages, and that he alone had escaped. Next succeeded vague and uncertain rumors of forts attacked and garrisons slaughtered; and soon after, a report gained ground that every post throughout the Indian country had been taken, and every soldier killed. Close upon these tidings came the enemy himself. The Indian war parties broke out of the woods like gangs of wolves, murdering, burning, and laying waste; while hundreds of terror-stricken families, abandoning their homes, fled for refuge towards the older settlements, and all was misery and ruin."

"Along the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, terror reigned supreme. The Indian scalping parties were ranging everywhere, laying waste to the settlements, destroying the harvests, and butchering men, women and children with ruthless fury. Many hundreds of wretched fugitives flocked for refuge to Carlisle and the other towns of the border, bringing tales of inconceivable horror. Strong parties of armed men,

who went out to reconnoitre the country, found every habitation reduced to cinders, and the half-burned bodies of the inmates lying among the smoldering ruins; while here and there was some miserable wretch, scalped and tomahawked, but still alive and conscious."<sup>2</sup>

It was estimated that two thousand persons on the borders had been killed or carried off, and nearly an equal number of families driven from their homes.

The conspiracy of Pontiac failed, as every other Indian rebellion has failed, though at a cost of human life that must be considered among the liabilities of our nation to the end of time. In the summer of 1763 Colonel Bouquet led an army of British and provincial troops to the relief of Forts Ligonier and Pitt, both of which had been sorely besieged, and at Bushy Run the Allegheny Indians, under the redoubtable chieftain, Guyasuta, were beaten and dispersed in one of the most fiercely contested battles ever fought in America between white men and Indians. The year following this battle, Bouquet organized a force which set out from Fort Pitt and invaded the Indian country as far as the Muskingum valley in Ohio. He baffled the savages at every point and so chastised them that they were glad to sue for peace. The result was the "treaty of Bouquet," in 1764.

Comparative quiet prevailed along the borders for some years after this treaty. Both the English and the Indians now desired some definite boundary between them. Prior to the Bouquet treaty, the Allegheny mountains had formed a sort of boundary line between the white and red men. The comparative tranquillity which succeeded the treaty for a few years afforded the opportunity, which was promptly seized by the more adventurous and enterprising settlers of Virginia and Maryland, to penetrate the defiles of the mountains, and attempt the hazardous venture of establishing settlements on the borders of the Ohio and Monongahela rivers. These efforts proved successful, and thenceforward the Ohio became the boundary line between the civilized and savage races.

For a period of about ten years, war and the coming and going of large military expeditions ceased in the Ohio valley. The field had at last been cleared. The French had retired as contenders for the western empire. The resistance of the Indians in organized warfare had been broken. To subdue the wilderness with axe and plow was a task no less arduous, and to that phase of history this narrative is now come.

---

<sup>2</sup>Parkman.

## CHAPTER III.

## COMING OF THE PIONEERS.

"All the past we leave behind,  
We debouch upon a newer, mightier world,  
Pioneers! O Pioneers!"

During the last three decades of the eighteenth century fully two thousand homes were established in the region now known as the Panhandle of West Virginia. Ten thousand persons were living here in the year 1800, and it is reasonable to conclude that double that number had come into this region, or had been born here, and had been sufficiently identified with the country to be considered among the residents of that period. Several thousand families, therefore, had become pioneers during these thirty years.

Such, in round numbers, were the people who are to be considered under the title of the Coming of the Pioneers. Each family and almost every individual had experiences which, if known and described, would comprise a story of pioneer life. It is the destiny of the human race that from one generation hardly a tithe remain as direct descendants after the passage of one century of time. It is difficult to collect even the names of those who came, lived and bore their varied parts in the drama of humanity enacted here during the closing years of the eighteenth century. Comparatively few of those true pioneers are yet represented in name or direct descent in Wheeling and vicinity. The individual stories of some such families are related in this work. The majority, however, are buried under the drift of time, and only the careful genealogist may find here and there a name, or date, or incident, with which to piece out a meagre account of family lore.

In this chapter it is of course impracticable to trace the coming of several thousand pioneers as individuals. But taking them collectively or in large groups, it will be possible to describe their coming and explain some things that will interpret them and their times to the present. A volume might be written of the indefinite and disconnected details and incidents of the pioneer period. Hence, to give coherence to the following paragraphs, care must be exercised to discriminate and select from the mass of facts.

A hundred questions might be asked, and many remain unanswered, concerning those people who first took up homes in the

David Shepherd

Jonathan Zane

Moses Chapin

John Walbeck

Noah Zarnad.

John Laddell.

localities about Wheeling. What were the incentives for people to come out into this wilderness, and whence they came; how they procured land, and what, in general, were the regulations for disposing of the public domain in this vicinity; what kind of men were the pioneers, and what elements of character and civilization they brought with them; who were the more prominent among the early settlers about Wheeling, and what points were first chosen for settlement; and what social relations and economic conditions prevailed during the pioneer era—such are some of the chief questions that our modern inquiry would seek to have answered.

It is much easier to accept the manifest fact that the tide of immigration did pour over the mountain barriers into the west, than to explain the causes which impelled men thus to forsake the older country for the new. The philosophy of civilization rather than history must be called in to describe the deeper impulses which guide mankind into the untried and inhospitable regions of the world. Above and outside of the immediate and practical motives that urge men to and fro on this earth crust, are undoubtedly forces, dimly or not at all perceived by their possessors, which fascinate and lure them into the untracked wilderness.

The west has always typified the wonderful and romantic, and has drawn the strong and adventurous to it as a magnet. Ulysses could not rest from travel, and his gray spirit yearned in desire to follow knowledge like a sinking star. That ancient hero was a prototype of many an American pathfinder and pioneer. Men of Boone's type were driven by a restless longing to know and possess the west. To state the matter briefly, it is a truth as old as history that mankind has ever been seeking new avenues of activity; and as the progress of the race has nearly always been from east to west, every great age has been notable for western discovery, adventure and romance.

But some immediate and practical reasons can be found for the movement into the Ohio valley during the latter half of the eighteenth century. It seems strange that at a time when the population of the Atlantic colonies numbered less than three millions, or less than are now gathered under the jurisdiction of either one of our two largest cities, there should exist such a thing as "land hunger." But such was the case. This is partly explained in the fact that urban and industrial life had yet hardly begun in the east, particularly in the colonies south of New England. Agriculture and the pursuits of the forest (hunting and trapping) were the basic industries, which flourished where the population to the square mile was very small. Under

the liberal grants of the crown and the subdivision by crown patentees, practically all the better lands of the seaboard were under individual ownership—much of it in the huge plantations of Virginia and Maryland.

For the self-reliant homeseeker, who had to depend on his own efforts rather than on those of a retinue of servants, the opportunities were already restricted. Many, too, by choice or necessity, had to supplement the production of the fields by the fruits of the chase. For this class, the hunting grounds were only less desirable to the whites than to the red men. The western Alleghenies, therefore, with their fertile valleys which on a few acres would produce abundance of corn, flax and tobacco, cattle and sheep, and where the great forest areas abounded with game, offered hope and prosperity to the poor and enterprising.

The enterprise of the Ohio Company in securing a grant of lands southeast of the Ohio river and attempting to colonize there, has been described. This was not the only undertaking of the kind in this region. The "Greenbrier Company" in 1751 received a grant on the Greenbrier river, and another company had an enormous tract of land further south. The colonizing of new and sparsely settled portions of the country has been so familiar an enterprise in modern times that these early schemes require no explanation. It is of interest to know that the western land agent was familiar to the American people more than a century and a half ago. The principal result of such undertakings was to turn popular attention to the west, so that thousands from Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas adventured into the transmontane wilderness, some in search of homes and some to speculate. The French war practically put an end to the operation of the land companies, but the pioneer movement itself was only halted for a few years.

Partly in anticipation of and partly as a result of Indian troubles, the government, as has been mentioned in the preceding chapter, interdicted the intrusion of whites upon the lands of the Ohio valley. This prohibition was published in the fall of 1763, about the time Pontiac's war was at its height. The terror of the red warriors restrained immigration more than did the royal order. With the cessation of hostilities, the king's proclamation became practically a dead letter. One writer says "The hardy pioneer cared no more for the king's proclamation than he did for the bark of a wolf at his cabin door. The ink with which the document was written had not dried before emigrants from Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania were

hurrying into the valley of the Monongahela." The headwaters of the Monongahela and those of the Great Kanawha were particular resorts for this early emigration, and in those valleys were the first homes built in the Ohio basin.

By 1770 the population of the Monongahela country, including Pittsburg, was estimated at fifteen hundred. Nearly all had come since the Pontiac war, and most of them in defiance of the prohibition against settlement. The white people everywhere were encroaching upon the Indian border, and the situation gave promise of another Indian war. At this crisis, Sir William Johnson had convened the tribes of the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, in the fall of 1768, and in the treaty of that date and place had purchased all claims of these tribes to the lands east and south of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers. Though the Delawares and Shawnese in Ohio and other minor tribes were not represented or consulted in this convention, the treaty was considered to have opened to settlement all the country between the Atlantic slope and the borders of the Ohio valley, extending west to the mouth of the Tennessee river.

The six years intervening between this treaty and the beginning of the Revolution were wonderful years in the settlement of western Pennsylvania, and western Virginia. In an incredibly brief time a thousand clearings appeared in the Black Forest south of the Ohio between Fort Pitt and the Falls of the Ohio at Louisville. "Already in 1770, settlers were moving steadily on, and there was a proposal in the air to found a colony on the lands ceded at Fort Stanwix and call it Pittsylvania. The packhorse and the shirt of jeans, buckskin leggings scraping together with lithe steps, were seen and heard everywhere along the route, whether by Fort Bedford and Loyalhannon, or by Fort Cumberland and Redstone Old Fort. Plunging into the shelter of the large timber of the Kanawha and its branches, startling the elk, the bear, and the wild turkey, often following the beaten 'traces' of the buffalo, the pioneers opened of themselves the paths which Captain Legge had thought to have done by an organized company of axemen. Blazing a tree near a spring, they marked it with a date and the acreage, and established the tacitly recognized 'Tomahawk Claim'; or clearing and planting, they established what passed under the designation of a 'corn title.'"<sup>1</sup>

The disposition of the western lands followed no one method. The grant to the Ohio Company was one plan. About 1770 it was

---

<sup>1</sup>Winsor, "The Western Movement."

proposed that this grant should be swallowed up in a much larger grant, to the Walpole Company. But the operation of these land companies, beyond stimulating interest and promoting emigration, was never carried to successful completion. So far as known, none of the lands in this vicinity were originally obtained from or through the medium of these companies.

Settlement was often made through what was known as a "military permit." To the commandants of the western forts, such as Fort Pitt, was delegated the power under certain restrictions to grant military permits to anyone to settle on and cultivate and improve lands near the forts or on the military trails leading from one fort to another. This was necessary to provide sustenance for the garrison, the settlers being able to raise farm products in sufficient amount to supply the soldiers. The commandants did not grant absolute titles, but provisions were afforded for perfecting the settlement rights thus acquired.

Thousands of acres about the upper waters of the Ohio were covered by the grants made by Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia to the officers and soldiers who took part in the campaigns of the French and Indian war. Washington himself vigorously prosecuted these claims both for himself and for his fellow soldiers. It will be found that many tracts in the Virginia Panhandle were obtained through military warrants, based on service during the campaigns preceding the Revolution.

Reference has been made to the "tomahawk" and "corn" titles. Many of the military claims were never proved up by actual settlement. Washington himself owned many thousands of acres in western Virginia, acquired partly through grants for his military service and partly by purchase of other warrants. There was a brisk trade in the military warrants among land speculators in the east, and many were not so scrupulous as Washington. Against the non-resident claimants under military or other warrants were arrayed the actual settlers. Many of these came over the mountains and with the sturdy independence of frontiersmen located upon unoccupied lands, built their cabins, made the clearings for crops, and were then prepared, as *de facto* settlers, to contest by the simple rules of border justice any claimant who might exhibit an official document for possession of the little homestead. The actual settlers sometimes blazed the trees as evidence of their claim, this act giving origin to the term "tomahawk claims." But speculators and land sharks, of which there were many in this region, employed the same means of registering title

to valuable land. Thus, throughout western Pennsylvania and Virginia, often on lands where a settler's cabin already stood, the trees were carved with individual marks of ownership. Confusion and fraud were inevitable results. Often the enterprising land sharks would sell their tomahawk titles to easterners, who after journeying over the mountains would find themselves confronted with an actual settler upon their land.

"Land," says Doddridge, "was the object which invited the greater number of these people to cross the mountains, for as the saying was then, 'It was to be had here for taking up,'—that is, building a cabin and raising a crop of grain, however small, entitled the occupant to four hundred acres of land, and a preemption right to one thousand acres more adjoining, to be secured by a land-office warrant. This right was to take effect if there happened to be so much vacant land, or any part thereof, adjoining the tract secured by the settlement right. At an early period the government of Virginia appointed three commissioners to give certificates of settlement rights. These certificates, together with the surveyor's plat, were sent to the land office of the state, where they laid six months, to await any caveat which might be offered. If none was entered, the patent was then issued."

A dissertation on the land question in the region between the Alleghenies and the Ohio would fill a volume. The brief statement just given concerning the different methods by which the lands were disposed of will suffice to indicate the confusion which attended the attempts of the pioneers to secure homes in this region. There were many cases of individual loss and hardship resulting from the conflicting claims. Land sharpers so infested such points as Brownsville that many of the settlers became disgusted and moved to the far edge of the frontier. This trouble over lands, and the presence about some of the older centers of settlement in the west of criminals and outlaws from the east, undoubtedly influenced much of the restless movement which characterized the pioneer settlement. The better class of settlers preferred the dangers and isolation of the unbroken wilderness to the contentions and rough social conditions which prevailed in some of the more settled parts of the country.

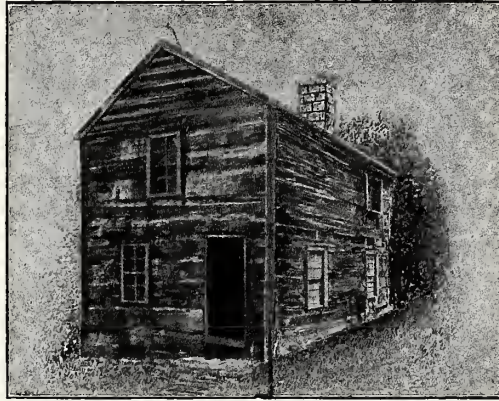
Since men first began to extend hospitality to strangers, their primary curiosity has formed the questions "who are you?" and "whence have you come?" History itself asks these questions concerning the settlers of any locality, be it state or county. Our knowledge of the pioneers at Wheeling and vicinity would be incomplete were these ages-old, simple queries unanswered.

The biographies of the pioneer families of the Panhandle reveal the fact that by far the greater number came over the mountains from Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland; a few came from New Jersey, and here and there were New Yorkers and New Englanders. Sometimes the first American generations of the family had lived in one of those colonies, but more often the families had remained on the Atlantic seaboard only a few years before pushing into the wilderness. This fact of brief colonial residence has considerable significance. Perhaps largely on that account, these people in the Ohio valley were less distinctively Virginians, Marylanders and Pennsylvanians, and more characteristically westerners in their customs and activities. As to their laws and civil procedure they were of Virginia, but beyond these formal ties they had no more in common with the typical east Virginians than they had with the people of the old Penn colony or Maryland.

More important than their previous American residence is a knowledge of their racial stock—did they come to America from England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland or other European countries? It is remarkable how uniform was the racial origin of the early settlers about Wheeling. Into the North of Ireland, during the seventeenth century, had gone a great body of Protestant Scotch, and from that time to the present, though the original stock has become racially intermingled and permanently a part of the Irish people, there are yet marked religious and political differences between the inhabitants of Ulster and adjacent sections of North Ireland and the rest of the island's population. About the middle of the eighteenth century began a rush of emigration of the North of Ireland, Ulster in particular, as a result of which thousands of these "Scotch-Irish" came to America. While many of them were dispersed through the seaboard colonies, in the main they sought homes in the western mountain regions of North Carolina, Virginia and Pennsylvania. It was estimated that from 1771 to 1773 about twenty-five thousand of these people arrived at Philadelphia and Newcastle, and most of them joined in the rush for western lands. Such were the people who outnumbered every other racial stock about the headwaters of the Ohio. They were Presbyterians in religion, and it is notable that in Washington county, Pennsylvania, was developed, from pioneer times, one of the greatest centers of Presbyterian influence in America.

Besides this large proportion of population who either directly or after some years' residence on the Atlantic seaboard had come hither from Ireland, there were in less numbers representatives of the

English stock, transplanted from the tidewater Virginia and Maryland; some Germans from Pennsylvania and New Jersey; and not a few of the cosmopolites who acknowledged and possessed no characteristics that would identify them with any previous lineage and country.



A Log Cabin of Early Wheeling.

Here among the hills and along the beautiful valleys, when all these immigrants were gathered, they presented not so much the characteristics of Scotch, Irish or English, Presbyterians or Quakers, native or foreign, as of frontiersmen one and all. They were the restless hunters and the sturdy, dauntless and home-building farmers. They were self-reliant by nature and experience; they fought the Indian and overcame the stubborn powers of the wilderness with the stolid courage of a Saracen host, but they ate their daily bread and guided their thoughts in the fear of God. Many were unlettered, rough and uncouth; they were not of the class that furnished the dandies of colonial society in the east. Woodcraft, the versatile skill of a Crusoe, expertness with the rifle in the hunt and in defense of the lonely cabin—these were first in the catalogue of accomplishment on the frontier. They were soldiers, not by profession, but as militia-men skilled to the highest degree as fighters against the implacable foes of their farms and firesides. Along with their rifles they brought the axe and the plow. They did not conquer for the rewards of military fame, but for the sake of their wives and children. The pioneer axe that cleared the forest and the pioneer plow that disclosed the soil for the waving crops of corn and wheat shared more than equally

with the implements of war in bringing about the development of the material civilization of the central west.

In a brief chapter that follows will be found, in the lists of those that took the oath of allegiance during the Revolutionary war, the most complete roll of early pioneers that can be obtained in documentary form. Outside of this pioneer census only brief space can be given to the establishment of homes about Wheeling by the individual families.

It will be remembered that the Fort Stanwix treaty in the fall of 1768 formally established the Ohio river as the boundary between the whites and the Indians. In the following year, therefore, it would be expected that land prospecting would be extended to the western limits of this new white man's domain. The year 1769, indeed, is the date assigned, and supported by many accounts, to the first settlement—that by Ebenezer, Silas and Jonathan Zane at the mouth of Wheeling creek. These three brothers in that year are said to have made “tomahawk claims” and built a cabin, where Silas Zane remained while the other two returned to Brownsville for their families and goods.

In October, 1770, Washington journeyed from Fort Pitt down the Ohio, examining the lands for the extensive claims of himself and associates. In his journal he refers to a creek coming in from the east. “This creek empties just at the lower end of an island and is 70 or 80 yards wide; and I fancy it is the creek commonly called by the people of Redstone, Wheeling.” It is rather strange that Washington makes no mention of a settlement here. That fact is not sufficient of itself to disprove the existence of cabins and clearings along the shore. In the first book of surveys for Ohio county lands, in which each “description” contains the date of settlement or laying of the warrant, the earliest date mentioned is 1770. In most cases the pioneer preceded his actual settlement with a prospecting trip, during which he would select the site for his home, “tomahawk” his claim, or, in some cases, make a small clearing and erect a cabin, after which he would return to the east and bring out his family. These facts may explain why there were no visible evidences of settlement along the east bank of the Ohio when Washington came down the river in 1770. The years 1769 and 1770 were a time of preparation for settlement rather than actual occupation. Aside from the meagre data to be obtained from contemporary records, the determination of the precise time when settlements were made must be left to the more

Silas Zane.

John Boggs

David McElwain

Ebenezer Lane

Sam. McColloch

Isaac Linsley.

or less traditional accounts which can be found in the various publications on the individual histories of pioneer families.

The Zanes were undoubtedly first to arrive at Wheeling. But closely following them were the Caldwell, the Wetzell, the Woods, the Boggs and other families. Col. David Shepherd located at the forks (now Elm Grove) and others along the creek were Thomas Mills and Conrad Wheat.

Down the river, in what is now Marshall county, in 1770 or a little later, were settled the McMechens and, at Grave creek, Joseph Tomlinson, the pioneer of Moundsville. A list of the residents about Grave creek in 1777 will be found in the account of conditions there during the Revolution (see chapter on Indian Strife).

North of Wheeling, in Beech Bottom, the Hedges family were pioneers; on Short creek were the McCullochs, the Wells, the Hervey and other families, while the Coxes were first to settle at the mouth of Buffalo creek on the site of Wellsburg.

The last enquiry concerns the homes and living conditions of these pioneers. On this subject the classic work is Dr. Joseph Doddridge's "Notes on the settlement of western Virginia and Pennsylvania," written about 1824, by a scrupulous chronicler whose own memory supplied most of the material for the notes, and at a time when many of the first generation of pioneers were still alive. Doddridge's work has been the basis for nearly every account published of the pioneer life not only for the immediate vicinity from which he gained his observations, but for the entire range of country in the central colonial section which was settled during the last half of the eighteenth century. Acknowledgment is made to these "Notes" for the principal substance of the following paragraphs concerning pioneer living conditions.

It will assist in comprehending the limitations of existence on the frontier by noting some of the important facilities which the pioneers did not have. There is record of two mills for grinding grain in Ohio county about 1777 (Anderson's and Boggs' mills), but during the first years of settlement every home was provided with the "hominy block" or hand mill, a rough "mortar and pestle" affair by which corn was pounded for cooking as hominy or baking as bread. An improvement on this was the "tub mill," consisting of two circular stones set in a tub or barrel, the upper stone being revolved by means of a long sweep as a lever. The grain between the stones was thus ground into meal.

There were no tanneries. Every settler acquired the fundamentals in the art of tanning the hides of game and domestic cattle. This home-made leather was used in many ways, for clothing, shoes, caps, door hinges, etc. The making of shoes and moccasins was one of the home industries.

Iron foundries and glass factories did not exist west of the Alleghenies until the last decade of the century, when both iron and glass were being manufactured in Pittsburgh. Such quantities of iron and glass as were used during the pioneer era about Wheeling were transported over the mountains from the east. The result was that such articles were only used where no substitute could be found. It was an age of wood, and with the exception of the gun and broad-axe, the knives, the iron shoe of the plow, and a few other implements, the ingenuity of the pioneers was taxed to the utmost to contrive from the native supplies of stone and wood all the utensils and implements needed for home and husbandry. It is said that not a single iron nail entered into the construction of Fort Henry. The houses were all put together with wooden pins. During the first decade of the nineteenth century all the window glass used at Wheeling had to be imported from a considerable distance. Greased paper was a common substitute for window glass, but as paper itself was all too rare during the first years it is probable that in many cabins, when the board or hide shutters were closed over the window openings, the room had no light from the outside save such as came in through the cracks.

Mr. Doddridge states that carpenters, tailors, cabinet workmen, shoemakers and weavers did not exist in that pioneer society. It is true that practically every family included in its own economy the work usually performed by those special trades. But in the records of the old Ohio county court, during the latter '70s, several minors were bound out to learn "the art and mystery" of the weaver and the "taylor," so that these trades were not altogether lacking in this country.

Almost every house contained its loom, and every woman was a weaver. The carding and spinning of wool, and of flax, and the weaving of the threads into cloth, were accomplishments as necessary to women of that age as the arts of plain and fancy sewing were to the housewives of a later generation. Some of the fabrics woven by the grandmothers of a century ago are still prized relics among families now living in Wheeling.

"The furniture for the table, for several years after the settlement of this country, consisted of a few pewter dishes, plates and spoons; but mostly of wooden bowls, trenchers and noggins. If these last were scarce, gourds and hard-shelled squashes made up the deficiency. The iron pots, knives and forks were brought from the east, with the salt and iron, on pack-horses.

"These articles of furniture corresponded very well with the articles of diet. 'Hog and hominy' were proverbial for the dish of which they were the component parts. Johnny-cake and pone were, at the outset of the settlement of the country, the only forms of bread in use for breakfast and dinner. At supper, milk and mush was the standard dish. When milk was not plenty, which was often the case, owing to the scarcity of cattle, or the want of proper pasture for them, the substantial dish of hominy had to supply the place of them. Mush was frequently eaten with sweetened water, molasses, bear's oil, or the gravy of fried meat.

"In our whole display of furniture, the delf, china and silver were unknown. It did not then, as now, require contributions from the four quarters of the globe to furnish the breakfast table, viz.: the silver from Mexico, the coffee from the West Indies, the tea from China, and the delf or porcelain from Europe or Asia."

The Indian trails and the pioneer paths by which the settlers came into the country and by which they passed from one valley community to another are elsewhere described. The block-house and the road were facilities that assume a certain social commingling. It is sometimes customary to think of the pioneer as living an isolated existence, without any of the amenities which go with association and companionship. In many portions of the great American west the first families lived in homes so remote from each other that weeks would often pass during which the members of one family would not see either neighbor or stranger. This could hardly have been true of the population along the border of the Ohio river during the last three decades of the eighteenth century. As the most exposed and dangerous line of the frontier, a certain degree of co-operation was forced upon the settlers. Again and again, and sometimes for weeks at a time, all the families of the neighborhood lived under the protection of the forts and block-houses. Scouts and messengers were almost daily passing about from cabin to cabin giving warning or seeking news of recent traces of the enemy. In this way families kept in touch with one another, and while the graces of society could hardly flourish under such conditions nevertheless the elements of social relations were maintained.

Not alone in defense from Indians did the pioneers co-operate and meet on common grounds. Doddridge describes those typical

features of pioneer life—the log rollings, the house-raisings, and other occasions when the people, men, women and children, joined in the performance of some of the hardest labors in connection with frontier development. While the first settlers, either alone or in groups of two or three, constructed their own cabins and cleared the trees for the first crops, later it was not unusual for all the people in the neighborhood to meet on an appointed day to hew and notch the logs and raise them into place for a dwelling for some newcomer in the settlement. Or when the trees had been felled over the area proposed for a grain field, all the neighbors would assemble and roll off the logs and burn them in heaps. Elsewhere is mentioned the co-operative undertaking in sending pack-trains over the mountains for the annual supplies. In cases of sickness, too, the friends of the family came to the cabin with their simple comforts and rough but kindly sympathy.

The conditions of pioneer existence did not favor the growth of schools and churches. As elsewhere made clear, the training of the backwoods child emphasized the skill of woodcraft and the resourcefulness of the body rather than knowledge of the letters and cultural arts which were almost negligible factors in the life of the wilderness. It is not improbable that the pioneer mother, as she sat at the spinning wheel, gave instruction to her children in some of the fundamentals of letters and figures. The few families of that time who were well-to-do, comparatively speaking, may have sent their children back east to some boarding school for a few months. There is record of an itinerant missionary who preached on Wheeling creek as early as 1772, most of his auditors being Indians. Religious services were held in Fort Henry during its existence, and probably in some other of the cabins and block-houses of the country. Most of the pioneers brought with them settled convictions and the hard theology of the period, and even in the absence of congregational devotion believed and inculcated in their children the principles of religious life.

The records of the old Ohio county court during the first two or three years after the organization of the county contain only one or two cases that would be called criminal offenses. Trials over trespass, and ejectment, indicate the usual quota of quarrels over property, and a few cases of debt were brought to court. Aside from the contentions arising from the confusion in settling up the lands, it is unlikely that the peace of the community was often broken by the troubles which accompany the higher development and closer social relations of the period when the country becomes well settled and town and city life begins. The pioneers were constantly facing the difficulties of the

wilderness and the dangers from external foes, and in such conditions domestic strife was confined to the temporary and petty quarrels which arise in every class and period of social existence.

From this consideration of the domestic conditions which characterized pioneer life, the next subject to take our attention will be the long period during which life and property were imperiled by the menacings and attacks of outside foes—the Indians.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE FORESWEARING OF KING GEORGE III IN OHIO COUNTY.

"Some memorial of them, be it but a name, may survive in the world of men."

In a time-worn record book of the Ohio county archives, the entries in which were made during the period of the Revolutionary war, the first seven pages are the transcribed lists of male citizens of Ohio county who in 1777 and 1778 took or refused the oath of allegiance to the commonwealth of Virginia, the several lists being signed by individual justices of the county. These lists, hitherto unpublished, contain the most comprehensive census of citizens living in the Ohio county of that time, and probably few escaped the test of loyalty. In want of other evidence, these lists establish an official proof of settlement in this vicinity at or before the years 1777-8 for families that still have numerous descendants in this region. Before giving the lists as they stand in the record, it should be noted that Ohio county, as then bounded, extended from Cross creek on the north to the mouth of Middle Island creek on the south, and from the Ohio river eastward so as to include the present townships of Hopewell, Independence, Buffalo, Blaine, Donegal, East Finley and West Finley, and parts of Canton and Franklin in Washington county, Pennsylvania; also about the western one-third of Greene county; and including the present Wetzel county and considerable portions of Tyler, Marion and Monongalia, and perhaps parts of other counties in West Virginia. However, it may be assumed as true that most of the inhabitants whose names are given were residents of the present Panhandle and of the portions of the Pennsylvania counties just mentioned.

The copy of the record here follows:

## OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA.

I A B do swear that I renounce and Refuse all Allegiance to George the Third King of Great Britain his heirs and Successors and that I will be Faithful and bear true Allegiance to the Commonwealth of Virginia as a Free and Independent State and that I will not at any time do or cause to be done any Matter or thing that will be prejudiciall or Injurious to the Freedom and Independence thereof as declared by Congress. And Also that I will discover and make known to

Some one Justice of the Peace for the said state all treasons or traitorous Conspiracies which I now or hereafter shall know to be Formed against this or any of the United States of America, so help me God. September 25th, 1777—

Sept. 25th	Joseph Ogle
	Charles Stephenson
	James Moore
	Ezekiall Hedges
	Robert Pyeatt
	Jacob Newland
	Jacob Ogle
	James Andrews
	John Rigdon
	William Wilson
	Benjamin Rogers
	John Biggs
	James McConnell
	Joseph McClain
Oct. 1st. ....	Zephaniah Blackford
	Hugh McConnell
	John Saunders
	Adam House
	Mlending (?) Stell
	George Green
4th. ....	John Mitchell
	William Cochran
	Joseph Wilson
	Jesse Dement
	James Thomas
	Henry Taylor
	William McWilliams
	Minty Northern
	John Pyatt
	John Williams
	George Phillebum
	Jacob Fisher
	Abraham Rice
	Jacob Drinnen
	Adam Row
	James Patten
	James Buchanan
	William Buchanan
	Hercules Boney
	John Handley
	William Hawkins

The names of those who Refuse the Oath of Allegiance  
to the Commonwealth of Virginia

Oct 4th. . . . . James Fugate  
Jeremiah Williamson

I do hereby Certify that the several subscribers  
to these Presents took and Subscribed the afore-  
said Oath before me

Daniel McClain

(Page 2)

A List of those that hath taken the Oath of Allegiance  
to the Commonwealth of Virginia—

1777

Sept. 4

David Shepherd  
David McClure  
Ebenezer Zane  
Samuel Teter  
James Smyth  
Jacob Reager  
Reazin Virgin  
Samuel McColloch  
Robert Harkness  
Thomas Mills Senior  
Edward Robinson  
John Ward  
William Flahauin  
John Caldwell  
Hugh Brison

8/Oct. (?)

Jonathan Zane  
William Swan  
Conrad Wheat Senr.  
Edward Richardson  
William Alexander  
Hugh Sidwell  
Mark Iler  
Samuel Harris  
Moses Conger  
Matthew Kerr  
Conrad Iler  
James Harris  
Martin Whitsell  
John Boggs  
Ezekial Dewitt  
Stephen Harris  
Yeates Conwell affirmed  
Windle Counts  
Conrad Stroup  
John More Junr.

James Caldwell Junr.  
 James McMechen  
 James Graves  
 John Virgin  
 Thomas Mills Junr.  
 Walter Cain  
 John McColloch Junr.  
 Edward Mills  
 Isaac Phillips  
 James Roney affirmed  
 Samuel Mason  
 Samuel Harris Senr.  
 Conrad Wheat Junr.  
 Sept. 24..... Zachariah Sprigg  
 Oct. 9..... Phillip Lutes  
                 James Fugate  
                 Thomas Waller  
                 Edward Geither  
 10th..... John Kinser  
                 Henry Fullenwider  
                 Francis Miller  
                 Edward Smyth Senr.  
                 Edward Smyth Junr.  
                 Aron Delong Senr.  
                 Aron Delong Junr.  
                 Annaniah Davis  
                 Jeremiah Dunn  
                 John Best  
                 Francis Delong  
                 Jacob Razor  
                 John More Senr.  
                 Solomon Delong  
                 John Delong  
                 Peter Keller  
                 Charles Hedges

I do hereby Certify to the Clerk of Ohio County that this is a  
 True List of the men's names that have taken and subscribed  
 the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity as directed by an Act of  
 Generall Assembly. And there was no Recusants. Certified  
 by me

Silas Hedges

(Page 3)

The Names of those that hath taken the Oath of Alle-  
 giance

Sept. 24..... Joseph Vanmetre  
                 Daniel Morgan  
                 John Vanmetre

James Bows (or Bow)  
 John Wilson  
 John Warford  
 John McMannis  
 John Hook  
 Joseph Cassey  
 Thomas Lackcay  
 Samuel Lemmon  
 29. .... William Scott  
 Oct. 6. .... Thomas McGuire  
 Gabriel Cox  
 Edward Wiggins  
 John Carpenter  
 Charles Wells  
 Luke Scarmehorn  
 Cornelius McIntire  
 John Ash  
 John Botkin  
 James Newell  
 Orlander Barber  
 Edward Perins  
 John McCormick  
 Luke Scarmehorn Junr.  
 William Spencer  
 David Cox  
 William Hervey  
 Henry Hervey  
 Iscil (Israel) Cox  
 Jacob Forkler  
 John Johnson  
 John Hill  
 Alexander Young  
 Francis McGuire  
 Aaron Marshall  
 Peter Cox  
 William Clarke  
 Samuel Bruce  
 Octr. 7. .... Edward Robinson  
 John Tilton  
 Joseph Hedge  
 Andrew Ramsey  
 George McColloch  
 Robert Mitchell  
 Derrick Houghland  
 John Harris  
 William Boner  
 Oliver Gorrill  
 Patrick Tolbert  
 John Ramsey

James Harris  
 Edward Morgan  
 Solomon Hedges  
 Christopher Giller  
 William White  
 James Park  
 Isaac Meek  
 9..... Samuel Glass  
 Aaron Robeson  
 James Miller  
 John Bukett  
 Novr. 10..... John Springeon

I do hereby Certify to the Clerk of Ohio County that this is a True list of the men's names that hath taken the Oath of Fidelity as Directed by an Act of General Assembly and there was no Recusants. Certified by me—

Zachariah Sprigg

(Page 4)

1777  
 October

1st  
 David Barr  
 Nathaniel Redford  
 William Scott  
 David Hosack  
 John Hupp  
 Henry Holmes  
 Barnett Boner  
 Charles Boner  
 James Boner  
 Samuel Byers Junr.  
 Samuel Byers Senr.  
 James Byers  
 Thomas Byers  
 William Boner  
 Matthew Boner  
 Stephen Bennett  
 James Martin  
 Samuel Kennedy  
 Moses Williamson Senr.  
 John Smyth  
 Francis Starnater  
 Moses Williamson Junr.  
 2d  
 Samuel Williamson  
 Jeremiah Williamson  
 John Williamson  
 James Williamson  
 Thomas Williamson

James Cluny  
 Joseph Arnold  
 Jeremiah Arnold  
 13..... Jacob Link  
               Jacob Miller  
               Matthias Alt  
               George Allhance  
               Christopher Winemer  
 15..... George Hupp  
 16..... Michael Stults  
 17..... James Brownlee  
 20..... Jeaniat McCleannor  
 23..... John Waits  
 25..... William Canon  
               James Canon  
               William Huston  
               3d  
               John McGloan  
               John Kelly  
               Robert Taylor  
               Jacob Pyatt  
               Benjamin Hammitt  
               Benjamin Pyatt  
 Decmr. 3..... Nicholas Maulson  
                   Charles McBobbin  
 17..... John Dunnavin  
               James Manly  
               Conrad Fillebum  
               Jacob Rice  
               Lawrence Henry Deeds  
               Andrew Deeds  
               Jacob Lefler  
               4th  
 1777               Refusers  
 October 7.....Hercules Roney Senr.  
           23..... Murty O Handly\*  
                   John Sinclair

I do hereby Certify that the Severall Persons in the  
 First, Second and third Columns have taken and Subscribed  
 the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity to this State Agreeable to  
 an Act of Assembly of this State in that Case made and Pro-  
 vided as witness my hand and Seal this 2d day of March 1778  
 and those in the fourth Column have Refused

Thomas Waller

---

\*In the proceedings of the old county court, quoted in the article on  
 Bench and Bar, will be found the minutes of the trial of this recusant "for  
 Disaffection to the State."

(Page 5)

1777

1st

October 6..... John Walker  
 Andrew Scott  
 George Marquis  
 Richard Wells Junr.  
 Absolum Wells  
 George Sparks  
 Henry Wells  
 Henry Levins  
 Henry Nelson  
 George Biggs  
 John Ferguson  
 Thomas Cantwell  
 Thomas Wells  
 Morris West  
 John Doddridge  
 Richard Wells Senr.  
 8th..... James Gillespy Senr.  
 James Gillespy Junr.  
 Thomas Clark  
 William Caldwell  
 James Caldwell  
 John Chapman  
 James Kerr  
 Arthur McConnell  
 17th..... William Williams  
 Patrick McGaughan  
 Jonathan Byrn  
 18th..... William Campble  
 James Campble  
 James Richardson  
 John Niccols  
 Isaac Myles  
 2d  
 Thomas Niccols  
 William McGinnes  
 James Downing  
 James Henward  
 Isaac Wells  
 Robert Morgan  
 Thomas Bays  
 John Hennell  
 Samuel Johnston  
 Thomas Beaty  
 Samuel Smyth  
 Thomas Crawford  
 24th..... John Smyth  
 29th..... Isaac Taylor

Novr. 1.....David Caldwell  
 5.....Robert Cavin  
           Ezekial Boggs  
           Samuel Taylor  
           William Boggs  
 Decemr.          Absolam Sparks  
           18.....  
           27.....Joseph Willis  
                   Thomas Shannon  
           30.....John Huff  
                   Thomas Gilleland  
                   Thomas Chapman  
                   Samuel Patterson  
                   William Shearer  
 1777              Recusants 3d  
 Decemr. .... Edward Anderson  
                   Francis Riely  
                   Ephraim Johnston  
                   Abell Johnston  
                   Solomon Shepherd  
                   William Sparks  
                   William Ellis  
                   Isaac Ellis  
                   Elijah Huff

I do hereby Certify to the Clerk of the County Court of Ohio that the above named persons in the two first Columns have taken and Subscribed the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity as Directed by an act of General Assembly and the persons named in the third Column Refuse. Given under my hand and seal this 2d day of February 1778.

William Scott

(Page 6)

The names of the men that took the Oath of Alegiance in the Year 1778

Peter Haldibrand  
 Lawrence Buskirk  
 Benjamin Biggs  
 Angus Cameron  
 John Cameron  
 Peter Kintialo  
 Harry Martin  
 Frederick Lamb  
 Levy Mills  
 William Biggs  
 Thomas Biggs  
 Nicholas Rogers  
 John Francis  
 James Hanner

## GREATER WHEELING AND VICINITY

Abraham Rogers  
 Joseph Biggs  
 Jacob Paul  
 Joseph Wells  
 Robert Stephenson  
 George Stephenson

The above is a True List of those who has taken the Oath of Allegiance before me in the Year 1778. Given under my hand & Seal

Zachariah Sprigg

A list of the names of those that hath Taken and Subscribed the Oath of Fidelity to the State of Virginia in the Year 1778

1778  
 June 9th..... Thomas Lovett  
           17..... Beneja Dement  
           19       George Corrothers  
                   William Ellis  
 July 15..... Charles Fuel  
           16..... Matthew Templeton  
           30..... Francis Riley  
 Sepr. 17       David Morton

Sworn before me

James Gillespie

Ohio County A list of those that has taken the Oath of Fidelity in 1778

1778  
 Feby..... Charles Hedges  
 April 6..... Samuel White  
           11..... Samuel Graham  
 July 6..... Andrew Fouts  
                   Robert Edgar  
                   Andrew Moore  
 Augt. 7       Luke Enlow  
                   Isaac Keller

I do hereby Certify that the above is a true Return Given under my hand and Seal this first Day of march 1779

Silas Hedges

A List of the names of them that have subscribed the Oath of Fidelity in the Year 1778

1778  
 Augt. 20th..... William Marken  
 Sepr. 10..... Alexander Burns  
 Octr. 5..... James Brownlee  
 Novr. 10..... Archabald Brownlee  
                   Ebenezer Morton  
           18..... Elijah Nuttle

25..... Henry Pecktall  
27..... William Johnston  
              John Hill  
              John Kelly  
              Thomas Knox  
30..... Hector Alexander  
              John Hill  
Decemr. 4   William Brownlee  
              Zachariah Pumphry  
              Refused  
              William Miller

December 31, 1778—

I do hereby Certify that the above written Names have  
taken the Oath of Fidelity Before me. witness my hand and  
Seal

John Boggs

## CHAPTER V.

## THE PERIOD OF INDIAN STRIFE.

"Old, unhappy, far-off things  
And battles long ago."

From about the year 1774 until 1795, a period of twenty-one years, the inhabitants of Wheeling and vicinity were exposed to the recurrent hostilities of the Indians. This border warfare was largely a continuation, in spirit and purpose, of the war known as Pontiac's conspiracy, which has been described in a previous chapter. But the frontier wars before 1770 occurred before the advancing line of settlers had occupied this Panhandle region, and were noteworthy only as part of the historical background of our present survey. The Indian strife from 1774 to 1795, however, had a very immediate and menacing relation to the life and prosperity of the Virginians in this territory. It is the purpose of this chapter to view these hostilities in their relation to the welfare of the population about Wheeling, and to indicate how the inhabitants, in addition to their arduous tasks of pioneering, were compelled also to assume the role of militia, liable at any hour to be called from the plow and harvest field to defend home or the community stockade.

Almost every locality of the central west has its annals and storied tales of Indian fights. From generation to generation the names and tragic details have been handed on. Loyal descendants and patriotic residents of the scenes where such events transpired have seldom failed to keep alive, by frequent recital and memorial monument, such trophies of local history. Probably none who have lived long about Wheeling are unfamiliar with the stories of Indian siege and massacre that occurred in this vicinity a century and a quarter ago. A rehearsal of these time-honored accounts would be a mere repetition, and would add nothing to the almost voluminous historical literature on the subject.

The present intention, therefore, is to review the border warfare during the winning and early settlement of the Upper Ohio Valley. The local events to the extent that local interest justifies will be expanded without, if possible, distorting the perspective in which such incidents have their proper setting. And, furthermore, without disparaging the value and trustworthiness of the many literary forms in

which these incidents have been related, it is the purpose of this article to bring forward only those facts for which evidence can be found in contemporary documents or in deductions attested by the best local authorities.<sup>1</sup>

Up to the close of Wolfe's campaign at Quebec in 1759, both French and Indians were disputing every advance of the English beyond the Alleghenies. With the elimination of French power from America, the red men were left to fight alone for their hunting grounds and their very existence. And they fought perhaps as stubbornly as any weaker race ever contended against a stronger. Whisky, cheap but fantastic gifts, flattery, cajoling and deception, all these have been employed in addition to the services of the finest body of frontier soldiery known in the world, in order to subdue these native possessors of our forests and prairies. It required a century for the nation to complete the struggle. The last great Indian fight occurred a quarter of a century back, and the book of current Indian annals has now been closed.

The period of Indian strife in which the Wheeling county was involved during its early years was only one phase of this great, perennial struggle. From the Indian point of view, this statement is sufficient to explain the hostilities of that period. But on the other side there were several factors that produced the general situation in which Wheeling had a place, and these must be briefly reviewed.

Virginia colony, by its original royal charter, extended, theoretically, from sea to sea. Other colonies made similar territorial pretensions, but the case of Virginia is particularly in point. When France, in 1763, ceded all the domain east of the Mississippi, the chief obstacle blocking this westward extension of Virginia seemed to be removed. Only the Indians and other terrors and difficulties of the wilderness prevented the immediate jurisdiction over the west. Virginia citizens therefore regarded themselves as only exercising rights conferred by ancient charter when they planned colony enterprises or as individuals ventured out to take possession of the lands in this western region.

Now came the royal order of October, 1763, prohibiting any intrusion of white settlers beyond the Alleghenies. Though this order may have been entirely prompted by the desire of the home govern-

---

<sup>1</sup>In the preparation of this chapter, the sources studied and used most frequently are: "Documentary History of Dunmore's War," compiled by Thwaites & Kellogg from the Draper manuscripts; the "Revolution on the Upper Ohio," the supplementary volume to the preceding, and Justin Winsor's "The Western Movement."

ment to keep peace with the western tribes, Virginia regarded it with displeasure as a restriction to her territorial aspirations. The people themselves, as we have seen, practically defied the proclamation by wandering into the forbidden ground and planting settlements in hundreds of the fertile valleys. Under the Dinwiddie proclamation of 1754, the volunteers in the Braddock campaign had all been promised lands in the west, and these soldiers' claims alone aggregated thousands of acres, all to be chosen west of the line drawn by the king's order.

The royal mandate having thus been set at naught, the western movement next met the menacing front of Indian hostility. The Cherokees and other tribes of the south, and the powerful confederations that dwelt in the upper Ohio basin and about the Great Lakes, with every encroachment by white settler, were accumulating the grievances which preceded a general uprising.

Whatever the motives, the governmental authorities appear to have used much discretion and scrupulous judgment in adjusting the limits between the Indians and the westward-moving white men. The English ministry of that time, and the American government subsequently endeavored to deal with the Indian situation by restricting the Indians to one place and the whites to another. This plan has never worked, for the reason that it has been impossible to keep the whites from invading the lands of their red neighbors. Even after the Indians had been battled into corners over the entire expanse of the nation, and an Indian Territory had been created expressly for their residence and use, an insidious stream of white settlement crept in and eventually undermined the whole structure until the Indian Territory has become a white man's state.

But long before these experiences had demonstrated the impracticability of the theory, the English government endeavored to fix a boundary which neither Indians nor whites were to transgress, each people to live and prosper on its own side. By the negotiations of 1768 at Fort Stanwix, already described, and by subsequent pacts with southern tribes, there was established the so-called "Property Line." By these arrangements, the Ohio river, as far down as the mouth of the Tennessee, was the dividing line. East and south of this line, in southwestern Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and large portions of Kentucky and Tennessee, the territory was thus opened to the English for settlement.

This first great American land opening caused claims to be put forward from half a dozen sources. The Ohio Company was first in

point of time. Washington and his comrades in the Braddock's campaign were insistently pressing for the promised land bounties. The traders, who had been dispossessed and plundered during Pontiac's war, at the Fort Stanwix treaty, had been conceded as compensation a large land grant. Pennsylvania associates, among whom Benjamin Franklin was prominent, with Thomas Walpole, a London banker, as nominal head, had formed the Walpole Company, which in 1770 succeeded in getting approval to its grant of nearly two and a half million acres. All these organized groups, besides hundreds of independent pioneers, were prospecting, surveying or marking with tomahawk signs all over the region south of the Ohio. Prospective colonies, under such names as Vandalia, Indiana, Pittsylvania, etc., were being planned.

The rush to occupy the country was being accentuated by the rivalry between Virginia and Pennsylvania for possession of the region about the headwaters of the Ohio. Virginia's pretensions to all the country lying westward from its seacoast line have already been noted. Pennsylvania's charter, on the other hand, gave the proprietors jurisdiction running westward from the Delaware river to the extent of five degrees longitude. The Mason & Dixon line, as the southern boundary of the province, had been partly surveyed in 1763, but Indian hostilities had prevented its extension westward to the full five degrees. Its western terminus, and therefore the southwestern corner of Pennsylvania, was not finally determined until about 1784. In the meantime, Virginia held that the line would not reach far enough west to include the Forks of the Ohio (Pittsburgh) and the Monongahela county. Hence the dispute between the two colonies. Dunmore as the royal governor of Virginia was vigorously upholding one side of the contention. Settlement in the disputed region, under Virginia auspices, was being encouraged by liberal issue of land warrants and through some of the colonizing enterprises already noted. Both Pennsylvania and Virginia were issuing warrants covering the same tracts of land about Pittsburgh. Both colonies were almost on the verge of hostilities over the boundary.

Such, briefly stated, were the more prominent factors that had produced, in a few short years, the occupation of the trans-Allegheny region close up to the limits of the Property Line dividing the white from the Indian country. Already surveyors, prospectors, traders and individual settlers had transgressed this line. It depends upon the point of view taken by the numerous writers on the subject of the

western movement whether this daring extrusion beyond the lines set by royal proclamation and Indian treaty be regarded as praiseworthy enterprise or reckless greed. The matter of morals aside, it had already become a practical problem how to preserve peace along the wavering border line.

As the history of families in the vicinity of Wheeling proves, there were many pioneers in this locality who made their homes, abided here and left descendants who have been identified with the same environment for over a century. But permanence has never been a strong characteristic of a large proportion of the frontier people. Regarding their restlessness, Lord Dunmore wrote: "They acquire no attachment to place; but wandering about seems engrafted in their nature; and it is a weakness incident to it that they should ever imagine the lands further off are still better than those upon which they are already settled. This restlessness caused them often to ignore the intermediate lands open for settlement, and they rushed out to furthest bounds, ready at the first opportunity to press on into new areas. The Indians themselves were not slow to recognize this impatient attitude of the borderers, and that alone was sufficient to keep them in a constant fever of distrust and suspicion.

The rude settlements at Wheeling, Grave creek and other near-by points were on the outermost fringe of the white man's country as established by the Property Line. For nearly twenty years from the first claims by the Zanes and other pioneers, the cabins and block-houses against the hills on the east bank of the Ohio looked across upon a domain recognized in usage and nomenclature as "the Indian side of the Ohio." The opposing hills were, forbidden land, and to cross the river was a trespass. In all the isolated valleys and unhewn forests that lay to the southeast of the great river from Pittsburgh to the falls of the Ohio, there was a population probably not exceeding half that of the modern city of Wheeling. With the broad channel of the Ohio as almost their only bulwark, they lay exposed to the first onslaught of the numerous enemies concealed in the wilderness stretches to the west.

The situation, as we have briefly described it, made war nearly inevitable. Hence it was comparatively of little moment how the first occasion of hostilities arose. During the winter of 1773-74 reports from many points on the frontier created alarm. Murders, outrages and a sullen attitude among the Shawnese in particular, were the precursors of a general uprising. Dunmore's military commandant

over the District of West Augusta, comprising all southwestern Pennsylvania and the northwest corner of modern West Virginia, was John Connolly, who had restored the English Fort Pitt and renamed it Fort Dunmore. As the agent of Dunmore and upholder of the authority of Virginia in this vicinity, he was naturally regarded with distrust and hostility by the settlers from east Pennsylvania. The latter were not averse to prejudicing the Indians against the Dunmore representative, and, though there is little positive evidence to that effect, it is probable that the jealousy between the colonial factions was an element in promoting the war.

In April, 1774, Connolly sent out a circular letter declaring the existence of a state of war and calling on the borderers to arm for defense. At Wheeling, when this circular arrived, were a number of young men waiting for the rise of waters to carry them to the Kentucky region. George Rogers Clark, later so famous, was one of the number. Michael Cresap, a Maryland prospector, also present, had shortly before been chosen leader of the party. With the reading of Connolly's message, the members of this company and others, who on that day composed the temporary and permanent population of Wheeling, engaged in a somewhat ceremonious celebration of the declaration of war, and were eager to set out at once to attack the Indian settlements. However, Cresap, and Zane, also, it is said, strongly opposed any such offensive action. But as nominal leader of the local organization for defense, Cresap's name was frequently associated with some of the outrages perpetrated by the whites upon the Indians. These outrages gave the immediate occasion for the war of retaliation by the Indians. On the very evening of that day two Indian scalps were brought into the camp at Wheeling. A party of whites had waylaid two Indians in a canoe on the river and had wantonly murdered them.

At the northern end of the present Panhandle, opposite the mouth of Yellow creek, lived a man named Baker, one of whose occupations was the selling of rum to the Indians on the other side, comprising what were known as Logan's camp.<sup>2</sup> On April 30th a party of Indians, including two relatives of Chief Logan, crossed the river and were soon in a state of intoxication about the Baker cabin. About twenty Americans, of whom Daniel Greathouse was the leader, inciting a quarrel with one of the Indians, thus provoked a treacherous

---

<sup>2</sup>James Logan, a French half-breed, was a chief of great influence, and noted for many acts of kindness to the pioneers of Pennsylvania. In 1772 he had located with his followers on Yellow creek.

attack and massacred the entire party. A babe, carried by one of the squaws, alone was spared.<sup>3</sup>

Logan at once became a dread avenger of his own family and one of the principal leaders in the general uprising of the tribes in the west. In a short time, in fulfillment of his vow, he had collected ten scalps for every one of his followers murdered at Yellow creek, and his name was a terror to every settlement between the Ohio and the Monongahela. Already before these events, a thousand settlers were reported to have fled eastward over the Monongahela. Now the families of every settlement were "forted up," and every settler carried his rifle as he made his furtive visits to his fields and stock pens. Many a lonely cabin was attacked, its inmates slain and the building reduced to ashes. Civilized warfare leaves its broad path of desolation, but the savage Indian leaves his fatal mark on every hillside habitation and by every pleasant stream where white men dwell. In that one year the pioneers paid a fearful price for the privilege of the free and untrammelled existence in the wilderness.

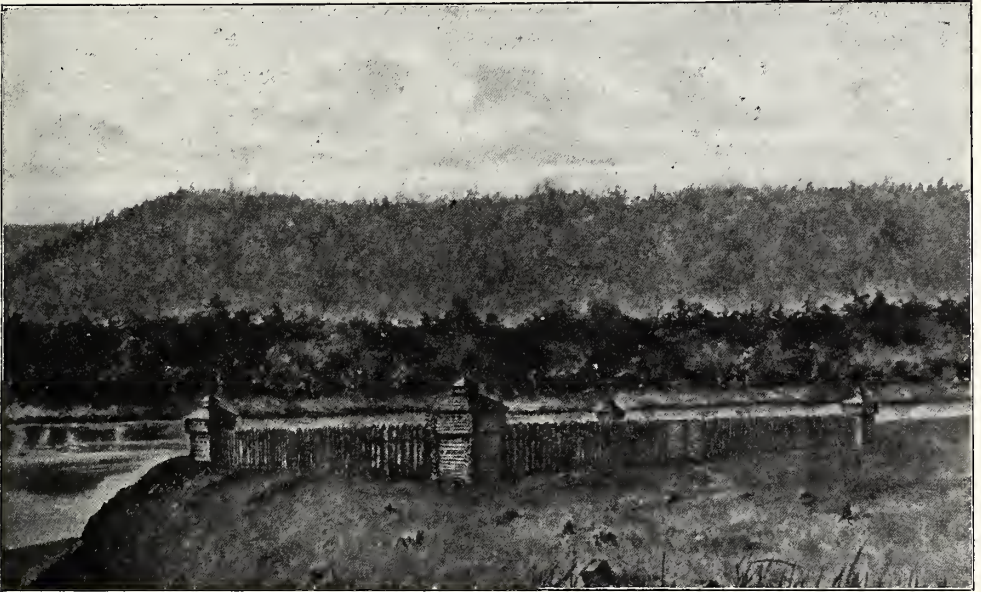
Intelligence of the Indian troubles all along the western frontier of Virginia had been conveyed in almost daily letters and reports to the capital at Williamsburg. June 10, 1774, Governor Dunmore sent a circular letter to all the county lieutenants, who were the official heads of the local militia, ordering them to muster the militia and to take such measures for defense as the situation required, including the erection of small forts in the exposed settlements. One of the important points to be occupied and fortified was the mouth of the Kanawha river, and the governor recommended that the forces there should co-operate with the garrison at Fort Dunmore in patrolling the intervening country along the Ohio. About the same time Connolly was preparing to send a force down the Ohio to build a small fort "at the mouth of Wheeling." This course was approved by the governor, who recommended that Captain William Crawford proceed to Wheeling and from that point carry on a campaign into the Indian country.

Thus, early in June, 1774, Captain Crawford with about two hundred men from Fort Dunmore came to the mouth of Wheeling and began the erection of Fort Fincastle, or, as it was later known,

---

<sup>3</sup>Because of its immediate results in producing the war, and the prominence of men directly or indirectly associated with the event, this massacre has been described in perhaps a dozen different accounts, affidavits, etc., most of them written many years after the occurrence. The version above given appears to be a succinct statement of the principal facts in the case.

Fort Henry.<sup>4</sup> George Rogers Clark has been credited with having planned the fort at Wheeling, and it is probable that some structure of defense had been erected or begun before the arrival of Crawford. But now, as one of the three principal forts on the Ohio, the work was undertaken on a much larger scale.



Fort Henry.

By permission of Nicoll's Art Store.

In July, Dunmore himself set out for the west, and had ordered Major Angus McDonald to march with a considerable force to Wheeling, and thence conduct a campaign across the Ohio. In the latter days of that month, McDonald joined Crawford, and with their combined troops the fort at Wheeling was soon completed.

While it is true that a certain fitness of location for the needs of population and commerce has influenced the destiny of many a city, it is a fact which also does not admit of question that a sort of caprice in choice or event has often selected one site above others for the fame of a thriving center of population. A commandant ninety miles away had designated the "mouth of Wheeling" as the proper place

---

<sup>4</sup>The fort's original name was a compliment to Lord Dunmore, but when, on the breaking out of the Revolution, Dunmore became one of the objects of patriotic hatred, the name was changed to honor the first governor of Virginia.

for a fort and headquarters in an Indian campaign. A royal governor who had never seen the Ohio Valley approved this choice. Captain Crawford and Major McDonald arrived with a thousand or more troops, constructed a rectangular stockade fort, gave this spot overlooking the Ohio river a precedence among all the minor block-house settlements of this region, and thus provided the nucleus for a city that has not been without fame of achievement among America's centers of trade and industry. Ebenezer Zane, George Rogers Clark, Michael Cresap, John Connolly, Lord Dunmore, Captain William Crawford, Major Angus McDonald—all of whom participated to a greater or less degree in bringing this establishment to pass—are names that should not be forgotten in the history of the genesis of this city.

There are no contemporary documents that afford any descriptive picture of Fort Fincastle. The fort disappeared before the close of the century, and only the recollections of old men and women, or second-hand accounts, furnished the details on which existing descriptions were based. But there was a plan that seldom varied in the construction of these frontier posts, and had the Wheeling fort differed conspicuously the fact would probably have been handed down in tradition or the early writings. Hence it is possible to accept the usual statement that the fort was rectangular in form, with its four stockade walls consisting of upright pickets eight or ten feet high. Some of these forts had two block-houses, located at diagonal corners, and others had a block-house at each corner. Fort Fincastle is said to have been of the latter kind. These block-houses extended a few feet beyond the lines of the walls, so that a lateral fire could be directed against any who tried to scale the pickets. And the second store of each block-house also projected beyond the wall of the first, so that the enemy was exposed at every point outside of the fort. The traditional accounts state that the fort occupied about half an acre of ground. Governor Dunmore recommended the construction of "a small fort" at this point, and this size would agree with such specifications. The fort was probably about 175 feet long by 125 feet wide, or about one quarter the area of a city square. On the inside of the stockade were rows of cabins, comprising the barracks for the garrison, the store houses, etc.

While the exact lines of the fort could not be traced in the modern topography of Wheeling, the approximate site can be defined with certainty. In 1774, and for many years later, the ground between present Main street and the river, and about Eleventh street, formed

a prominent elevation or bluff, considerably higher than the highest point of the present hill. On the river side, there was a steep declivity, and for years afterward early travelers spoke of the difficult approach from the river landing up to the center of the village. On the south the hill fell off abruptly to the lower levels of the bottom lands towards the creek. On the north and east there was a gentler slope from the height chosen for the fort to the general levels of this bench land between the river and the hills. This situation made the fort nearly impregnable from any ordinary Indian attack. No attacking party could successfully assail from the river or from the grain fields in the bottom lands to the south. The ground below the fort on the east and north was likewise cleared, and only a few scattered cabins afforded protection to a foe approaching the fort from those directions.

The building of Fort Fincastle was only an incident of the general campaign known as Dunmore's war. Toward the end of July, leaving Crawford in command of the fort, Major McDonald left Wheeling with a considerable force and marched to the Wakatomica towns on the Muskingum. He burnt some deserted villages, destroyed some corn fields, and then returned to Wheeling. The Wakatomica expedition increased rather than allayed the fury of the Indians, whose ravages continued throughout the summer.

In the meantime Governor Dunmore was hastening to Fort Pitt to assume personal direction of the campaign in that quarter. Pursuant to his orders, Colonel Andrew Lewis, assisted by the county lieutenants in southwestern Virginia, had recruited an army of backwoods militia, and was moving towards the Ohio. On October 6th he encamped at Point Pleasant, the peninsula at the junction of the Great Kanawha and Ohio rivers. Here on the 10th of October a thousand warriors, principally Shawnese, at early dawn, began an assault which has made of the battle of Point Pleasant one of the most notable conflicts in the annals of the winning of the west. It was the crucial contest in the Indian war of 1774, and was not less remarkable as the training ground for many heroes of the subsequent Revolution.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup>"The affair at Point Pleasant has often been styled 'the first battle of the American Revolution.' This is an over-statement; but it was distinctly an American victory. Not only were there no regular troops or officers in the campaign, but the initiative was distinctly colonial; and the English home authorities evinced their disapproval of the governor's martial enterprise. Moreover, the training and experience obtained in this contest were of great advantage in the organization of the continental forces from the southern provinces. The men in the armies of both Lewis and Dunmore were in large part participants in the Revolution. Lewis was the general who drove Dunmore from Virginia. At least ten of his captains were officers in the Revo-

On the 30th of September Dunmore arrived at Fort Fincastle. He, with seven hundred of his followers, came down the river in boats, while about five hundred under William Crawford came by land. The presence of a royal governor surrounded by his guard of Scotch Highlanders, with several companies of British red-coats, and a more motley but no less soldierly body of backwoods riflemen, made that one of the first red-letter days in **Wheeling's history**.

From Wheeling Major Crawford was sent down to the mouth of the Hockhocking, where the governor joined him a few days later. Their combined army then marched across the country to the Indian villages on the Scioto, and near the modern Chillicothe established Camp Charlotte. Here Dunmore received the envoys of the humbled Shawnese, now suing for peace after their overthrow at Point Pleasant. The treaty of Charlotte, which was signed after considerable delay, recognized the Ohio as the boundary line, and gave permission for its unmolested navigation by both whites and Indians. The treaty was designed as a preliminary to a more important council to be held at Fort Pitt the following spring, but it brought a cessation of hostilities all along the western border.

In 1775 the outbreak of the Revolution prevented Dunmore from taking any personal part in the final negotiations with the Ohio Indians. But the Virginia assembly appointed commissioners to meet with these tribes, and a similar commission was also sent into the west by the continental congress. It was very important to conciliate the savage neighbors of the colonies during the conflict with the mother country. The colonial envoys who toured the Indian country during the summer of 1775 for the purpose of securing a full council at Fort Pitt, had to overcome not only the sullen hostility that had long

---

lutionary army, not including those serving in George Rogers Clark's Illinois regiment, which was in great measure recruited from the men of Point Pleasant. In the governor's brigade was also Daniel Morgan, hero of Quebec (1775) and the Cowpens (1781), who first led out his riflemen to join McDonald, then united with Dunmore, and served under Crawford in his Mingo expedition. \* \* \* The two commanding officers at the battle of King's Mountain (Oct. 7, 1780), Gen. William Campbell and Gen. Isaac Shelby, both had captaincies under Colonel Lewis. Christian, one of Lewis' division commanders, drove back the threatened Cherokee invasion of 1776, at the head of an expedition whose officers and men had also fought under Lewis. Among the leaders in Dunmore's war, at least four afterwards served (1788) as members of the Virginia convention that ratified the constitution of the United States. Several were in due time to become United States senators and governors of states. In fact, most of the men who were prominent in the west during the first decades of its history were in the war of 1774, either upon the expedition or guarding the frontier."—Dunmore's War (Thwaites & Kellogg's introduction).

smouldered against the Virginians, but also the secret influence of the British agents then seeking the active allegiance of the western tribes. In September, as a result of these preliminary efforts, there gathered at Pittsburgh the largest Indian delegation ever seen at this frontier post—Ottawa and Wyandot, from the neighborhood of Detroit; Mingo, Shawnee and Delaware, from the Ohio Valley, and Seneca, from the upper Allegheny. All united in a pledge of peace, friendship and neutrality with the new American nation.

This council of peace, which may be considered the culminating result of the Dunmore war, was an event of great importance. It spared the western borders from the terrors of Indian warfare for nearly two years, and prevented the otherwise almost inevitable evacuation of all this Ohio country. Had this withdrawal occurred and continued throughout the period of the Revolution, the conquest of the northwest by George Rogers Clark would hardly have been undertaken, and in the final adjustment of peace with England the colonies would have had to sacrifice their intangible claims to all this central west.

With the beginning of the war for independence, a new element is introduced into the period of Indian strife. Wheeling and other border settlements now faced not solely the potential dangers ever present in the great Indian tribes westward from the Ohio. Back of that collective barbarous power lay the insidious agencies of the British government. As the French had used their Indian allies to repel the English advance over the Alleghenies, so the British were hardly more scrupulous in employing the aid of the savage in order to subdue their rebellious subjects. Furthermore, the west could no longer count on the support of royal commanders and regular troops in its border fights. The eastern colonies were always hard pressed to supply the men and resources for the continental armies, so that in a large measure the borderers were left to defend themselves. In fact, they deserve still more credit. Partly due to the peaceful situation brought about by the treaty just mentioned, these western districts were able to send into Washington's army some of their best frontier fighters, an element that did splendid service in many of the battles of the Revolution.

The beginnings of local civil government in this portion of Virginia and the organization of the country on a war footing were almost contemporaneous. The Virginia convention which assumed the powers of government after the expulsion of Dunmore, in July,

1775, ordered that two companies should be stationed at Pittsburgh, and another company, consisting of a lieutenant and twenty-five privates, should be stationed in Fort Fincastle—these companies to protect the frontier inhabitants.

In June and July, 1776, Virginia had organized its own state government, with Patrick Henry as first governor, and the colonies had promulgated the Declaration of Independence. One of the interesting minor results was the change of the name of the Wheeling fort to Fort Henry. In October of the same year the state assembly divided the old district of West Augusta and created the three counties, of which Ohio was one, comprising nearly all of the present Panhandle and parts of Pennsylvania besides. In September, 1776, Col. Dorsey Pentecost, the militia commandant in the West Augusta district, wrote to David Shepherd,<sup>6</sup> the pioneer at the Forks of Wheeling, appraising him of the decision to station detachments of militia at different places on the Ohio between Fort Pitt and the mouth of Grave creek, and appointing Shepherd as commissary for victualing the militia employed in this service. In October following, Colonel Pentecost ordered Captain William Harrod (whose name was subsequently identified with Kentucky history) to command a company with station on Fishing creek twenty-six miles below Grave creek. In November Pentecost writes Harrod from the Wells settlement on Short creek, informing him of the proposed hostile movement in the following winter and spring from the northwestern Indians against the line of posts on the Ohio. Murders and raids on the border during the fall of 1776 were arousing the whole frontier. In November two boys named Rowe were killed by the Indians within calling distance of the garrison at Grave creek.<sup>7</sup> A few days later two men who

---

<sup>6</sup>Col. David Shepherd, eldest son of Thomas, was born in Berkeley county, near Shepherdstown, where his father was one of the earliest settlers of the Shenandoah Valley, allied with the Hites and Van Meters. In 1770 he removed to the west and settled at the forks of Wheeling creek, in what is now Ohio county, West Virginia. Having acted as commissary under Pentecost, he was in January, 1777, chosen county-lieutenant for the newly erected Ohio county, and acted in that capacity until his death in 1795. He commanded Fort Henry during its siege in 1777, and led a regiment on Broadhead's Coshocton expedition (1781). During 1783-85 Shepherd served in the Virginia legislature, and during the Indian wars was efficient in guarding the frontier.

<sup>7</sup>An interesting document that portrays the situation at Grave creek settlement, and records the names of some of the first settlers and residents of this time in the vicinity of the modern Marshall county, is a letter written January 2, 1777, and directed to Captain William Harrod, the commandant in that locality. The text and the signatures of this letter are as follows

were spying on the Indian side of the Ohio near the present Bridgeport were overtaken by the Indians, and one killed and the other captured.

Soon after the civil organization of Ohio county David Rogers was appointed the first county lieutenant, but he soon afterwards resigned, his successor being David Shepherd, who held this office nearly twenty years.<sup>8</sup> The military situation in Ohio county in March, 1777, was portrayed in a letter from Colonel Shepherd to Governor Patrick Henry. The militia numbered not more than three hundred and fifty effective men, while the frontier to be guarded was eighty miles in length, "and that laying the nearest and most exposed to the Indians and the late alarming accounts from the Indian

---

(The document is reproduced in the "Revolution on the Upper Ohio" by Thwaites & Kellogg):

Sir—We, the subscribers, finding it impossible to Defend ourselves against the Common Enemy of this Country by the Militia's being drawn away from this Garrison, & if we do not Get Some Assistance Immediately we will be obliged to Quit this place, it being the frontier fort & so near to the savage that we hope you will be so Kind as to Get as many of Your men as you Can to Stay to our Assistance as we understand you have a very great Influence over your men and as there is not any particular Orders for men to be Stationed at this place David Shephard Esqr. will find you & your men provisions while you stay here & we flatter ourselves At the same time that the Commissioners for paying the former Militia will in no ways refuse to pay you & your men for this Service done the Country as well as those done by the former Cpts. at this Place. Sr, your Compliance in this request will very much oblige yr very Humble Servants,

YATES CONWELL  
JAMES WILLIAMS  
MATTHEW KARR  
JOSEPH TOMLINSON  
STEPHEN PARR  
DAVID MCCLURE  
SAMUEL HARRIS SR.

ZEPHANIAH BLACKFORD  
MORGAN JONES  
CHARLES MCCLEAN  
JAMES CALDWELL  
JOHN WILLIAMS  
WILLIAM MCMECHEN

On the same day the above was written the men whose names are given below agreed to serve in the militia fifteen days to assist "the Inhabitants of Grave Creek fort to Defend themselves against the Savages." The list of names signed to this agreement follows:

JOSEPH MCCLAIN  
JOHN MCCLAIN  
JAMES HARRIS  
STEPHEN HARRIS  
THOMAS KNOX  
GEORGE KNOX  
JAMES MCMECHEN  
JOSEPH ALEXANDER  
ADAM ROW  
FRANCIS PURCELL

PAUL ARMSTRONG  
MATTHEW KERR  
SAMUEL STILWELL  
JOHN BOYD  
MICHAEL FLOOD  
JOSEPH GLEN  
ADAM ROW, JR.  
JAMES DAVIS  
JOHN HARKNESS  
PHILIP O'FINN

<sup>8</sup>The orders of the Virginia council March 4, 1777, appointed and commissioned David Rogers county lieutenant, David Shepherd, colonel; David McClure, lieutenant colonel, and Samuel McCulloch, major of Ohio county.

towns." He had therefore disposed of his forces by placing fifty men at Wheeling, fifty at Grave creek, and twenty-five at Beech Bottom, near the modern Wellsburg.<sup>9</sup>

On May 2, 1777, there arrived at Wheeling a party commanded by Lieutenant William Linn, who delivered to Colonel Shepherd about ten thousand pounds of powder for the use of the state of Virginia. This powder had been brought up the Mississippi and Ohio from New Orleans, and the undertaking was one of the most daring and difficult exploits in the annals of the period. The chief need of the colonies in their war with England was gunpowder. Captain George Gibson conceived the bold plan of obtaining a supply at the Spanish port of New Orleans and bringing it up the rivers to Fort Pitt. He and Linn journeyed to the mouth of the Mississippi in the guise of traders, and after many difficulties Linn started up the river with several boats, a crew of forty men, and the cargo of ninety-eight barrels of gunpowder. The dangers and difficulties encountered on this remarkable voyage cannot be related here, but the fact that the cargo was delivered to Colonel Shepherd at Wheeling and kept for some time in Fort Henry is one of the interesting details that connect this city with the larger phases of the Revolution.

The many isolated outrages on the frontier during the early part of 1777, together with the contemplated general attack from the western Indians under the instigation of the British at Detroit, caused Congress to appoint Brigadier General Edward Hand to command on the frontier, with Fort Pitt as his headquarters. At Detroit Colonel Henry Hamilton directed the activities of the British and Indians. By July, 1777, he had sent out fifteen distinct raiding parties against the American frontier. The underlying purpose of these attacks was to distract the colonial congress and hamper the efficiency of Washington's army. The backwoodsmen such as Daniel Morgan and his followers were well known for their valor and pugnacity on many a hard-fought field from the campaign of Braddock to the battle at Point Pleasant. To keep them employed on the border against their inveterate foes, the Indians, was a policy of strategy that was not altogether in harmony with the practices of civilized warfare, but was certainly an effective means of weakening the power of the continental armies on the main battle grounds of the war.

There was, therefore, some coherence, a general plan, in the in-

---

<sup>9</sup>Beech Bottom fort, occupied only in 1777, and protecting the Hedges family, stood about three miles south of the present Wellsburg.

dividual murders, the widely separated raids, that characterized the Indian warfare of this period about Wheeling. It was not only a struggle for existence on the part of this or that settlement against the natural enemies in the wilderness. It was, in addition, a distinct phase of the war for American independence. This two-fold character of the Indian strife along the Ohio during this period has not always been recognized. The settler who served in the garrisons at Fort Henry, or Grave creek, or other points along the Ohio, was not only a home guard defending his family and property, but was in reality a soldier of the Revolution, repelling an attack directed by England against the new national cause.

The early part of 1777 had been marked by raids under the direction of Hamilton against the Kentucky posts, and the season's hostilities closed with the first general attack on Fort Henry. Fort Henry and Fort Randolph at the mouth of the Kanawha were the main outposts of Fort Pitt, which was headquarters for this department of the frontier. Besides these forts, which could resist the attack of large numbers, there were the block-houses at Beech Bottom, Cross creek, Grave creek and that near West Liberty which was then commanded by Samuel McCulloch. In June Captain Samuel Meason (Mason),<sup>10</sup> who commanded at Fort Henry, reported that his company consisted of fifty men. In August some friendly Indians reported to General Hand that the renegade Simon Girty was leading an Indian attack against Fort Henry, but the stroke fell before the garrison could be reinforced. The residents about the fort were occupying their cabins, located mostly on the east and north sides, and did not take refuge in the fort until the attack began.<sup>11</sup>

On the evening of August 31st, Captain Ogle's scouting party came in from the Beech Bottom fort, and reported the appearance of smoke to the south, which was conjectured as rising from the Grave creek block-house. This was presumably the only thing in nature of warning against the approach of the Indians. Early the next morning a white man and a negro were dispatched to bring in some horses from the bottoms near the creek. The greater part of this bottom

---

<sup>10</sup>Meason, commander of Fort Henry during 1777-78, later removed to Tennessee, where he became leader of a band of highwaymen, and was finally shot and beheaded by members of his own gang.

<sup>11</sup>The subsequent details of the attack are derived from Withers' and other writings of secondary authority, based upon the recollections of the participants many years after the events occurred. There is much confusion of statement in these accounts and they can scarcely be relied upon for an accurate picture of the day's events.

land was in a field of corn, but a road led down from the settlement towards the mouth of the creek. While passing along this road the two men encountered six Indians, who fired and killed the white man, but apparently allowed the negro to run back toward the fort. Captain Meason at once hurried down the road to the point where the encounter had taken place. Suddenly, from the corn field, arose a large party of savages, completely surrounding the white men. The latter made a gallant resistance and endeavored to retreat. Nearly all were shot down or overpowered, except Captain Meason, who, though wounded, escaped and finally got into the fort. During the struggle in the corn field, Captain Ogle, with twelve of his scouts, set out to the relief of their comrades, but were likewise ambushed. Ogle made his escape, and two of the soldiers succeeded in getting away, but the total results of this bloody battle on the ground now covered by Wheeling's mercantile and wholesale center was twenty-four killed, wounded or captured. The leader of the war party was thought to be Simon Girty himself.

After the successful ambushade the entire body of the enemy, said to number nearly four hundred, advanced, and under protection of the neighboring cabins laid siege to the fort. The fighting continued throughout the day, and the traditional accounts have related many incidents such as have marked the heroic defense of many western frontier posts. Women and children assisted in the work of reloading the guns, moulding bullets and watching every move of the enemy. The garrison was outnumbered nearly ten to one, but every assault on the stockade was repelled. Such a fortification as that at Wheeling was practically impregnable to Indian attack. Unless cannon were used to breach the walls, or the structure could be set on fire, the defenders could shoot down their assailants with little danger to themselves.

On the following morning occurred the famous episode of McCulloch's Leap. The news of the attack had been carried through the country to Short creek and other settlements. Major Samuel McCulloch,<sup>12</sup> with a party of forty or fifty men, came to the relief of the besieged, and in the early morning all managed to effect an entrance through the gates of the stockade except McCulloch, who in some manner was cut off from the main body. He then wheeled his horse

---

<sup>12</sup>Samuel McCulloch, the noted borderer, was born in 1750 and about 1770 settled on Short creek. In 1779 he was elected to represent Ohio county in the legislature. He was in Brodhead's campaign, and had command of Van Metre's fort during the Revolutionary period. As hereafter to be related, he was shot and killed by Indians not far from this fort, July 30, 1782.

and galloped up Wheeling hill, intending to return to Short creek. But at the summit, near the point where the National road crosses, his flight was intercepted by another band of Indians. Thus beset behind and before, with all avenues of passage cut off, the intrepid Major turned and spurred his horse directly down the abrupt hillside to the banks of Wheeling creek, nearly two hundred feet below. Horse and rider then dashed across the creek and over the peninsula, and made good their escape. Making due allowance for the fact that the hill was not an actual precipice, and that the underbrush might have buoyed up the horse in its rapid flight, the exploit yet remains one of the most daring in western annals.

The failure of the first day's assault, with the reinforcements and the general alarm that was spreading throughout the country, caused the enemy to raise the siege. Except those slain on the bottoms, the defenders of the fort escaped with only one man wounded. But the cabins of the settlers were destroyed, the stock wantonly butchered, and every ravage known to savage warfare inflicted upon the settlement. The fort alone remained, and the settlers round about it had to begin all over again in the building of homes and the acquirement of the means of subsistence.

In the journal of the Virginia house of delegates, for the session beginning October 20, 1777, is found a record that is interesting not only for its review of the disaster, but also as the first positive proof that the community about the fort was identified with a "local habitation and a name." The journal entry reads:

"A petition of sundry inhabitants of the town of Zanesburg was presented to the house and read; setting forth, that they have been obliged to abandon their houses and effects to the savages, and to shelter themselves in Fort Henry, and that having thus lost their all, they pray such relief as shall be thought just and reasonable."

The petition was rejected.

Towards the end of September, a few weeks after this siege of Fort Henry, occurred another of the border tragedies that must always remain in the recollection of this vicinity. Captain William Foreman with a company of militia had entered the garrison at Fort Henry. On September 26th he set out with forty-five men on a scouting expedition down the river. One of his party was William Linn, the hero of the powder expedition previously mentioned, and one of the most experienced of border fighters. Near Grave creek the Foreman party was ambushed by a band of Indians commanded by

Half-King, a Wyandot chief, and twenty-one were killed outright, and but for the skill and bravery of Linn and his fellow scouts the entire force would have been annihilated. Foreman and his two sons were among the slain. In Mount Rose cemetery at Moundsville is a memorial stone commemorating the victims of this massacre.<sup>13</sup>

Without the pre-eminent activities of Virginia, this western country could hardly have held its own during the Revolution. While the continental government as a whole did what it could to protect the frontier, it was the peculiar interest of Virginia in this region, which produced a large share of the magnificent acquisitions of territory following the war. Another reference to Virginia's position and attitude is needed for a proper understanding of the subsequent events in which Wheeling and vicinity figured.

For two decades Virginia had been employing arms, diplomacy and business enterprise in enforcing her ambitious claims to the great western country which the old royal charter of 1609 was supposed to embrace. The Indian boundary at the Ohio, as fixed in 1768, had been regarded in Virginia as only a temporary expedient to quiet the Indians, and in no sense a curtailment of the western pretensions of the colony. The settlement of the Kentucky region had been undertaken largely by Virginians, and in 1776 the commonwealth had declared its sovereignty over that territory and had created the county of Kentucky.

A year later, in December, 1777, under the enthusiastic leadership of George Rogers Clark, Virginia undertook to carry the western conquest into the region north of the Ohio. In one sense this was an aggressive campaign on behalf of all the colonies against the enemy in the northwest, but it was more particularly a Virginia enterprise for the actual acquisition of territory to which it had long advanced less convincing claims. One set of instructions to Clark directed him to defend Kentucky, while the other authorized him to attack the British post at Kaskaskia in the Illinois country.

Three companies for the Clark expedition rendezvoused at Redstone (Brownsville), and in May, 1778, he was again at Wheeling, on his way down the Ohio, picking up a quantity of supplies at Fort Henry. The brilliant campaign by which Clark won the northwest is not to be related here. But this first aggressive campaign in the west, and its successful results, caused the energies of the English

---

<sup>13</sup>See history of Moundsville in a subsequent chapter.

commanders henceforth to be directed against the American forces out in Illinois and Indiana rather than against the frontier outposts along the upper Ohio. Hence for several years Wheeling rested in comparative security and the people of this vicinity were only occasionally disturbed by Indian depredations. The department commanders at Fort Pitt during 1778-79 had undertaken some campaigns into the Indian country in the present state of Ohio, but without important success. With the abandonment of Fort Randolph at the mouth of the Kanawha in June, 1779, Fort Henry remained the most advanced outpost of the upper Ohio. Late in the summer of 1779 General Brodhead made a vigorous campaign against the Indians of the upper Allegheny, and the punishment he inflicted on the tribes in that vicinity was another factor in taming the savage spirit in the western wilds. Some residents about Wheeling were participants in this Brodhead campaign.

During 1780 the struggle in the west went on with varying fortunes. While Clark was strengthening the American foothold in the Lower Ohio Valley, his cherished project of capturing Detroit failed for lack of men. General Brodhead at Fort Pitt was also planning a campaign against Detroit, his enterprise being under the auspices of the regular continental army, while Clark was representing the colony of Virginia. A counter movement was undertaken by the British from Detroit, one division being directed against Kentucky and the other towards northwestern Virginia. The purpose of the latter was to divert attention, and it became in fact a plundering party, avoiding in its raids such large posts as Fort Henry. The enemy crossed the river near Wheeling, but the inhabitants had been warned by scouts and were nearly all safe at Wheeling. In the settlements between the river and Catfish Camp (Washington, Pa.) a number of prisoners were taken. The Indians then becoming alarmed at the rapid concentration of militia at Wheeling, hurriedly withdrew across the Ohio, but not until they had ruthlessly butchered all the male captives.

Throughout the seasonable months of 1780 General Brodhead was endeavoring to get forces assembled and supplies for the projected campaign against the Indians in Ohio, but late in the fall had to abandon the enterprise. A lively correspondence was carried on between the department commander and the captains of the garrisons at Wheeling and vicinity, interesting as showing the difficulties in getting a properly equipped army ready for any aggressive movement. Fort Henry and Holliday's Cove both had garrisons of reg-

ularly enlisted men at this time, and when, in October, these garrisons were ordered to leave their posts, Colonel Shepherd, as county lieutenant, was directed to supply their places with members of the militia. During the previous spring, when the first orders were sent out for this expedition, the local officers were advised to urge upon the settlers haste in planting and sowing the summer crops before the muster was made. Nothing illustrates to better advantage the poverty of this frontier country. During the Civil war, when requisitions were issued to fill up the ranks, those who remained at home were abundantly able to cultivate the crops, tend the shops and care for the families of those who went to the front. The resources of the community were, in comparison with those of pioneer times, inexhaustible, and behind these stood the organized and efficient power of a great government of many states. But when, in 1780, the citizens of Ohio county went out to war, they must first make provision against famine and want in their homes. This primary necessity provided for, there might then remain a few weeks for active campaigning in a distant country.

The year 1781, which was practically the last of the Revolution upon the Atlantic slope, ending with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, was filled with stirring events on the western frontier. Wheeling had its full share in these activities.

Once more Virginia, with a somewhat feeble co-operation from the continental army, was preparing for an active campaign in the northwest, with the capture of Detroit as the objective purpose. But for the energetic conduct of George Rogers Clark in this region during the preceding three years, the British and Indians would have had a free sweep of the frontiers, and the settlement of the Ohio valley might have been set back for years. Late in 1780 Governor Jefferson of Virginia had promised Clark two thousand troops for his projected enterprise, and in March, 1781, had directed the frontier county lieutenants to gather men for this service. General Brodhead, at Fort Pitt, was also instructed by Washington to furnish all the troops he could spare to Clark. But there was a grudging response on the part of Brodhead. The Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary dispute was now nearing settlement, and the inhabitants of the Pennsylvania counties about Pittsburgh were little inclined to support an enterprise which was under the auspices of Virginia. Furthermore, the constant fear of Indian invasion deterred many from enlisting in an expedition that would take them far from their own homes. Brodhead in the previous year had had ample experience of this difficulty in assembling men and supplies.

General Brodhead himself was still bent on carrying out the cam-

paign against the Delaware towns in Ohio. Early in 1781 supplies were being brought into the stockade fort at Wheeling, and there the local militia were rendezvoused to the number of about one hundred and fifty under Colonel Shepherd. Brodhead with about the same number of regulars came down from Fort Pitt, and in April with the entire force crossed the Ohio. By a rapid march he fell upon the Indian town at the site of the modern Coshocton, laid it waste, and secured plunder which was later sold at Fort Henry for about eighty pounds. One report states that a number of captured Indians were killed and scalped, perhaps in retaliation for previous practices of the same kind on the other side. After this brief but successful incursion, Brodhead returned to Wheeling without having lost a man.

This expedition, combined with the other causes referred to, hindered the enlistment for Clark's campaign. In July that leader, with only about four hundred men, moved down the river to Wheeling, where in a letter to the governor of Virginia he expressed his deep disappointment at not receiving the promised support. He continued on to the falls of the Ohio, where, owing to the defections in his force, he was unable to prosecute any aggressive movement into the enemy's territory. However, his enterprise served to hold the attention of the British so that the border settlements were partly spared the ravages which had been planned against them.

A reinforcement for Clark, raised in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, and commanded by Col. Archibald Lochry, had arrived in Wheeling too late for the rendezvous, and there took boats to follow after the main expedition. A force of British rangers and Indian allies, sent out from Detroit against Clark, fell upon these Pennsylvanians when encamped near the present Cincinnati. A third of the Americans were killed or wounded, and of those captured, many, including Lochry, were murdered.

All the tribes north of the Ohio were now rousing for a general attack on the frontiers. On August 24th Colonel Brodhead dispatched a letter to the commander of Fort Henry, reporting the advance of a large force of the enemy, whose objective of attack was Wheeling, and ordering that the alarm should be spread to all the surrounding inhabitants.<sup>14</sup>

Thus Fort Henry was prepared when the enemy appeared, and

---

<sup>14</sup>The following paragraph from this letter has some interest: "You will immediately put your garrison in the best posture of defense, and lay in as great a quantity of water as circumstances will admit, and receive them coolly; they intend to decoy your garrison, but you are to guard against strategem, and defend the post to the last extremity."

the attack was baffled, though a few prisoners were taken in the neighborhood. A friendly Moravian from the villages of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum had conveyed the warning of this attack, and the enemy now dealt a heavy vengeance for this and other friendly services from the same source. Gnaddenhütten, the Moravian settlement on the Tuscarawas, was broken up and its inhabitants forced to remove to Sandusky, where they could no longer act as tale-bearers.

With the success of the continental army at Yorktown the climax of the war in the colonies was passed, and it became possible to give more practical relief to the struggling frontier. Here the war was by no means at an end. In September, 1781, General William Irvine had been appointed successor to Brodhead as commander of the western department. In November Fort Henry had as a garrison one regular officer and fifteen privates, but it became necessary to withdraw even this handful of regulars, and for several months the garrison consisted of some militia from Washington county, Pennsylvania.

While the negotiations for peace between the mother country and the colonies were under way, the western country was still being beat upon by the surgings of war. The campaigns of 1782 left the respective positions of the combatants about the same, but the dogged persistence of Clark in holding the posts of the Illinois country, and the brave defense of their homes by the frontier settlers, were important factors in securing the west for the confederated colonies.<sup>15</sup> The scenes of the principal warfare between the two sides lie outside the scope of this narrative, and require only a brief reference.

Early in 1782 the Williamson expedition went from Pennsylvania against the Moravian towns. The Moravian Indians had returned to their villages, and owing either to their own faithlessness or to a plot in which the acts of other Indians were laid at their door, the Americans in western Pennsylvania and Virginia determined to drive them entirely away from the border. The work was carried out ruthlessly, and the Moravian massacre has left a blood-stained chapter in the annals of the conflict between civilization and barbarism. The immediate results of the deed were to rouse all the Ohio tribes in retaliation and to beat back the advancing tide of settlement for which this invasion appeared to be a precursor.

---

<sup>15</sup>Had Clark not been in possession of Kaskaskia and Vincennes, England would probably have made use of the right of possession to continue her territorial authority over this northwestern country, and, as had been proposed at the beginning of the war, the Dominion of Canada might have been bounded on the south by the Ohio rather than the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes.

Hence the frontier settlements were in a state of terror, and occasional murders kept the population closely grouped about the block-houses and forts. Such a defensive attitude threatened ruin to the country, and the best counsel advised an aggressive campaign that would destroy or humble all the hostile tribes, and thus entirely remove the source of danger. In May, therefore, in the Mingo bottom near the present Steubenville, was organized the Sandusky expedition, whose commander, Colonel William Crawford, had earlier been identified with the founding of Fort Henry. The details of this unfortunate enterprise, resulting in the defeat of the American army, and the capture and burning at the stake of its valiant leader, can be read in many works that relate the general history and Indian annals of the central west. It is of interest to note that the expedition was recruited largely from volunteers in western Pennsylvania and Virginia, and a number of residents in the Panhandle about Wheeling were participants in this ill-fated campaign.

The chief result of Crawford's defeat was the immediate exposure of the border to the fury of the victorious Indians. That summer was the worst ever experienced by the settler along the Ohio, as it also marked practically the end of the period of Indian strife. Many of the settlers removed their families to Redstone and other posts away from the border, and all that remained were "forted." Around Fort Van Metre on Short creek the inmates endeavored to tend their crops under the protection of scouts, who patrolled the neighborhood on constant watch for the approach of savages. Towards the close of July Major Samuel McCulloch, while engaged in this scout duty, was shot from his horse by a party of Indians within a short distance of the fort. His name had been a terror to savage foes for years, and it was thought that the Indians had marked him for destruction. In addition to scalping him, it is said his slayers cut out his heart and ate it to impart to themselves his courage.

Two expeditions, originating at Detroit, and composed of British and Indians, undertook the final attacks upon the frontier during this summer. One was directed against the Kentucky settlements, and the second against Wheeling. On the afternoon of September 11th the approach of the latter was observed by Linn, the noted scout whose exploits have been previously mentioned. The alarm was given but only the inhabitants in the immediate vicinity of the fort had time to take refuge there, and no reinforcements were able to come in during the siege. This attack and siege was the culminating event in the history of Fort Henry, and for that reason, and due also to the con-

troversy which later arose regarding some of the striking incidents, it requires a careful examination as to the sources of its accounts.

After the withdrawal of the Washington county militia from the garrison, Fort Henry was occupied by a few volunteers from Ohio county. In an official letter to General Irvine, dated July 22, 1782, Ebenezer Zane makes a requisition for thirty or forty pounds of powder, and says "Any powder you may now furnish for the use of this garrison, I will undertake to account for and replace if not burnt at the enemy." He also adds that five militia constituted the strength of the garrison in addition to the inhabitants.

While there are no contemporary records of the fact, all secondary accounts agree that at this time Colonel Zane and family occupied a strongly fortified house perhaps thirty yards to the south and east of the stockade, its location being on the southern edge of the elevation on which the fort stood. This dwelling was practically a block-house, with loopholes and other provisions for defense. At the beginning of the attack Zane and his family elected to remain in this house instead of retiring to the fort. Because of its position and strength, the house became in reality an auxiliary of the main fortification, and in an assault from the east side (which was the most practicable point of attack) the enemy were exposed to a cross fire from both the house and fort.

On the 14th of September Colonel Zane, who was the responsible if not official commander at Wheeling,<sup>16</sup> wrote the following report of the siege to General Irvine:

WHEELING, 14th September, 1782.

Sir: On the evening of the 11th instant a body of the enemy appeared in sight of our garrison. They immediately formed their lines around the garrison, paraded British colors, and demanded the fort to be surrendered, which was refused. About twelve o'clock at night they rushed hard on the pickets, in order to storm, but were repulsed. They made two other attempts to storm, before day, but to no purpose.

About eight o'clock next morning, there came a negro from them to us, and informed us that the force consisted of a British Captain and forty regular soldiers, and two hundred and sixty Indians. The enemy kept a continual fire the whole day. About ten o'clock at night they made a fourth attempt to storm, to no better purpose than the former. The enemy continued round the garrison till the morning of the 13th instant, when they disap-

---

<sup>16</sup>Silas Zane, according to the later accounts, was in command of Fort Henry itself during this siege.

peared. Our loss is none. Daniel Sullivan, who arrived here in the first of the action, is wounded in the foot.

I believe they have driven the greatest part of our stock away, and might, I think, be soon overtaken.

I am, with due respect, your obedient servant,

Ebenezer Zane.

To William Irvine, Brigadier General, Commanding Western Department, Fort Pitt.

This concise and matter of fact report, written a day after the enemy disappeared, must take precedence over all other accounts of the siege. Two letters from the county lieutenant of Washington county to General Irvine, dated September 12th and September 15th respectively, add a few other details. Captain Boggs, according to the first, was bearer of the intelligence from Wheeling, and had ridden away from the fort to alarm the country and bring succor from other points. He reported that about 3 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon (the 11th) a trail of a large Indian party was discovered. He was a mile and a half away from the fort when he heard "the swivel fired at Wheeling and one rifle." From this it is evident that some little time elapsed between the discovery of the enemy and the beginning of the attack, sufficient to allow the nearby residents, including the Caldwell family south of the creek on Caldwell's run, to take refuge within the fort. In the second letter above referred to, the writer states that he had seen two deserters from the attacking force, and they had given the number of the enemy as 238 Indians and forty rangers, the latter commanded by a British officer—this corresponding substantially with the Zane report.

Outside of the brief documents just noted, there were no published accounts of this siege for nearly twenty years after it occurred. It was in 1786 that the first newspaper west of the Alleghenies was established (at Pittsburgh), and twenty years more passed before the first attempt in journalism was made at Wheeling. An event which in modern times would have brought a score of special correspondents and photographers to the scene, was recorded only in the memory of the local inhabitants and the stories that circulated about the countryside—the oldest art of history. Hence many years later, when the local chroniclers and historians began collecting the annals of this period of Indian strife, they had to depend for their facts upon the reminiscent narratives of the surviving actors in the tragedy. The best memory often fails in accurate narration of the past, and the narrative itself is subjected to the manner of telling adopted by the

writer. The versions of such stories therefore vary in many particulars, though on the whole conforming to the essential truth. The important thing for the reader is to recognize this element of human fallibility in such secondary accounts, and at the same time not push his critical faculties to the point of distrusting all he reads.



Ebenezer Zane Home at Southeast Corner of Main and Eleventh Streets.  
From the painting owned by Harry L. White.

In works previously published, and which are available to those interested in the subject, these varying narratives of this last siege of Fort Henry are told in detail.<sup>17</sup> These stories will not be repeated here, and only a brief reference will be made to the chief points in controversy. The picturesque incident which, more than anything else, gave such wide current to the whole story of the siege, was the so-called "powder exploit." The principal supply of powder for the garrison at Fort Henry had been secured by Colonel Zane through the letter to the department commander already quoted. Most of the accounts state that this supply was kept in the Zane house, he having given his word that he would be responsible for its use only for purposes of defense. Had the garrison at Fort Henry been maintained on a regular military basis, the storing of powder anywhere outside

---

<sup>17</sup>Withers' *Chronicles of Border Warfare* contains the first account in book form. The *History of the Panhandle of West Virginia* (1879) contains copious extracts from the different accounts and an elaborate discussion as to the controverted powder exploit.

the store-house expressly provided for that purpose within the stockade would have been an unusual procedure. But, as has been shown, the post's organization was at a low ebb during this summer. And, as the *de facto* commander, and his dwelling being a practical block-house adjunct to the main stockade, Zane's disposition of the powder seems to have been a wise precaution, and it is only fair to accept the usual statements on this phase of the subject.<sup>18</sup>

When the powder in the fort began to give out, and it became necessary for some one to run across the open space to secure a new supply, all accounts agree that one of the women in the garrison bravely volunteered for the service, returning with the powder in her apron. Who was this heroine? The general verdict of tradition, and the early published accounts, fixed that honor upon Betty Zane, a sister of Colonel Ebenezer Zane. A Philadelphia paper printed an account in 1802 ascribing this part to Betty Zane, and practically all subsequent publications of the story agreed as to the person who performed the exploit. In 1849 Mrs. Lydia S. Cruger, then eighty-four years of age, gave out an affidavit form of account in which she affirmed, as a matter of her personal recollection of the incident, that a young woman named Molly Scott was the messenger. Mrs. Cruger's statement also reverses the situation, so that the powder was in the garrison, the inmates of the Zane dwelling were in need of ammunition, and Molly Scott consequently started from the Zane house and carried back the powder from the stockade. Mrs. Cruger was a daughter of the Captain Boggs above mentioned, and was a girl of seventeen at the time of the siege. She herself, according to her statement, assisted Molly Scott in procuring the powder at the store house.

Beyond stating the conflicting versions of this historic incident, nothing can be added to decide the controversy. The strength of local tradition and the earliest published accounts incline to the honor of

---

<sup>18</sup>There had previously been some trouble in keeping the garrison stores intact for their legitimate purposes. The following record from the minutes of the Ohio county court for the June session of 1778 has some interest in this connection:

"A Recognisance against Saml. Mason for disposing of & exchanging some of the Continental Stores at Fort Henry, exhibited by Cl. David Sheephed; whereupon the Defendant came into Court & acknowledged the Charge in part; whereupon this Court have considered that Saml. Mason aforesd. be fined five pounds and Return into the hands of Colo. Sheephed an equally good gun, or the value thereof; valued by Raesin virgin & Joseph hoge, sworn for that purpose, valued at seventeen pounds; furthermore it appears to this Court that Saml. Mason aforesd. had exchanged his own property for the stores aforesd. with a Certain V. Doulton, D. Q., master in the Continental service."

Betty Zane. The dissent from that view has had fewer exponents but they have not lacked in vigor and earnestness.

The troublous relations of the settler with the Indian did not cease with the close of the Revolution. As long as the Indian country remained just across the Ohio river, the white people lived in the shadow of massacre and pillage. But after 1782 this portion of the border was only incidentally and occasionally disturbed, and was never the object of such deliberate campaigns as those heretofore described.

In 1783 Virginia ceded her claims by right of conquest in the territory north of the Ohio to the united government of the colonies. In 1785 Fort Harmar was established by the continental forces at the mouth of the Muskingum, and a few years later, under cover of the nation's forts and soldiers, the Ohio Company began the permanent settlement of Ohio at Marietta. In 1787 the Northwest Territory was organized, and the jurisdiction of the United States proclaimed from the line of the upper Ohio to the Mississippi. The subsequent settlement of Ohio rapidly removed the frontier from the river which had been fixed as the property line between the white and red men in 1768. The occupation of the Northwest was not accomplished without bloodshed, and the disastrous campaigns of Harmar and St. Clair in 1790-91 had their echoes in marauding parties as far as southeastern Ohio.

In 1792 some horses were stolen near Wheeling, and on May 5th Colonel Shepherd wrote to the county lieutenant of Washington county as follows: "Last Evening two Indians Shot at a man within one mile of my house, & Snapt at another in the night. They have also taken two boys, sons of James Behams, living on middle Wheeling, one of which they have killed, the other has got in, tho he is Scalped and badly Tomahawked. The Spies inform me there is Great Sign of them on Captena and Stillwater. We Expect nothing Else but a General onset; our People are Generally moving to the forts, and Seems to be in Great Confusion. \* \* \*" 19

The victory of Wayne in 1794 crushed the Indian power of the Northwest, and from that time forward the inhabitants of the upper Ohio dwelt in comparative security. And, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter, the settlers about Wheeling had overcome not only the Indian foes but likewise many of the other difficulties of the wilderness, and from that time forward were engaged in laying the foundations of a great material civilization.

---

<sup>19</sup>On April 2d the inhabitants of Middle Wheeling had memorialized the authorities at Pittsburgh saying they were too weak to make a stand against

invasion and asking for men, arms and ammunition for defense. The names of the petitioners are given herewith to show the residents along Middle Wheeling creek at that date:

THOMAS ORR  
DAVID HOSACK  
THOMAS HOSACK  
SAMUEL MOORE  
WILLIAM MORRISON  
JAMES HOSACK  
JAMES McDONNAL  
ANDREW HANNAH  
SAMUEL HOLMES  
GEORGE WHITEHILL  
WILLIAM BOHANON  
ROBERT MCCOY  
FERDINAND MOORE

THOMAS HARPON  
WILLIAM HULTS  
ANDREW WHITE  
DEVET HOWELL  
WILLIAM MCCASKILL  
ROBERT PENDERGAST  
GEORGE KNOX  
JAMES KNOX  
JAMES STETER  
HILIAN SLEATER  
HUGH MCCUTCHEN  
JOHN BRICE, V. D. M.  
WILLIAM PORTER

## CHAPTER VI.

WHEELING AND VICINITY AT THE BEGINNING OF THE  
NINETEENTH CENTURY.

"The future, greater than all the past,  
Is swiftly, surely preparing for you."

Despite the ravages of border warfare and the unsettled conditions under which the inhabitants lived, the region about Wheeling was rapidly advancing both in population and material development. From the time, about 1770, when the first cabins were built, and the first clearings made in the forests, for nearly fifteen years, there was hardly a year in which savage enmity did not menace the lives and property of the people.

This was no place for weaklings during that time, and it is impossible to associate with the men and women of that period the quality of physical cowardice. The environment gave survival only to the fittest in the frontier virtues—strength of body to endure the toils with axe and plow, vigilance and skill of the hunter, and the courage to meet the most treacherous of foes and fight to the last in defense of homes. The possession of such qualities, in such times and places, weighs against many defects. It is important to emphasize this sturdy, positive side of their character, because in later paragraphs the life and manners of the inhabitants are viewed by travellers who overlook the basic strength and call attention only to the vices in their character.

In 1777 Colonel Shepherd reported that the militia of Ohio county comprised about three hundred and fifty effective men. Remembering that Ohio county's jurisdiction then extended not only over nearly all the present Panhandle but also over a considerable part of Washington and Greene counties in Pennsylvania, it is evident that this number represented a population of perhaps two thousand in the entire county. At the first federal census of 1790, the enumeration for Ohio county (then comprising Hancock, Brooke, Ohio and Marshall) was 5,212. Thus, eight years after the last attack on Fort Henry, a thousand families were dwelling on the bench lands by the great river and along the creek valleys that ran back to the Pennsylvania line. The next decade saw a steady increase, so that by 1800 nearly ten thousand people had their permanent homes in the Panhandle. At the same

time the population of Wheeling town was estimated to be about five hundred.

In 1776, a few months after the signing of the declaration of independence, the new state of Virginia had divided the old district of West Augusta into three counties, and from the beginning of 1777 the residents of Ohio county had a local civil government of their own.<sup>1</sup> With the establishment of the county seat at West Liberty, one of the first steps was taken toward the concentration of the interests and the activities of the inhabitants. Previously the settlers, in small groups or individually, had had no common center. Each family, leading an independent existence, had produced about all the articles consumed. Each group or community had its block-house for defense, and there was a co-operation of effort in sending the annual supply train over the mountains. But aside from this, the development of the country had not reached the point where all the inhabitants were knit together under a local jurisdiction and according to the set formula of civil society. Thus it was that the regular sessions of the county court at West Liberty, the mustering and organizing of the citizenship into a body of militia, the assessing and collecting of the tithables, the laying out of roads—all betoken an important advance in the scale of civil and social attainment. For this reason the proceedings of the early county courts are among the first distinctive records that indicate what the people of Ohio county as a whole were doing.

Interesting is the process by which people get grouped into villages and cities. A block-house is a negative sort of institution. Its very existence indicates that the pressure of external danger is so great that little opportunity is allowed those under its protection for the prosecution of those arts and industries upon which material civilization depends. In the block-house period of existence, churches and schools, trade and industry, had no place.

But a mill is something positive in a new country. In peace or in war its uses are continuous. It at once becomes a focal point, to which all the blazed trails of the community lead. As the place of most frequent resort for all the inhabitants, it is the eligible location for the merchant, the mechanic, the doctor and the lawyer, and thus, unless the operation of economic laws is thwarted, the neighborhood of the mill becomes the village of the mill. A ferry at a river crossing, or a

---

<sup>1</sup>The history of the organization of local government and the workings of the first county court of Ohio county will be found in the subsequent chapter on the Bench and Bar.

point where well traveled roads meet, wherever people congregate,—that is a possible site for a town.

Thus it is easy to understand how West Liberty got its first distinction among the centers of population in Ohio county. Every month the justices from the different parts of the county went there to hold court. Many of the citizens assembled there because it was the seat of government. Near the court house was a tavern, and there or at the first store was the clearing house for a great bulk of the miscellaneous transactions which made up the primitive business of the times. There are no extant records to tell us much about West Liberty in its days of prosperity, but as the first town established<sup>2</sup> in the vicinity of Wheeling its development is interesting, and typical of similar growth about other eligible points in Ohio county.

Within the area of the Ohio county of that time could be noted a dozen sites with the potentialities and advantages for development into centers of population and industry. Up the valley of Wheeling creek at the beginning of the nineteenth century was Shepherd's mill, adjoining his stone dwelling at the forks where Elm Grove now stands, while Chapline's mill and Woods' mill were between the forks and the mouth of the creek. Down on Grave creek was the nucleus for the later Moundsville, and northward at the mouth of Buffalo creek was the situation of the present Wellsburg. The founding and growth of these towns are treated elsewhere. Attention is now called to the mouth of Wheeling creek, where the combination of historic circumstances and individual enterprise will further illustrate this process of development.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century Wheeling was a town of considerable importance, as will be hereafter shown. But its site, first known as "mouth of Wheeling," had been occupied by settlers for thirty years, while the town had been formally "established" only five years. The breadth of the tillable bench land between the river and the hills at the back, together with other good valley lands up the creek, no doubt made the place attractive to the Zanes and others who were seeking for agricultural lands. Washington and other prospectors and speculators in the western lands had found it difficult to locate their warrants in solid tracts because of the rugged nature of the country east of the "Property Line." It is evident

---

<sup>2</sup>By the act of November 20, 1787, the Virginia assembly directed that the sixty acres owned by Reubin Foreman and Providence Mounts, and "already laid off into lots and streets around the court house in the county of Ohio," be established a town by the name of West Liberty.

from many sources that the emigrants to this region during the Revolutionary period gave first consideration to the availability of land for producing the staple crops of corn, tobacco, etc., which were then the pre-eminent form of wealth in America. That the Zanes and their neighbors looked forward to a time when manufacturing and trade would be the chief productive resources of this vicinity argues a degree of foresight which the conditions of the time would hardly justify. Certain advantages connected with the location on the banks of a river which already was recognized as the great artery of communication between east and west, could not fail to lend a potential value to this site, though the great future of river navigation could only dimly be foreseen.

The point of all this is that during the pioneer era the "mouth of Wheeling" was hardly more conspicuous than other localities in this region. What, then, gave it its start as a center of population, and subsequently rallied to this point the various factors which make a town? The answer must be its eligibility as a place of defense on the frontier. Below Wheeling, with the exception of Grave creek, the east bank of the Ohio was, throughout the period of Indian strife, practically an unbroken wilderness clear to the mouth of the Kanawha. Back of Wheeling were all the settlements which comprised what was known as the "Monongahela country," to which most of the emigrants had come over the old Braddock road. Many miles of wilderness separated this column of pioneer advance from that which had crossed through the Valley of Virginia and Cumberland Gap into southwestern Virginia and Kentucky. Fort Pitt was the northern and principal point of defense for this Monongahela country, while at the western extreme was the outpost of Fort Henry. These were the chief bulwarks enclosing and protecting all the settlements within the great bend of the Ohio.

The choice of Wheeling in 1774 as the site of Fort Fincastle was therefore the first efficient cause in promoting the fortunes of this city. Many flourishing towns in America trace their origin to a military post. About Fort Henry, during its twenty years of existence, grew up a small community which became the nucleus of the many subsequent additions. Mention has already been made of the fact that the inhabitants of this locality, during the period of Indian strife, referred to their place of residence as "Zanesburg." This name was applied to the entire group of settlers about the fort, and indicates how the site of a military post had become the center of the community activities. But there is nothing to show that aside from the fort

any institutions of trade or social life were yet located there. Fort Henry may be said to have kept alive the possibilities of this site as a center of population and industry until other avenues of development were opened.

This development began some five or six years before the close of the century, and practically at the end of the period of Indian strife. For a number of years, even during the latter part of the Revolution, emigration to the Kentucky region had been on the increase, and a considerable portion of the emigrants journeyed to their destination down the river Ohio. From the time, about 1789, when the first lands of the Northwest Territory were opened to white occupation, the migration down this valley became a human tide. From the original western terminus of the Braddock trail on the Monongahela near Brownsville, roads had been pushed directly across the intervening hills to the Ohio, crossing the river at the mouth of Wheeling and other points, but chiefly at Wheeling. Probably about this time the Zanes began operation of the first crude ferry over the Ohio. Then in 1796 the national government employed Colonel Ebenezer Zane to open a road from Wheeling to Limestone (Maysville), Kentucky.

This brief summary indicates that those special advantages which we have seen to be the favoring causes for the establishment of the center of population had now come to the mouth of Wheeling. It was not yet the seat of a mill, nor of a court house, but it was the point where increasing streams of travel met. It was a logical consequence, therefore, that in 1795 the Virginia legislature accorded a somewhat formal recognition to this locality by establishing "the town of Wheeling" on the site which two years before had been laid out in lots by Ebenezer Zane.<sup>3</sup> Then two years later, in 1797, the county seat was removed from West Liberty to Wheeling,<sup>4</sup> thus depriving the old town of its only distinction and the foundation of its existence, and increasing the other advantages already enjoyed by the village at the mouth of Wheeling.

The chief elements in the rise and early development of Wheeling and vicinity having been noted, it now remains to describe this locality at the beginning of the nineteenth century through the medium of such contemporary records as have been preserved.

July 16, 1802, Dr. Francois Andre Michaux, a celebrated French

---

<sup>3</sup>For a detailed account of the establishment of the town see the chapter on "The Municipality."

<sup>4</sup>See chapter on Bench and Bar.

naturalist, in company with Samuel Craft, a Vermont farmer, arrived in Wheeling, having that day passed through "West Liberty town, built on a hill side." The following is from his work entitled "Travels to the Westward of the Allegheny Mountains," printed in London in 1805:

"Wheeling, situated on one of the high banks of the Ohio, was not in existence twelve years ago. At present it contains about seventy houses, built of planks; which, as in all the rising towns of the United States, are separated by an interval of several toises. This little town is confined by a long hill from a hundred and eighty to two hundred toises in height, the base of which is not farther from the river than two hundred toises. In this interval the houses are built; they form only one street, having the road in the middle. \* \* \* Here are twelve or fifteen well provided stores, from which the inhabitants for twenty miles around are supplied. This small town also participates in the exportation trade carried on between Pittsburg and the western country. Several of the traders of Philadelphia prefer sending their merchandise here, although it is a day's journey farther; but this slight inconvenience is amply compensated by the advantage they derive in avoiding the long circuit made by the Ohio on quitting Pittsburg, in which the very numerous shallows and the want of rapidity in the current during the summer retard the navigation.

"At Wheeling we lodged with Captain Beymer, who keeps a tavern at the sign of the Waggon, and takes boarders for two piasters a week. The living is very good at his house for this money, for provisions are not dear here: twelve fowls are sold for a piaster, and a quintal of flour was not, at that time, worth more than a piaster and a half."

In seven years the rude settlement of log cabins around the old stockade fort had become a thriving commercial town, with both a local and export trade. The next important contemporary witness was an English traveler, Thomas Ashe, whose letter written at Wheeling in April, 1806, is too long to quote entire. As to the town itself he says it "is formed of about two hundred and fifty houses; ten of which are built of brick, eighteen of stone, and the remainder of logs."

In the four years from the visit of the Frenchman, the town's importance in the exportation river trade had increased. Ashe writes: "Here quantities of merchandise designed for the Ohio country and the Upper Louisiana are brought in wagons during the dry seasons; as boats can frequently go from hence, when they cannot from places higher up the river. Besides, as the navigation above Wheeling is more dangerous than all the remainder of the river, persons should undoubtedly give it the preference to Pittsburg."

Fighting, drinking, gambling, cock mains, horse racing, non-observance of the Sabbath, were the regular diversions of Wheeling's inhabitants in 1806, according to the observations of this English traveler. This traveler relates how two countrymen drinking at a tavern engaged in a heated discussion as to the merits of their horses, and to settle the dispute went out to the race course, followed by two-thirds of the town's population. The rest of the day was given over to recreation and the stores were shut up. The first race was followed by others, and during an interlude a Kentuckian and a Virginian engaged in a bout, in which gouging, and biting, clenching and clawing, were the deciding factors in the fight, and at the end both combatants were badly mutilated. After the crowd had returned from the race grounds and after the supper hour, one of the taverns became the scene of a ball and card playing. The music was furnished by negroes playing banjos and lute. The refusal of one among the party to drink "Damnation to Thomas Jefferson" precipitated another encounter, at which the ladies quickly retired, the offenders were thrown out, and the day of festivity came to an end.

A careful study of this entire letter shows that the writer gave too willing credence to some of the wild tales which a border people have in many other instances indulged in for the edification of the polite stranger and for their own amusement afterwards. It is hardly fair to conclude from the testimony of this letter that such scenes as it describes were typical of the every-day life in this vicinity, or illustrated the character and manners of the bulk of the people.

However, Wheeling at that time was still close to the "far west" of the nation, and the "west" both then and later has been noted for wide variations from the standards of conduct and manners upheld in the older parts of the country. At the period now under consideration, moreover, the entire nation was enjoying an exuberance of "liberty" that was manifested in exaggerated forms of speech and action. A more competent judge of the society and manners of the times in western Virginia was Noah Linsly, one of the early members of the Wheeling bar. Writing to his brother in Connecticut from Morgantown, which was his residence in 1799, Noah Linsly says: "The state of society in most parts of the country is such that I do not wish to see you here with your family, unless you could be placed in very independent circumstances, for schools, religious instruction, the decency of manners, etc., are not to be found among the generality of the people in this country. \* \* \* However, in every community I find some good people."

In this brief review of the conditions at Wheeling and vicinity, the purpose has been to show the origin and beginnings of town life and its activities during the brief interim between the close of the period of Indian strife and the opening of the great era of material development which will be considered in the following chapter. The days of the pioneer were gone, and a new generation was now taking up the work of development for which the backwoods settlers, hunters and Indian fighters had cleared the way. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the forts and block-houses had become obsolete, and even the forests were being stript from the hills and the game was being driven into the remote wilderness. Henceforth, Trade and Industry were to sway the fortunes of this valley and its people.

---

The following quotations from the *Repository*, the first Wheeling newspaper, are appended for their quaint interest and as additional commentaries on the subject matter of the preceding chapter.

#### EMIGRATION TO THE STATE OF OHIO.

The emigration to the state of Ohio for the last three or four years, has been beyond human calculation. No person can be so well acquainted with the number of families going into that state, as those placed at the different ferries on the Ohio river; and it would be a matter of curiosity, were an account taken at each ferry-house, of the number of waggons, carriages, &c. crossing the river daily, and also the number of souls these might contain. By this means an accurate account would be ascertained, from the thus collected information, in some given time, of the number of emigraters to the state of Ohio from all the different points at which they strike the river. If other places on the Ohio bear the same proportion with Wheeling for the number of horses, carts, waggons, carriages, &c. crossing the river, the country, indeed, must be alive with movers and travellers.

Having been in Wheeling a few days in October 1807, I was astonished, to be sure, to see the arrivals continually of one-horse, two-horse, three-horse, four-horse, and five-horse carriages, waggons, &c. all filled with women and children, and family goods, some from New-England, and indeed much the greater part; some from New-jersey, but not half enough; some from Maryland, the lower parts of Virginia, &c. &c. Mixed apparently with these were companies of horsemen, some travelling for curiosity, others to look out for a new place of future residence for themselves and their numerous posterity, others to fix on a place for the sale of merchandise, others for their health, and some perhaps hunting money. This kind of scene keeps the mind busy in viewing the variety of manners possessed by the variety of people; in which the New-englanders and Virginians differ very much: each have their peculiarities. The fashion and make of the carts and waggons, the horses and their tackling, all tended to fill up *the drama*, which to me was not an unpleasant one; for I somehow or other like to see the world in a gog; in a moving frolick, as it were; it is a proof that we are not dead.

As a further evidence of the great emigration to Ohio, the landlord where I lodged, told me that in the autumn of 1805, there crossed the river, opposite

Wheeling, 800 family waggons, carts and carriages, in the course of three months.<sup>1</sup>

---

TO THE PUBLIC.

THE Subscriber, during a long and changing life, having observed that the most decent and sober travellers wish to be accommodated at respectable and sober houses, which are not disturbed by the noise of a bar room and drinking people, proposes to open a house and stable, &c. for that purpose, and for boarding, & trading in country produce, on the first day of May next, in Charlestown, Brocke county, Virginia. The house is that now kept by Mr. Henderson, situated on Front street, the sign of the spread eagle, consisting of a store and seven other rooms, with a cellar under the whole. The Subscriber will always have several lots. The interest of sober travellers will be decently attended to; and as he hath lived several years in the territories of Louisiana and Mississippi, those only acquainted with the French language may find a person with whom they can converse.

ANDREW WILSON.

7th April, 1807.

N. B. The store room and half of the large cellar may be rented by the month.<sup>2</sup>

---

PROFILES

Taken with the Physiognotrace,  
at 25 cents for four of the same person,  
by Francis Scachi & Co.

At the Store room in the house of Noah Zane, Esq. opposite the Court-house in Wheeling. Gilt, black, or plain Frames can be furnished for the Profiles.

Also for sale at the same place, a great variety of  
LOOKING-GLASSES, PRINTS, MAPS, SPY-GLASSES, BAROMETERS  
AND THERMOMETERS.

May 7th, 1807.<sup>3</sup>

---

FOR SALE.

In the Town of Wheeling, a large and general assortment of Castings and Bar-Iron, by the ton, or single piece: Also, Window and Hollow Glass, of the best quality, from New-Geneva, by the Box, or Light.

EVANS & GRIFFITH.<sup>4</sup>

---

SOLOMON KING.

Watch and Clock Maker,  
Lately from Baltimore,

Respectfully informs the Public, that he has commenced the above business in the first house south of the Court-house, and opposite Noah Zane, Esq. in

---

<sup>1</sup>*Repository*, Dec. 3, 1807.

<sup>2</sup>*Repository*. April 7, 07.

<sup>3</sup>*Repository*, May 7, 07.

<sup>4</sup>*Repository*, March 20, 07.

the Town of Wheeling. From his knowledge of the business, and strict attention, he hopes to give ample satisfaction to those who may please to favour him with their commands.

N. B. He has for sale an assortment of Watches and Jewelry, of the newest patterns.<sup>5</sup> May 4th, 1868.

---

Hemp and Tar.

The highest price will be given for  
good merchantable Hemp and Tar, by

Michael Graham,

Who has on hand a general assortment of

Dry Goods and Groceries,

With Cordage of all Sorts and sizes,  
at his store, opposite John White.<sup>6</sup>

---

NOTICE.

The Subscriber cautions the Citizens of the Borough of Wheeling, and others whom it may concern, not to have any kind of dealings with his slaves, or harbour them in their houses, contrary to law, after this notice. Any person or persons found guilty, may expect to be dealt with as the laws of the land direct.

EBENEZER ZANE.<sup>7</sup>

---

ATTENTION!

THE Gentlemen who have agreed to form themselves into a Light-Infantry Company in the Town of Wheeling, are requested to attend at the Court-house, on Saturday the 21st inst. at two o'clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of electing their Officers.<sup>8</sup>

---

On the 4th inst. the Wheeling Light-infantry company paraded, in order to celebrate the 31st anniversary of American Independence. A suitable repast was provided for the occasion, on the bank of the Ohio, where they were joined by several gentlemen of the Corporation. After dinner the following toasts were given, and the Infantry fired a volley for each of them. The day was spent with that conviviality and harmony which mark the character of genuine Republicans.<sup>9</sup>

---

WHEELING INFANTRY 4TH JULY, 1868.

This day being the 32nd Anniversary of American Independence, was celebrated by the Wheeling Infantry. The Company having paraded repaired to a pleasant shade on the bank of the Ohio, where a suitable entertainment was

---

<sup>5</sup>*Repository*, May 12, 68.

<sup>6</sup>*Repository*, March 12, 67.

<sup>7</sup>*Repository*, March 12, 67.

<sup>8</sup>*Repository*, March 18, 67.

<sup>9</sup>*Repository*, July 9, 67.

provided for the occasion. After dinner, a volley of musquetry was given to each of the following toasts: three cheers were likewise given to the greater part of them. The utmost harmony and good humor prevailed throughout the day. No accident occurred, to mar the prevailing happiness; no discordant feelings arose to interrupt the satisfaction which generally appeared. In the evening the Company paraded through the town, and were dismissed, highly gratified by the enjoyments of the day, and well pleased with each others' regularity and agreeable conduct.<sup>10</sup>

---

The Subscriber respectfully informs his friends, and the Public in general, that he has on hand, and intends to keep, a general assortment of *STILLS* and *COPPER WARE*, and *TIN-WARE* of all kinds, of the best quality which he will sell by Wholesale and Retail as low as they can be had this side of the mountains. He will give the highest prices for old Copper, Brass and Pewter.

JOHN DULTY.

Wheeling 1st March, 1808.<sup>11</sup>

---

A wagon loaded with specie from the Land-office at Chilicothe to the Pittsburgh bank, left this place on the morning of the 19th inst. It was accompanied by a guard of four men.<sup>12</sup>

#### WHEELING RACES.

Will be run for on Tuesday the 25th of October, over a handsome course adjoining the town, a Purse of *Sixty Dollars*, three miles and repeat. Free for any horse, mare, or gelding. Entrance four dollars.

On Wednesday the 26th, over the same course, a Purse of *Forty Dollars*, two miles and repeat. Entrance three dollars; free as above, the winning horse on the preceding day excepted.

On Thursday the 27th, a handsome Sweepstake, two miles and repeat. Entrance two dollars; free as above.

The horses to carry catch riders. On the day of race, the jockeys will be furnished with the rules. Each horse to be entered with either of the managers on the evening preceding the race, or double entrance at the poles.

G. Miller, Jos. Kerr, F. Beymer,  
Managers.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup>*Repository*, July 7, 08.

<sup>11</sup>*Repository*, March 10, 08.

<sup>12</sup>*Repository*, May 21, 1807.

<sup>13</sup>*Repository*, Oct. 15, 08.

## CHAPTER VII.

## EARLY RIVER HIGHWAYS AND THE NATIONAL ROAD.

"Half the marvels of my morning, triumphs over time and space,  
\* \* \* shrunk by usage into commonest common place."

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, if we assume the correctness of the federal census, 9,446 men, women and children dwelt in the Panhandle of Virginia. Two thousand homes were scattered over the hills and in the valleys between the Ohio river on one side and the Pennsylvania line on the other. At Wheeling were perhaps a hundred dwellings, another group not so large at Wellsburg, another on Grave Creek Flats, and smaller collective communities at West Liberty and similar centers. But probably two-thirds of these homes were detached settlements on the land estates that comprised the greater part of this region.

What the life and activities of these nearly ten thousand people were has been described on previous pages. Considered economically, this population was reduced to the low terms of pioneer simplicity. It produced little that could be sent back to the older part of the nation and command a profit for the labor of production. And what this people required from the east was measured by the local poverty of production. Today, many carloads of merchandise, from near and far, would have to be collected to fill the annual aggregate wants of ten thousand people. Then, the importations, which came laboriously over the mountains on pack horses or in wagons, consisted of a few thousand pounds of the now common commodities of food, clothing and tools. What could not be grown in the soil, procured with trap or rifle in the forest, or made in the home and community workshops, was a luxury—and the people of this part of Virginia in 1800 had few luxuries.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>The acquisition of the indispensable articles of salt, iron, steel and castings, presented great difficulties to the first settlers of the western country. They had no stores of any kind, no salt, iron, nor iron works; nor had they money to make purchases where those articles could be obtained. Peltry and furs were their only resources, before they had time to raise cattle and horses for sale in the Atlantic states. Every family collected what peltry and fur they could obtain throughout the year for the purpose of sending them over the mountains for barter. In the fall of the year, after seeding time, every family formed an association with some of their neighbors for starting a little caravan. \* \* \* The barter for salt and iron was made first at Baltimore; Frederick, Hagerstown, Oldtown and Fort Cumberland, in succession, became the place of exchange. \* \* \* The common price of a bushel of alum salt, at an early period, was a good cow and calf."—Doddridge's Notes.

Certainly one important element in economic wealth is the ability to command access, at reasonable cost and minimum time, to the markets of the state or nation. We now have approximation to that condition. For, a resident of Triadelphia, for example, may command within a few hours the resources of metropolitan shops and supply houses at Wheeling, or, within a few days, may procure almost unlimited choice at any market center between the Atlantic and Pacific.

This reference to the economic status of the above population in 1800 will make plain the purpose of this article, which is to consider the early development of communication and transportation in and through this region. Population in considerable numbers had arrived, had established itself on a permanent basis. Its potential energies were great. But beyond the wringing of a meagre subsistence from the soil and the woods and rivers, its power was circumscribed and ineffectual for the upbuilding of a wealthy, independent society. The simple forms of shelter and food and a certain degree of civil and institutional organization are possible on a frontier. But the higher developments of civilization are never attained until the former frontier itself becomes merged with and integrally related with the older social and commercial organism. This condition begins when the lines of communication are so perfected that the new community has unrestricted commerce with all adjacent and distant parts of the country.

An interesting process of economic adjustment accompanied the settlement of the American west. During the latter years of the eighteenth century, Wheeling and vicinity was strictly a pioneer country. Its inhabitants had brought money and property with them from the east, and the influx of new settlers tended to maintain the current wealth of the locality against the drain to the east for supplies. But as yet this region was not producing enough to keep up "the balance of trade," that is, the quantity of commerce that each year came west was, comparatively speaking, much greater than went east. Evidently this condition, had it continued, would have brought the Wheeling country into economic poverty and placed it in absolute dependence on the bounty of the east. But by the close of the century, the frontier had moved on, and the western Virginia already signified the east to many thousands who had settled the Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky region. And as this wave of migration passed over and by the Panhandle, its inhabitants found a profitable service in supplying the emigrants with the grain and other things produced here. Thus wave after wave of population passed over, each leaving its toll of wealth as it went. What crops were grown on the hills and valleys, what the

pioneer shops could manufacture, and the stocks kept by the merchants were regularly drawn upon for the needs of the travelers bound for western lands. As long as the westward movement was such that the passing emigrants took up all the surplus products, the commerce of this region required little energy or initiative of extension. But as the immediate region on the west became permanently settled, and with the enlargement of the local productive facilities, it was no longer possible for the people of the Panhandle to sit quietly at home and take toll from the stream of eager pioneers who were pushing the frontier into the far west. Then it came about that the era of industrialism, of permanent commerce, and of improved transportation was fairly inaugurated.

Every community, in order to be economically independent, must have business, a work to perform. But very closely upon business follows the means of communication, by which the business of one locality may be placed at the disposal of other localities and by exchange converted into the elements which constitute wealth. Furthermore, communication has very intimate relationship with population. Transportation has been called the key to population. It requires only a brief examination of any section of country to determine how population follows the main lines of communication. At this age a county without a railroad, even in the eastern states, will be found to possess a sparse population.

That the permanence of cities is dependent on easy and economical transportation to and from its tributary region is evident from a study of the Panhandle country. Wheeling and Wellsburg began their careers as commercial centers on very nearly equal terms. Both had the Ohio river to bring and carry away commerce. Wheeling secured a prominent place on the National road, while Wellsburg was left to the side and never afterwards seriously threatened the supremacy of its rival. Again, the example of West Liberty and Wheeling may be noted. The former had the county seat, but even had that been removed thirty years later than it was, the access which the latter town had to two great transportation routes would have set it far ahead in the race for commercial power.

The cornerstone of Wheeling's prosperity during the first half of the nineteenth century was the Ohio river. That was the great natural highway, and the only practicable thoroughfare between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi valley. Pittsburg, Wheeling, Cincinnati, Louisville—all were born of the great stream that rolls its turbid floods under the shadows of their now lofty buildings. A century and even

seventy-five years ago, the inland waters of America gave life and prosperity to the towns on their banks, and prepared the destinies of the great commercial centers east of the Mississippi just as surely as the railroads in the latter half of the century created and nourished the cities in the western half of the central basin. Pittsburg, Buffalo, Cleveland, Wheeling, Cincinnati, Louisville, Detroit, St. Louis and Chicago, have all celebrated the centennials of their founding, and all derived their original prosperity from location on the lakes and navigable rivers. A modern commercial map is distinguished chiefly by the network of railroad lines. Did such a thing as a commercial map exist a century ago, the rivers would have been drawn in prominently, for these were the traffic bearers, and along their valleys were the only large groupings of population. Should water cease to flow down the Ohio from source to mouth and its bed become as dry as the hills that girt in its course, Pittsburg, Wheeling and Cincinnati would lose only one important factor in their prosperity, but it is hardly conceivable that their permanent rank as cities would be seriously threatened. So far, did the progress of the nineteenth century substitute new essentials in the foundation of a city's business importance. The Ohio has a numerous progeny along its waters, but in their lusty maturity it was only in comparatively recent years that they have again acknowledged the maternal inheritance, and have returned to the task of utilizing and improving the resources of this perennial current of waters.<sup>2</sup>

The movement of colonists in search of western homes had reached large proportions during the last two decades of the eighteenth century. A host of these settlers passed through and by Wheeling. Many went to Kentucky.<sup>3</sup> After Wayne had subjugated the Indians, about 1795, the stream of emigration turned northward, and the territory northwest of the river filled rapidly. At the first census, in 1790,

---

<sup>2</sup>In a special historical sense West Virginia has an interest in the Ohio river, for its territorial jurisdiction extends from shore to shore. Usually when rivers or other bodies of water form portions of boundaries between states or nations, they are divided centrally, but in the case of the Ohio the bounds were fixed differently. By act of the Virginia general assembly, January 2, 1781, Virginia yielded for the benefit of the United States all her right to the territory northwest of the Ohio river. However (quoting the Code of 1849 on the territorial jurisdiction of the commonwealth), "so far as the territory northwest of the river Ohio forms one of the boundaries of this commonwealth, the said river, with the islands thereof, shall be considered as comprehended, and is hereby declared to be comprehended, within the bodies of the several counties of this commonwealth lying upon the said river."

<sup>3</sup>"In 1779 there were, it is said, in the whole Kentucky district but one hundred and seventy-six white men. In 1784 these numbers had gone far up

only four thousand two hundred white inhabitants were found from the Ohio to the Lakes, and from Pennsylvania to the Mississippi. But by 1800 the population of Ohio territory alone was 45,365.

Thus, while the hills on one side of the river were white men's country and those on the other had not yet been yielded by the Indians, old Fort Henry had often witnessed the passage of flotillas of emigrant boats. In 1780, two years before the historic siege of Fort Henry, three hundred flat-boats, with six hundred people on board, had passed within hail of Wheeling settlers, many of them had doubtless been drawn up under the guns of the fort to spend a night, and thence continued the journey to the falls of the Ohio, where as a result the Virginia assembly established the same year the town of Louisville.

Each recurring spring flood brought down the river an increasing number of colonist boats. Between the fall and spring, during 1786 and 1787, these boats averaged about one a day. In 1788 it was estimated that not less than ten thousand emigrants passed Marietta. The second large party which came from the east to settle at Marietta had driven their wagons and stock overland as far as Wheeling, and there embarked on flat-boats. This was in the month of June, after the usual high-water stage. Thus early was marked the beginning of Wheeling's position as the head of all-year navigation of the Ohio. The first group of Marietta colonists had spent the winter on the Yougiogheny river, and with the opening of navigation had descended that stream to the Monongahela, which led them by Pittsburg and down the Ohio to their destination. Most of the early emigration, in fact, took this course. The explorers and hunters of the eighteenth century found it practicable to use canoes on the upper branches of the Ohio at almost all seasons of the year, and with the beginning of the emigration to the west the heavier boats for the conveying of cattle and household goods were as a rule started in the flood seasons, when the Monongahela and sister streams were navigable by this kind of craft.

As entire books have been written on the subject of the Ohio river and its navigation and commerce, it is obvious that this article must treat the matter briefly and confine itself mainly to the facts needed to understand properly this period of Wheeling and vicinity's history.

---

into the thousands, and each month hundreds of immigrants came over the mountains from Carolina, or down the Ohio from Pittsburg. Wheat fields and cornfields and orchards began to spring up in every direction, and already the wagons that brought out merchandise from Philadelphia went back laden with grain."—McMaster's History.

Hence a curious interest about this subject would probably be satisfied by a brief consideration of the varying types of the river craft, the methods of handling them, what traffic they bore, and the general character of the rivermen. But the special interest would be as to what were the relations between the river traffic and the country about Wheeling, how business was affected, how the river trade tended to develop the towns and country, and how the civic and social life of this locality was wrought upon by this tide of travel down the valley.

The year 1811 may not inaptly be chosen as the date which divides the navigation of the Ohio into two eras. In that year the steamboat *New Orleans*, built at Pittsburg, made the first voyage down the stream, under the power of steam-driven paddles, to the Mississippi. However, this event merely marked the beginning of the new era. The older types of river craft persisted in use for some years, though used less and less except for down-stream travel.

In this earlier, pre-steamboat era, the river craft, though of most miscellaneous design, construction and use, belonged in one of two general classes. One class comprised all those water-borne vehicles which were constructed primarily to afford means for carrying persons and goods with the current. This kind of vessel served the temporary purpose of reaching the west by the water route, and the builder had no thought of navigating up stream. Arriving at his destination, he used the material in constructing his pioneer shelter, or drew it ashore to fall into ruin, or perhaps sold it to some other voyager to continue down the river. The other class could more properly be termed boats, were of better construction, and could be propelled by paddles or oars up or down stream.

When the tide of emigration began in earnest, perhaps the majority of families or groups of settlers, on reaching the upper waters leading to the west, sought the easiest and most economical craft for the continuance of their journey. Had they arrived on the western watershed some weeks before the opening of navigation, they would employ their time and skill by constructing a rather substantial and comfortable vessel. The late comers, or those with great haste and less skill, would perfect some crude form of raft on which they trusted themselves and their goods to the turbulent waters in flood seasons. At Brownsville, Pittsburg and Wheeling, the building of all kinds of boats in a few years became one of the largest industries, and after the pioneer emigrations most of the homeseekers chose to buy their boats ready made.

The first class of boats above mentioned comprised what were

variously known as flat-boats, arks or barges—all being more or less improvement on the crudest and most primitive water vehicle—the raft. The simplest form was a makeshift of seasoned logs, lashed together as a platform, with a rough superstructure of planks. A better and the more usual type, especially after the establishment of sawmills made it possible to secure planks, consisting of two hewn timbers about forty feet in length laid parallel about fifteen feet apart, and joined together with cross beams and sawed planks which made the floor of the boat. The ends were boarded up, sometimes the siding was carried up several feet above the gunwales, and the seams were calked. Over the stern projected a sweep paddle for steering the clumsy structure. When the family took passage on the flat-boat a plank shelter was built to keep out the weather.

The second or better type of early river craft included the bark or dug-out canoe, the keel-boat (which was only a better model of the flat-boat), and later the stanch schooners and packets which were built on true boat-lines. The labor and skill required to hollow out the trunk of a tree, to make a bark canoe, or construct the keel-boat, was such that the vessel became too valuable to be broken up at the end of the voyage. And this type of boat could be operated up and down stream, and hence it became the chief factor in the river commerce until the steamboats came on the river.

In 1793 the first line of packet boats was established between Pittsburg and Cincinnati. The boats were large, clumsy structures, with keel, built with thick siding, proof against rifle and musket balls. They had cabins, a space separately partitioned for the accommodation of women, and the proprietor advertised a first quality of provisions and liquors for passengers. The packets carried passengers, freight and mail, and were operated on a regular schedule. The power for propelling them was the force of the human body with the use of oars, poles and cordelles (towing lines).<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup>The homeseeker's voyage down the river during the last decade of the eighteenth century is described by McMaster as follows:

"A journey down the river was quite as hazardous as on the day when the first white man entered the valley. If the traveler were a settler coming from the East with his family and his goods, he would repair to Pittsburg, lay in a stock of powder and ball, purchase provisions for a month, and secure two rude structures which passed by the name of boats. In the long keel-boat he would place his wife, his children, and such strangers as had been waiting at Fort Pitt for a chance to travel in company. In the flat-boat, or the ark, would be the cattle and the stores. The keel-boat was hastily and clumsily made. The hold was shallow, the cabin was low. Over the stern projected a huge oar, which, mounted on a swivel, was called a sweep, and performed all the duties of a rudder. The ark was of rough plank intended to be used for building at

The first mail route over the Allegheny mountains was ordered by Congress in September, 1786, to run from Alexandria, Virginia, to Pittsburg. Then in 1794 a plan was devised for transporting the mail up and down the Ohio river. Light, strong boats, similar to a whale boat, were constructed. The crew consisted of five, one steersman and four at the oars. They could go upstream thirty miles a day, and twice that distance down. There were four relays between Cincinnati and Wheeling. From Wheeling to Pittsburg the mail was carried overland on horseback. In the same year (1794) the first postmaster at Wheeling was appointed, probably due to the arrangement just described.

Who were the travelers and what was the traffic of that period? The settlers and their families and homeseekers on a preliminary survey of the country undoubtedly composed the great bulk of passenger traffic. Then there were the land agents, the politicians and the few professional travelers of the time. It is a well known fact that now in some of the new, undeveloped portions of the west, the main sup-

---

some settlement where saw-mills were scarce. The shape was rectangular. The width was fifteen feet, the length was forty.

"In these craft, if the water were high and swift, if they did not become entangled in the branches of overhanging trees, if the current did not drive them on an island or dash them against the bank in a bend, if the sawyers and planters were skilfully avoided, and if no fog compelled the boatmen to lie to and make fast to a tree, it was possible to drift from Pittsburg to Wheeling in twelve hours. Wheeling was a place of fifty log and frame houses, boasted of a stockade, and, in troubled times, of a garrison of one hundred and fifty troops. Below it near the Muskingum, was Marietta. In the official language of the time it was described as being in the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio. But the phrase was too long for the boatmen and settlers, and, as they expressed it, Marietta was on the Indian side of the Ohio. Two hundred wooden houses of boat-planks or of logs made up the town. The inhabitants were lazy and given to drink, cultivated little land, and lived chiefly on venison, wild turkeys, and bread made of Indian corn. Food, therefore, was scarce and dear; nor was it always that the owner of a few bushels of 'red potatoes' or a half-dozen barrels of flour could be induced to part with one, even for money. Many a flatboat man who stopped at the place to buy food went away disappointed. Still farther down the river, and just opposite the Little Kanawha, lay Belle Pre. Fifteen miles beyond was another cluster of cabins; but thence to the mouth of the Great Kanawha the country was a forest of 'sugar trees' and sycamores. All day long flocks of wild turkeys littered the trees overhead, and at times a bear or an elk might be seen swimming the river. At night the woods on every hand resounded with the bark of wolves. Then was it that the lonely emigrants were tormented by all manner of fears. To go on in the darkness was to expose the boat to being caught upon a planter or stranded upon an island. To tie fast to the bank was, in all likelihood, to become a mark for Indian bullets before day. If the dread of being wrecked overcame the dread of being shot, the fires were put out, the sides of the cabin protected with blankets and beds, and while some tried to sleep within, others stood upon the deck, axe in hand, ready to cut the ropes at the first sound of the approaching foe."

port and prosperity of the permanent community depends on the annually recurring influx of investors and "excursionists" from the older states. Similar conditions existed when the upper Ohio was on the borderland. Without the steady stream of emigration, each family or investor contributing something to the local wealth, it is inconceivable how this region would not have soon been denuded of all forms of wealth except its land and local productive activities. For the merchandise borne on the rivers and over the trails comprised in the main the household goods and supplies of the settler and the small stocks for outfitting the frontier stores. To pay for the latter, tokens of value of some kind had to be returned to the Atlantic states, and, while no statistics are available, it can be asserted with every presumption of truth that the western produce for many years had a meagre exchange value after being transported over the long road to Philadelphia or Baltimore.

The first great market for the products of the Ohio valley was New Orleans. In 1782, it is recorded, a man named Yoder took a flat-boat down the Ohio and Mississippi to this gulf port. A chapter of national history describes the protesting of the citizens along the Ohio and Mississippi against the closing of the mouth of the latter river by the Spaniards, the subsequent Jay treaty by which the port was opened, and the final removal of all obstacles to unrestricted navigation through the Louisiana purchase. The corn and wheat, the cattle and many other products of the northern states for years found profitable sale at New Orleans. For some twenty years or more after these southern markets had been opened the commerce between them and the Ohio valley was carried on under difficulties that have no parallel in modern transportation. To take a boat-load of grain, representing a year's labor, a distance of several thousand miles down the rivers, was a hazardous risk that few marine insurers would have guaranteed. But a safe arrival at New Orleans did not complete the transaction. An exchange of his products for other goods (notably the New Orleans sugars) involved a return voyage surpassing the first in every feature of labor, time and difficulty. More frequently the cargo was exchanged for cash and the owner then returned home on foot across country, over a route infested by Indians and more dangerous outlaws.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup>"In the early history of the Ohio Valley there was a famous path which well might have borne that title given by the Ohio Indians to the route on which so many emissaries of peace had been murdered—'The Bloody Way.' This was the worn trail northward from New Orleans through Mississippi and

Probably the adventurers who made a regular business of buying the crops along the upper rivers and transporting them south secured what would now be deemed extortionate profits. But to embark such a venture at Wheeling and risk its passage and return certainly required a commercial daring of the highest kind, and deserved commensurate rewards.

All this movement up and down the river was a conspicuous and even intimate feature of Wheeling's life. Little of the traffic originated here, and only a small volume was destined for this port. But a town derives its character not alone from its permanent residents and local activities. The business and humanity that passed the wharves of the river front and tarried for an hour or a night left more than money in the tills of the merchants and tavern-keepers; they made new activities, they shaped the standards of conduct and thought, they affected the very social fabric. Wheeling was a "river town." Through all the years when river navigation was the dominant factor in transportation, that phrase had a special significance. In contrast with the rural, inland settlements, the river town was pervaded by the bustle and excitement attending commerce; by the roughness of manner, the license of speech and conduct, and the rowdyism that characterized the portion of population who were directly or indirectly associated with the carrying trade. Wheeling and all the towns in this region had their proportion of quiet, substantial, high-minded and moral citizens. But the element that found its livelihood by the river and assorted with the rivermen were perhaps more conspicuous in the superficial life of the town. Hence the travelers who in the early years of the century found so much drinking, brawling, horse racing and loose manners among the citizenship were no doubt misled, as travelers usually are, by the manifestations of character that came to view at the inns and public places of the town.

"The pioneers who entered the Ohio valley after its conquest from the aborigines found it to be a beautiful gem very much in

---

Tennessee to Kentucky over which came the returning boatmen or shipper's agents bringing northward the money paid for their goods in southern markets. This path with its red tales of bloodshed indicates the distance of markets which was such a handicap to all early settlers in the Ohio Valley. Until well along in the nineteenth century there were no markets of note short of lower Mississippi ports. The return with goods by water was a very laborious operation, occupying weeks of severest labor with oar, sail and cordelle; it was more common to ask for cash than for goods in trade, and unless the merchant or merchant's agent returned by the roundabout sea-route the short road home was this 'Tennessee Path.' Often the path was the route of drovers taking cattle southward for sale; the path was the natural route homeward."—Hulbert's "The Ohio Valley."

the rough.<sup>6</sup> Savage conditions did not prevail, it is true, so far as scalping and burning at the stake were typical of them, but it was many years before life and property were safe from outlaws, and more before rowdies and rowdyism ceased to menace liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

"The lawless condition of the land, and its comparatively small number of inlaws made the west a haven for outlaws, from the southern and eastern states; once over the mountains and afloat on the Ohio all such men were free to turn over life's leaf and begin anew. Perhaps some did this, though we have heard more of those who did not.

"But the west was not dependent upon the east for its desperadoes and cutthroats; the home industry, Indian fighting, had raised up a class of 'caitiff wretches,' as one general called them, that would have done honor to the docks and grog-shops of any Atlantic seaboard city. Drifting from place to place, setting up claims for land that rightfully belonged to others, now and then, if the exigency of the case demanded, committing brutal murder, and at all times brawling in grog-shops and pilfering along the rivers, the outlaws of the 'Ohio country' gained a national reputation. But it will be readily admitted that in this matter there has been a vast deal of exaggeration.

"These hard conditions of life on land had their effect on the social fabric; rough work meant, on the average, rough men. On the river the same conditions prevailed; here the work was, perhaps, rougher, and the riverman was in consequence rougher than his neighbor on shore. The professional keelboatman or flatboatman was indeed a tough customer; alternating between the severest manual labor and idleness, the relaxation as well as the gruelling struggle with the cordelle or the heavy sweeps tended to make these men as boisterous at play as they were hard-driven when at work. While the flatboats were going down stream one man at the 'gouger', or in the stern, could keep the boat in the current; but if the boat returned, both oar and ropes attached to the shores were constantly strained to the breaking point. When the hours of relaxation came, it is not strange that these men indulged in sport as strenuous and remarkable as their toil had been severe. The one chief sport was fighting, and the bully of the Ohio valley was King of the Valley in those old days."

At Wheeling, Wellsburg and other points, one of the large industries of this period was boat building. The ship yards on the flats near the mouth of Wheeling creek are referred to by several early travelers. Just before the steamboat era, many vessels of the larger type, fitted for navigation not only on the river but on the open sea, were constructed along the upper Ohio. A paragraph in the old *Wheeling Repository* about 1807 mentions the ceremonious launching

---

<sup>6</sup>Hulbert's "The Ohio Valley."

of one of these schooners. Ship-building, various mechanical industries (including rope-making), the collection of local produce for the southern trade, and the tavern trade and service incidental to the passing travel, comprised the most important factors in the local business of that time.<sup>7</sup>

Before closing the first period of Ohio river navigation, the above analysis will be supplemented by the descriptions written by two contemporary visitors to Wheeling during this time. The first is from Cuming's "Tour to the West," in 1807.<sup>8</sup> Coming down the river from Pittsburg this traveler describes with more than usual detail the towns along the banks.

Of Charlestown (Wellsburg) he says that the town "was laid out about fourteen years ago and now contains about eighty houses of various materials—brick, stone and wood, principally in one street parallel to the Ohio. In the middle is a convenient little court house of stone, with a small light cupola spire. The gaol is behind it, and in front is the pillory, on a plan differing from any I ever saw elsewhere. \* \* \* The academy is a good brick building on the ascent of the hill behind the town, and was a good school until broken up by some political division among the inhabitants." He also mentions the manufacture of pottery and queensware as one of the distinctive in-

---

<sup>7</sup>McMaster describes the activities of Pittsburg and other river towns in 1811 as follows:

"For seven months of every year the streets of the town (Pittsburg) were crowded with emigrants arriving and departing, and its water front was fringed with boats of every description. Boat-building was the chief industry of the place, and, as no boat ever came back, the business never flagged. At either river bank could be procured at a moment's notice canoes cut from a single log, pirogues able to carry fifteen barrels of salt, skiffs of from five hundred to twenty thousand pounds' burden, bateaux, arks, Kentucky broadhorns, New Orleans boats for use on the Mississippi river, and barges and keel-boats with masts and sails. Provided, according to his needs, with one or more of such craft, and a copy of the Navigator, to warn him of the dangerous rocks the eddies that obstructed the way, the trader or the emigrant would push off into the stream and float slowly down with the current. The river banks, which fifteen years before were clothed with primeval forest, were now dotted with a succession of frontier towns. Below Pittsburg came Beaver, and Georgetown, and Steubenville, and Warren, and Wheeling, which was fast rivalling Pittsburg. Its population was increasing. Its business was large. Twice each week stages went out to and came in from Philadelphia. In the dry months of August and September, when the Ohio was low and no boats could come down from Pittsburg, all the trade and commerce of the city at the head of the river was diverted to Wheeling. Next after Wheeling was Pultney, and then Marietta, the model town on the Ohio. Then came Vienna and Belpre, and the ruins of what had once been the home of Blennerhasset, Belleville, and Point Pleasant, where ten years later Ulysses Grant was born; Gallipolis and French Grants, Limestone, Manchester, Charlestown, Augusta, Columbia and Cincinnati."

<sup>8</sup>Thwaites' "Western Travels," reprints.

dustries, and this is an interesting item, since it is known that the pioneer tableware was largely of wood, and the introduction of pottery was hardly possible until local factories were established.

At Wheeling the steep ascent from the river to the principal part of town (lying north of the present Tenth street) caused the traveler to go on to Spriggs' tavern and the ship yards near the mouth of the creek. "This being a great thoroughfare on account of its situation where the great post roads from Philadelphia, Baltimore and the northern part of Virginia unite and cross the river on the route through the states of Ohio and Kentucky to Tennessee and New Orleans, we found several travelers of various descriptions in the house [Spriggs'], and after partaking with them of a good supper, we went out to saunter with them until bed time through the town, into which we had to ascend a steep but short hill. It appeared very lively, the inhabitants being about their doors, or in the street, enjoying the fresh air of a clear moonlit evening, while two flutes were playing *en duo* the simple but musical Scots ballad of Roy's wife of Aldwalloch. \*

\* \* It contains one hundred and twenty houses of all descriptions from middling downwards, in a street about half a mile long, parallel to the river, on a bank of about one hundred feet perpendicular, which the face of the cliff almost literally is. Of course the avenues to the landing are very steep and inconvenient. The court house of stone with a small belfry has nothing in beauty to boast of."

The editor of the *Navigator*, published at Pittsburg, in 1811, wrote of Wheeling as follows:

"Wheeling fronts the Ohio on a high gravelly bank, opposite the middle of the island, and having immediately back of the town Wheeling Creek hill, which is steep and lofty, and so narrow at the top that in some places there is scarcely room for a wagon to pass along, and nearly a perpendicular precipice to the bottom of the creek. This singularly formed backbone, as it were, between the Ohio and Wheeling creek, slopes off gradually into a fine bottom just below the town and above the mouth of the creek, but which is considerably lower than the ground on which Wheeling stands, and in some seasons has been known to be inundated by floods. There are on this bottom an excellent public inn, a warehouse, a boat yard, and a rope walk and some other buildings. Immediately above the mouth of the creek there used to stand a fort, serving as a frontier post during the wars with the Indians.

"In consequence of the hill just mentioned, and which crowds the town closely to the bank of the river, Wheeling has but one street, which is thickly built on for a quarter of a mile in length. The town has about 115 dwellings, 11 stores, 2 potteries of stone



Replica of Steamboat New Orleans.  
By permission of Nicoll's Art Store.

ware, a market house. And it had in 1808-9 a printing office, a book store and library; the two first quit the town for want of public patronage; the last is still upheld by the citizens. The mail stage from Philadelphia, Baltimore, etc., arrives here twice a week, by way of Pittsburg, Washington and Wellsburg; thence westward the mail is dispatched once a week on horses.

"The town has a court house and jail, it being the seat of justice for Ohio county, Virginia. \* \* \* The hills about Wheeling contain good mineral coal, which is used as fuel. The thoroughfare through Wheeling of emigrants and travelers into the state of Ohio and down the river is very great in the fall and spring seasons. Boats can descend from this place in all seasons of the year, and those going down the Ohio from Maryland and the lower parts of Virginia, if the water be too low at Brownsville, pass on to Wheeling for embarkation. Since the completion of the great turnpike, business and the carrying trade is very lively in and through Wheeling. There are a number of ware-houses and commission stores in this place."<sup>9</sup>

The statement in the last lines about the completion of the turnpike is of course inaccurate. The National road had been marked out by the surveyors, but its construction had been little more than begun.

In 1804 Harman Blennerhassett wrote in the columns of the *Ohio Gazette*: "It will forever remain impracticable for shipping to perform a return voyage against the current of our great rivers." Three years later the *Wheeling Repository* of October 29, 1807, contained the following information for the people of the upper Ohio:

"Mr. Fulton, an American citizen now in New-York, has invented a steam-boat, calculated to ascend our rivers. He has succeeded so well in his plan, that he runs a packet, impelled by steam, up as well as down the Hudson river, between New-York and Albany. This vessel is stated to have left New-York with ninety passengers, and made way at the rate of six miles an hour, against a strong head wind.

"A New-York paper of the 7th inst. has the following article respecting Mr. Fulton's boat:

"Mr. Coleman—Among the thousand who viewed the scene, permit a spectator to express his gratification at the sight, this morning, of the Steam Boat proceeding on her trip to Albany in a wind and swell of tide which appeared to bid defiance to every attempt to perform the voyage. The Steam Boat appeared to glide as easily and rapidly as though it were calm, and the machinery was not in the least impeded by the waves of the Hudson, the wheels moving with their usual velocity and effect. The experiment of this

---

<sup>9</sup>Quoted by Virgil A. Lewis, State Historian.

day removes every doubt hitherto entertained of the practicability of the Steam Boat being able to work in rough weather. Without being over sanguine, we may safely assert that the principles of this important discovery will be applied to the improvement of packets and passage boats, which for certainty, safety, expedition and accommodation, will far surpass anything hitherto attempted. The invention is highly honourable to Mr. Fulton, and reflects infinite credit on the genius of our country.—New-York.’”

In the year 1911 there came down the river past Wheeling a craft of strange and antique design, so different from the modern steamboats as to attract attention from all beholders whether they were aware of the significance of the spectacle or not. This was, in fact, a replica of the first steamboat built and navigated on the Ohio river. With the introduction of the steam-propelled boats, the navigation on all waterways was at once lifted above the uncertainty, the vexing delays, the tremendous labor and general inadequacy which for centuries had characterized all river transportation. The steamboat effected a revolution in commerce and society just as the railroad did later. Instead of the packets which hitherto had laboriously ascended the current, it now became possible to build what seemed monster boats, several times as long as the old keel-boat, and many times more commodious and convenient. The day when the people on the hills and in the water-front villages beheld the first steamboat, with its trail of smoke, its glowing fireboxes and vapor-driven machinery, was one of those dates with a significance in world history which, however much they inspire awe at the time, are never fully comprehended until later years.

In a few years the regular commerce up and down the Ohio was being carried by the steam packets which operated on schedule between all the river ports. But the steamboat did not displace the flat-boat altogether. On all the rivers of the middle west the flat-boat was the economical vehicle for the down-river traffic until within the memory of men who lived into the present century.

The introduction of the steam engine on the rivers preceded its practical use in land transportation by about a quarter of a century. Practically forty years separated the first steamboat on the Ohio and the first steam railroad in the country contiguous to its upper waters. Herein lay an entire epoch during which Wheeling and vicinity gradually cast off the cloak of the primitive pioneer age and evolved the fabric of industrial and social organism which was not entirely outworn by the intense modernity of the railway and electric age. From

the first decade of the century to the close of the Mexican war, is a middle period in the life of this region. The echoes of Indian strife had died away, and the roughness and privations of pioneer existence had been exchanged for greater comforts of material civilization and a higher degree of social refinement. Yet, though it is possible to find the roots and foundations of modern affairs in that time, the life and activities of the generation were differentiated in so many ways from those which followed that they are usually regarded as belonging distinctly among pioneer things. Business and trade were conducted by means and methods that would now be accounted slow-going. A dullness and monotony characterized existence, and reminiscences written in modern times but referring to this period describe Wheeling as a sleepy river town. The pulse of life beat steadily but not fast. The annual sum of business was large, certainly proportionate to that of the greater modern city, but it was transacted without the tumultuous agencies that compress modern trade and human energies into fewer hours of the day. The Wheeling of that period, rather than of the primitive age that preceded or of the bustling practical times that followed, had the settings and associations of leisurely romance. More than at any other period Wheeling was then individual in its civic, social and business structure. It was connected with the world, a point on two great arteries of traffic, yet it had not begun the process of standardization which has made American cities so monotonously similar.

Coincident with Fulton's remarkable exploit on the Hudson, the national government was at the inception of a work which has justified all the fame bestowed upon it. We have called the Ohio river the cornerstone of Wheeling's prosperity during the first half of the nineteenth century. But the rest of the foundation was the National or Cumberland road. Intersecting here, both of these highways constituted the solid substructure without which Wheeling as a city cannot be conceived as possible.

When Rome had conquered a nation she made roads to bind the subjugated territory and people in lasting unity with the center of empire. One cannot imagine the development of material civilization or the maintenance of national existence without roads. Without the twisted network of highways, leading from cabin to cabin, from village to village, from frontier to metropolis, and from sea to sea, America would be a complexity of sundered communities, each isolated and independent, and a sovereignty with responsible power over half a hundred states would be the illusion of a dream.

Almost from the beginning of settlement in this region, the making of roads was undertaken as a work of prime public necessity. Having built his cabin, and cleared the ground for a crop, a settler would next think of means to connect his home with those of his neighbors, with the store and mill, or, in the earliest years, with the block house to which he and his family would hasten at the first alarm. The trails marked by Indians and wild animals, or the trace blazed on trees, were of course the most primitive form of this road making. But the laying out of roads as a function of the community of settlers began soon afterward. The first record of this is found in the minutes of the old West Augusta county court. As the first public road in which Wheeling was interested, the records are quoted:<sup>10</sup>

"At a Court cons & held for Augusta County, May 17th, 1775.

"Pres't Geo. Croghan, Edward Ward, Thos. Smallman, John Gibson, John McCullough, Wm. Crawford.

"On the petition of Rezin Virgin & others, It is Ord that Philip Shute, Richd Waller, Abraham Teagarden, Wm. Teagarden, George Teabolt, & Rezin Virgin or any 3 of them being first sworn view a road from the foot of Laurel Hill by Wm. Teagarden's ferry to the mouth of Wheeling & make a report &c."

"At a Court cond & held for Augusta County, at Fort Dunmore, Sept. 20, 1775.

"Pres't Geo. Croghan, Thos. Smallman, Dorsey Pentecost, David Shepherd, Gentlemen, Justices.

"The Persons appd to view a road from the Confluence of Wheeling to the foot of Laurel Hill at Conrad Wallter's made a rep that they had viewed the same and find that there may be had a good road from the sd Confluence of Wheeling to the Confluence of Ten-Mile on the Monongahela and from thence to the sd Walters. It is Ord the sd Road be Established & that James McCoy be overs. from the foot of the Laurel Hill to Chas. Hickman & John Craig from Hickman & to Wm. Teagarden's ferry on the Monongahela & Ezekial Rose from there to John Dickersons Junr., Reason Virgin from there to the Mouth of Wheeling & that the Tiths in 5 miles on each side work thereon.

"At a court Cond & held for Augusta County April 18th, 1776.

"Pres't John Campbell, Edward Ward, Dorsey Pentecost, John Canon.

\* \* \* \* \*

"On the petition of James Mitchell & others setting forth that a road is Established from Conrad Walters by Wm. Teagarden's ferry to the Mouth of Wheeling which is very inconvenient to your Petrs & praying that a Review of the sd Road be made, it is Ord that Ebenezer Zane, James McMahon, David Owens, Henry Vanmetre, Dav. Evans, George Cox, James McCoy, & John McClellan, or any 6 of them, being first sworn view if the Road Established is Convenient, if not make a report of the nearest and most Conv. way & the Incon. & Con. thereof to the next Court & that the surveyors desist from working on the road until report is returned."

At every session of the Ohio county court, beginning in 1777, a considerable part of the business was involved in the appointment of viewers of roads, and in directing the laying out of highways as

<sup>10</sup>From Crumrine's History of Washington County, Pennsylvania.

based on reports to the court. In this connection one of the old customs of that time comes to light. An act of the general assembly in December, 1796, authorized certain persons to raise by lotteries a sum not to exceed six thousand dollars for opening and repairing certain roads, and the act of January 13, 1801, directed that one thousand dollars of this sum be directed to repairing the road from Wheeling to Morgantown.

Thus by the close of the century the entire Panhandle was traced with these public highways, and many of the roads in this vicinity have been traveled constantly for a century and a quarter. Habitations and institutions have come and gone, but some of the roads now so quickly covered by the automobile were once the way for the slow-plodding ox cart of the pioneer settler.

These were local roads, built to serve the settlements scattered throughout this region. Many of them were mere "traces" cut through the woods. Improvement, by grading, surfacing with stone, and bridging, came very gradually, and the worst of the modern roads are hardly inferior to those which ran along the valleys and over the hills between the community centers at the beginning of the last century. The local roads of Ohio county joined those of Pennsylvania, and thus, as every locality was engaged in this enterprise of creating thoroughfares, it soon became possible to travel over public ways throughout the area of settled country. But the central ridge of the mountains presented a great break between the settlements of the west and of the Atlantic slope.

The pioneer route over the mountains, and used as the regular highway up to the times now under consideration, was Nemacolin's path or Braddock's road. This has figured so prominently in preceding chapters that it needs no further comment. The time had now come that demanded not a mere pathway between the east and west, but a great commercial artery through which travel and traffic might flow with the minimum of friction. The impulses that drove the pioneers westward would hardly have been balked by the most formidable mountain barrier, nor weakened by the hostility of the fiercest native tribes. But commerce, in order to thrive and be of the highest mutual benefit to all concerned, required means of communication vastly superior to the pack horse. Had the mountain ridges remained insuperable except by primitive means, it would have been a logical result for the trade of all the Ohio valley to have continued to find outlet through New Orleans. And, more serious to the stability of the new nation, the dreams and projects of a western empire in the Mis-

issippi valley, independent of the Atlantic colonies, might have assumed much more menacing proportions than the so-called Spanish conspiracy and Burr treason.

"With the opening of the century," says McMaster, "the old rage for road-making, river improvements, and canals revived. The states were still utterly unable to meet the demand, and one by one were forced to follow the policy begun by Pennsylvania in 1791 and spend their money on roads and bridges in the sparsely settled counties, and, by liberal charters and grants of tolls, encourage the people of the populous counties to make such improvements for themselves. The wisdom of this policy was apparent. The success of the Lancaster Pike encouraged it, and, before the first decade of the nineteenth century closed, most of the landed and well-settled states were voting money, setting apart the proceeds of land sales, or establishing lotteries to open roads on the frontiers, while their citizens were forming stock companies to do the same thing between the old towns and the seaboard. The prospect of increasing the value of the back lands by establishing good roads, the hope of great dividends to be derived from the tolls, the fascination of speculating in stock, induced scores of communities to risk their capital in turnpike ventures. Once aroused, the rage for turnpiking spread rapidly over the whole country. In a few years a sum almost equal to the domestic debt at the close of the Revolution was voluntarily invested by the people in the stock of turnpike corporations.

\* \* \* Taking the country through, it may be said that to transport goods, wares, or merchandise cost ten dollars per ton per one hundred miles. Articles which could not stand these rates were shut from market, and among these were grain and flour, which could not bear transportation more than one hundred miles. The causes of these rates were the terrible state of the roads and the high rate of tolls. Four horses at least were necessary to drag a wagon loaded with two tons any distance."

From the beginning of the century, Wheeling had more or less regular communication with the east, a mail coming overland twice a week. The commercial capital for this western country was then Philadelphia, and from that city the state and local enterprise of Pennsylvania was improving and extending as rapidly as possible a good highway toward Pittsburg. From Wheeling stages were also run into the western country. The following from the *Repository* of June 23, 1807, is the earliest record of a local stage line:

#### WESTERN STAGES.

The Subscriber informs the Publick, that he has ran the MAIL STAGES twice a week from Wheeling to New-Lancaster, since the first of this month, and will continue to run them as long

as the roads will admit. A regular Line of Stages is continued on to Lexington, in Kentucky.

June 23d, 1807.

GEORGE BEYMER.

The best of the local and state highways, and the private enterprise in the operation of wagon and stage routes, were quite inadequate for the consolidating of the Ohio valley with the Atlantic states. This problem, which had received the careful study of Washington and his contemporaries, was not solved in a satisfactory manner until the federal government furnished the money and supervision for the construction of a broad highway from the eastern to the western margin of the parallel mountain ridges that constitute the Alleghenies.

From the river at about Ninth street, along the north side of Market square, up Market street to Seventh and over the hill into the Wheeling creek valley, and thence along the valleys and over the ridges for a distance of about one hundred and thirty miles—such is the course of the National road from the Ohio river toward Cumberland, its eastern terminus and starting point. Even the submersion of part of this road in city streets and the modern brick-paved thoroughfare that in popular phrase is "out the pike," has not altogether dispelled the glamour of historic fame that hangs like dust in summer over the ancient highway. The prosing narrative of history fails to do justice to this greatest of American roads. Only those whose thoughts have followed the dim pageants of the old time, have reconstructed by vision the endless procession of stage coach, wagon and emigrant train, can appreciate the significance and storied associations of the old pike. "Now worn out and almost forgotten, its milestones tottering, its thousand taverns silent where once was life and merriment," the old National road was once the great artery of life and progress; it was more, it remains a monument, ruined though it be, to the splendid vision and energy of the masterful years when we as a people faced and vanquished the fundamental material problems of nationhood.

With due regard for modern practical judgment, the historic past demands that due consideration should be paid to the old National road in any plan, such as has recently been urged upon the attention of Congress, to make provision for modern national roads. Should the federal government undertake a task of such magnitude as is involved in the construction of a splendid highway from Atlantic to Pacific, it should require reasons of convincing cogency to outweigh the indisputable arguments for the restoration of a noble highroad whose historic

traditions are reinforced with sufficient advantages of the modern standards.<sup>11</sup>

With such a subject, so intimately associated with Wheeling and vicinity, it is difficult not to be discursive in describing its building and career. But many writers have told the history of the road, and estimated from many viewpoints its significance and value in the life of the nation. Hence it appears wise to confine this article to a brief sketch of the road's history, and speak especially of the relations of the road with Wheeling.

The first practical step toward the building of such a road was taken in the act of Congress, April 30, 1802, admitting Ohio to the Union. Of the proceeds of the public lands in that state, thereafter to be sold under the authority of Congress, five per cent was to be applied to the laying out and making of public roads leading from the navigable waters on the Atlantic slope to the Ohio river and through the state of Ohio. A subsequent act directed that two-fifths of the accumulating fund should be used for highways outside the state and the rest for roads within the state. Similar provisions were made when Indiana, Illinois and Missouri were admitted.

December 19, 1805, a senate committee reported on the various routes which would satisfy the terms of the above act. One paragraph of this report read as follows:

"The mercantile interests of the citizens of Ohio with those of the Atlantic states is chiefly in Philadelphia and Baltimore; not very extensive in the towns on the Potomac, within the District of Columbia, and still less with Richmond in Virginia. At present the greatest portion of their trade is with Philadelphia; but it is believed their trade is rapidly increasing with Baltimore, owing to the difference of distance in favor of Baltimore, and to the advantage of boating down the Monongahela river, from the point where the road strikes it, about 70 miles by water, and 50 by land, above Pittsburg."

In conclusion this committee favored a road from Cumberland, on the Maryland side of the Potomac, to a point near Wheeling, on

---

<sup>11</sup>A very happy comparison is made by T. B. Searight between the famous Appian Way of the Romans and the American National road. "The Appian Way was designed to gratify the pomp and vanity of consuls and pro-consuls, kings and princes, emperors and empires. The National road was designed to meet the wants of a free and progressive people, and to aid in building up and strengthening a great and growing republic. The Appian Way had more vitality than the government that built it. It outlived its country. The National road served its purpose grandly, was a complete success, the pride and glory of its day and generation, and when it lost its place as a national thoroughfare, the government that made it was all the stronger because it had been made."

the Virginia side of the Ohio. This route was chosen by the committee from among several because it seemed best suited to the needs of the people of Ohio, and because, starting at Cumberland, on the eastern slope of the mountains, it would not interfere with systems of internal improvements then being carried on by Pennsylvania and Maryland.

The act authorizing the laying out and making a road from Cumberland to the Ohio was approved by President Jefferson, March 29, 1806, and provided that the road should be sixty-six feet in width. The three commissioners, to be appointed by the president, were given discretion in selecting the western terminus at any point on the Ohio between Steubenville and the mouth of Grave creek.

A special presidential message on January 31, 1807, accompanied the first report of these commissioners. One or two paragraphs in this report on the original route have sufficient interest to be noticed in this article. One is that while the general course of survey followed the line of Braddock's road (which was then the way in general use over the mountains), the deviations of the new line were such that not more than two or three miles of the actual bed of the historic old trail were utilized. Concerning the location of the western terminus, the commissioners reported as follows:

"After reaching the nearest navigation on the western waters [at Brownsville], \* \* \* it remained for the commissioners to give such a direction to the road as would best secure a certainty of navigation on the Ohio at all seasons, combining, as far as possible, the inland accommodation of remote points westwardly. It was found that the obstructions in the Ohio, within the limits between Steubenville and Grave creek, lay principally above the town and mouth of Wheeling; a circumstance ascertained by the commissioners in their examination of the channel, as well as by common usage, which has long given a decided preference to Wheeling as a place of embarkation and port of departure in dry seasons. It was also seen that Wheeling lay in a line from Brownsville to the center of the state of Ohio and Post Vincennes. These circumstances favoring and corresponding with the chief objects in view in this last direction of the route, and the ground from Wheeling westwardly being known of equal fitness with any other way out from the river, it was thought most proper, under these circumstances, to locate the point mentioned below the mouth of Wheeling. In taking this point in preference to one higher up and in the town of Wheeling, the public benefit and convenience were consulted, inasmuch as the present crossing place over the Ohio from the town is so contrived and confined as to subject passengers to extraordinary ferriage and delay, by

entering and clearing a ferry boat on each side of Wheeling island, which lies before the town and precluded the opportunity of fording when the river is crossed in that way, above and below the island. From the point located, a safe crossing is afforded at the lower point of the island by a ferry in high, and a good ford at low water."

What is said about the inconvenience of the crossing between the island and the town was also mentioned by the traveler Cuming previously quoted. It is of interest that the original route was located near the mouth of the creek, and it is probable that this influenced the spread of the town from its original location toward the south. No data has been found that would indicate that this official crossing was changed when the final determination of the west end of the road was made. Probably the traffic across the river was divided between the ferries around the island and the route over the center of the island. It was only with the building of the suspension bridge in 1850 that travel was concentrated at Ninth street.

After the states of Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia, through which the survey ran, had given their consent to the undertaking, the president in a message of February 19, 1808, gave his approval to the course designated by the commissioners as far west as Brownsville, leaving the western end still undetermined. In fact, several years elapsed before it was known where the road would cross the river. There was great rivalry and jealousy existing between the several eligible points on the Ohio, for it was believed that wherever the road should strike the eastern shore of the river there would spring up a flourishing city. The people of the inland towns lying between Brownsville and the Ohio (especially those of the town of Washington) were exceedingly anxious lest the road should be finally located at a distance from them. The commissioners of the road found the question of location between the Monongahela and the Ohio so delicate and difficult that in their report to the President (Jefferson) they left the matter open. Afterwards, in 1808, by direction of the President, they made an examination of the route from Brownsville by way of the town of Washington to Wheeling, but no final location of that part of the route was made until several years later.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup>Among the few items of local news that appeared in the old *Wheeling Repository* were the following three paragraphs concerning the work of the commissioners in this vicinity:

"The Commissioners for laying out and making a road from Cumberland to the Ohio, were at Alexandria, sixteen miles from this place, on Tuesday last. They are engaged in marking out the ground for the road, and had last

In the fall and winter of 1815-16 the commissioners had surveyed two principal routes, one through the town of Washington and one south of it. After careful consideration of the report of the commissioners, President Madison decided in favor of the northern route, that through Washington and West Alexander to Wheeling.<sup>13</sup> Col. Moses Shepherd and Daniel Steenrod were prominent contractors in the construction of the road across the Virginia Panhandle.

The eastern portion of the road, on which work was first commenced, was pushed so vigorously in its construction by the energetic contractors that it was open for travel, with scarcely a break, westward to the Youghiogheny river in the summer of 1818. On the 1st of August in that year the first stage-coach from Cumberland, carrying the United States mail for the West, left that place by the National road, and passing over the completed part of the eastern division to Fayette county, Pa., and also over other completed parts of the western division, between the borough of Washington and the Virginia line, arrived in due time at Wheeling on the Ohio. In a Uniontown newspaper of Aug. 8, 1818, it was announced that "the stages have commenced running from Frederick Town, Md., to Wheeling, in Virginia, following the course of the National road westward of Cumberland. This great road, truly an honor to the United States, will be finished from Cumberland to this place in a few months, and from Brownsville

---

night progressed within twelve miles of this town. The road will strike the river at Wheeling, agreeably to the report of the Commissioners. It seems the President has thought that disinterested Commissioners, appointed for the purpose, were as capable of pointing out the most proper course, as the people of Washington and Charlestown" (Wellsburg) (June 2, 1808).

"On Tuesday last the Commissioners for laying out the road from Cumberland to the Ohio, arrived in Wheeling, after having made several surveys for the purpose of ascertaining the most eligible ground on which to carry the road to its destined point at the lower end of the island. They have announced their determination to bring the road past Major Shepherd's and Mr. Chapline's mills, and over Wheeling hill into the town, on ground near the present road." (July 30, 1808.)

"On the 4th inst. the Commissioners brought on to the Ohio, the location of the National Road from Cumberland. Having finally settled and fixed the marks, monuments, and course of the route, on the 6th inst., they were invited by a number of the citizens of this place to partake of a repast at Capt. Knox's, where they dined and spent the afternoon. The formality of toasts was dispensed with, but the occasion did not fail to inspire this general sentiment—May national patronage be extended to the speedy establishment of a great National Highway from the Atlantic shore to the Western Hemisphere, and, by fostering the mutual interests, secure the inseparable union of those extreme quarters of our country." (August 14, 1808.)

<sup>13</sup>On the 18th of November, 1861, Col. Eli Williams advertised in *The Reporter* of Washington, Pa., as follows:

to Wheeling, it is expected, in the course of next summer, leaving only a distance of twelve miles between here and Brownsville."

The road was finished to Uniontown in the fall of 1818. Between that point and Brownsville was the last portion of the road to be built. The contracts were let in 1819 and the road was finished and made ready for use throughout its entire length by the fall of 1820. An announcement of the fact, dated December 19, 1820, is found in a newspaper of that time, as follows: "The commissioner appointed by the government of the United States, Thomas McGiffin, Esq., has been engaged for a week or two past in examining the United States turnpike, made under contract with government by James Kincaid & Co., between Uniontown and Washington, who has approved of it, and ordered the same to be given up by the contractors for public use. The National turnpike is now completed and in the use of the public from Cumberland, in the State of Maryland, to Wheeling, in the State of Virginia, a distance of about one hundred and thirty miles."

How the road was constructed is shown in the briefest manner by a quotation of the specifications required from the contractors, which included the following items: "The natural surface of the ground to be cleared of trees and other wooden growth, and also of logs and brush, the whole width of sixty-six feet, the bed of the road to be made even thirty-two feet in width, the trees and stumps to be grubbed out, the graduation not to exceed five degrees in elevation and depression, and to be straight from point to point, as laid off and directed by the superintendent of the work. Twenty feet in width of the graduated part to be covered with stone, eighteen inches in depth at the centre, tapering to twelve inches at the edges, which are to be

---

"Western Road—The location of this road having been changed by order of the President of the U. States so as to pass from Brownsville through the town of Washington in Pennsylvania, and thence through Alexandria to Wheeling on the Ohio: Proposals will be received for making parts of that road by the mile or other section; and for that purpose the subscriber, as agent of the U. States, will attend at the times and places following, to receive proposals for making the following sections or parts thereof, viz.: At Brownsville on Monday the 16th day of December next, for a section extending from the east bank of the Monongahela river eastwardly to the summit of the river hill, and a corresponding section on the west side of the river, comprehending about a mile on each side. At the town of Washington on Wednesday the 18th of the same month, for two miles eastwardly from the intersection of Maiden and Market (now Main) Streets, and ten miles westwardly from the intersection of Market and Chestnut Streets in that town. At Alexandria on Saturday the 21st following, for the remainder of the distance to Alexandria, and to the Virginia line; about six miles. And at the town of Wheeling on Monday the 23d following, for a section extending from the Virginia line to the confluence of Big and Little Wheeling, nine miles; and from thence to the town of Wheeling, or the crossing place on the Ohio."

supported by good and solid shoulders of earth or curbstone, the upper six inches of stone to be broken so as to pass through a ring of three inches in diameter, and the lower stratum of stone to be broken so as to pass through a seven inch ring. The stone part to be well covered with gravel, and rolled with an iron-faced roller four feet in length and made to bear three tons' weight. The acclivity and declivity of the banks at the side of the road not to exceed thirty degrees."

Having thus told the story of the construction of the road in as brief a space as is consistent with its importance, it now remains to sketch the subsequent career of the old pike as a trunk line between east and west. In 1820 Congress made the first appropriation for continuing the survey of the road from Wheeling to the Mississippi river near St. Louis, the act providing that this section of the road should be eighty feet wide. The first appropriation for actual construction was given in 1825, to be applied to that section of the route between Canton (Bridgeport) and Zanesville. At the same time the survey was directed to be extended to the seat of government of Missouri (Jefferson City), which was intended, so far as the government ever took any action in the matter, to be the western terminus of the road. By appropriation acts in 1829-30 the construction was provided for beyond Zanesville and in Indiana and Illinois. The last appropriations for "continuing" the road in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, were made in 1838. Vandalia (then the capital of Illinois) was the farthest west to which construction work was actually carried. The era of canals and railroads had in the meantime absorbed all the energies of the nation to the neglect of the old pike, and the last part of the work was carried on only through the momentum given in the first years of the enterprise.

The total appropriations for the surveys, construction and repairs on the National road, contained in the various acts of Congress from 1806 to 1844, made a sum of nearly seven million dollars. Most of this money was obtained from the proceeds of the sale of public lands, hence was not a burden on the national treasury. Considering the comparative poverty of the country at the time, the road was an expensive undertaking. But in later years the government has appropriated for "internal improvements" of some obscure harbor or waterway much greater sums. It is doubtful if any achievement under the auspices of the nation ever paid a richer profit in promoting the welfare of the people and in consolidating the states of the Union than the Cumberland road.

This noble highway from Cumberland to Wheeling had hardly

been completed when portions of it were badly out of repair. James Monroe as President in 1822 had vetoed a measure "for the preservation and repair of the Cumberland road," on the ground that Congress did not have the power, assumed by the act, to establish turnpikes with gates for collection of tolls for the purpose of raising revenue from the traffic of the road. Thus the proposal to make the traffic over the road pay for its maintenance was delayed. As long as the Cumberland road remained the "national road," it was a free highway, and no gates nor toll houses obstructed its passage. Though under successive administrations the federal government could not be persuaded to establish complete jurisdiction over the road, it did make large appropriations for its repair and reconstruction. By the act of 1835, making appropriations for the entire completion of repairs in Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia, it was provided that, before any part of the sum could be expended, the road should be surrendered to and accepted by the states through which it passed, and the United States relieved of any further expense for its maintenance. Already, in 1831-32, Ohio, Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland had passed acts authorizing the acceptance of the portions of the road in those respective states. Thus, following the above-mentioned act of Congress, all these states took possession of the old pike, which, though forming a continuous highway, from that date ceased to be in fact a "national road." It was under the authority of the states that the gates and toll houses were erected alongside the pike. Finally, after about half a century as a toll road, it became a free public road, under the jurisdiction of the counties through which it passed. One of the last relics of its career as a toll road was the gate on Wheeling hill, which was not removed until about twenty years ago.

The heavy stage coaches disappeared many years ago, as well as the Conestoga wagons. Within the recollection of those now living the most permanent features of the old pike were the gates and toll houses and the taverns. Of the latter some of the houses still stand, their windows having witnessed all the changes in land vehicles from the Conestoga and stage coach to the automobile. Along the road from West Alexander to Wheeling were many notable inns, all of which have been described in Searight's history of the pike. The work of this careful chronicler has been drawn upon for most of the information in the following paragraphs about the old taverns in this vicinity.

The first of these wayside inns within Virginia one mile from

West Alexander, was the frame house and wagon stand on the north side of the road kept by Abram Carr as early as 1836, and a later proprietor was Silver Gilfillan. On the same side of the way and two miles further along was a large frame tavern and a station for the Stockton line of coaches. Mrs. Sarah Beck, the widow of a former inn-keeper of Wheeling, ran this place in 1832, and was succeeded by Samuel Knode. In 1830 the widow Rhodes' wagon stand was located less than a mile to the west, and a contemporary of this place was John White's frame tavern on the north side of the road and only a short distance to the west. Mrs. Beck afterwards bought and conducted this place, keeping the stock and boarding the employes of the Stockton line. As early as 1835 Isaac Jones had a tavern in a frame building on the north side of the road one mile west of the previously mentioned place, but this was one of the short-lived enterprises of the kind.

Roney's Point is next reached, a stage station ten miles from Wheeling. The original owner of the land here was Roney, and its peculiar conformation, a high ridge ending in a point on the south side of the way, gave it the name of Roney's Point. It is a familiar name, and was a lively place during the palmy days of the road. A large stone tavern, on the north side of the way, was kept by Ninian Bell prior to 1828, and he was succeeded by James Beck, Sarah Beck, Moses Thornburg and Jacob Beck. This was the stopping place for the Simms line of stages and later for the Good Intent line.

One mile west of Roney's Point, on the south side, stood an old frame tavern, which in the eventful days of the road gathered in its share of glory. It was first kept by James Bentley, and after him by James Kimberly. "In addition to the custom it gained from the road, this house was a favorite resort of the young rural residents, of that vicinity, and here they were accustomed to go for a night's festivity, always confining themselves within the bounds of propriety, but within those bounds enjoying themselves in a high degree."

The village of Triadelphia, like many others along the route, was an outgrowth of the National road. An early tavern was that kept by John D. Foster, and during the thirties, Colonel Thompson, a gentleman of the Virginia school and a genial landlord, also conducted an inn on the north side of the road. His house was largely patronized by parties from Wheeling, besides getting its share of the road business.

The next important landmark by the wayside is the Clay Monument, on the south side of the road and near the stone bridge over

the creek. Under an inspiration of personal admiration of the great statesman, and with a view of commemorating his distinguished public services in behalf of the road, Moses and Lydia Shepherd erected this monument in 1820. The front of the base bore this inscription:

"This monument was erected by Moses and Lydia Shepherd as a testimony of respect to Henry Clay, the eloquent defender of national rights and national independence."

On another side of the stone these words were inscribed:

"Time brings every amelioration and refinement most gratifying to rational man, and the humblest flower freely plucked under the tree of liberty is more to be desired than all the trappings of royalty.

"Anno Domini, 1820."

Originally there were two other inscriptions, which have been effaced, and the entire monument has suffered decay during the ninety odd years since it was erected.



Clay Monument.

History gives credit to Albert Gallatin for the practical inception of the enterprise of the Cumberland road. But its best friend and stanchest champion was Henry Clay, and more than any other states-

man of the time his name is identified with its successful achievement. None of the travelers over the road had a larger acquaintance with the pike residents, and none a more loyal personal following. The influence of his individuality and his faithful and long continued interest in behalf of this highway combined effectually to make the population tributary to the road stanchly Whig in its political allegiance.

"On a picturesque eminence, near the monument, overlooking Big Wheeling creek, stands the ancient and historic Shepherd mansion, a stone building erected in 1798, and now known as 'Monument Place,' the delightful and hospitable home of Maj. Alonzo Loring.<sup>14</sup> In the olden time, when the National Road was the bustling highway of the Republic, the handsome and luxurious stage coaches of the period, frequently bore Henry Clay and other eminent men of his day to the Shepherd mansion, where they reveled in Old Virginia hospitality.

"Near the old Shepherd mansion stands an antiquated sundial, covered with the marks of time, and bearing on its south face this inscription:

'The noiseless foot of Time steals softly by,  
And ere we think of Manhood age draws nigh.'

On the north side of this dial appear names and the figures: 'Moses and Lydia Shepherd, 1820.' Col. Moses Shepherd died in 1832, and his widow subsequently married Gen. Daniel Cruger, whom she also survived many years. They are all now dead, and their mortal remains mingle with their native dust, in the cemetery attached to the 'Stone Church,' at Elm Grove. A handsome monument stands at their graves bearing the following inscriptions: On one side, 'Sic Transit Gloria Mundi: Sacred to the memory of Col. Moses Shepherd, who departed this life April 29th, 1832, in the 69th years of his age.' 'To him the country owes a large debt of gratitude, as well for his defense of it, when a frontier settlement, as for his recent public services in aiding the extension and construction of the CUMBERLAND ROAD through Virginia.' The obverse side tells the story of the second husband as follows: 'Sic Transit Gloria Mundi: Sacred to the memory of Gen. Daniel Cruger, who died July 12th, 1843, in the 64th year of his age.' A third side perpetuates the memory of the twice bereaved widow as follows: 'Sic Transit Gloria Mundi: Lydia S. Cruger, wife of Gen. Daniel Cruger, formerly Lydia S. Boggs, first married Col. Moses Shepherd: born Feb. 26th. 1766: Died Sept. 26th, 1867, in the 102d year of her age.' High up on the granite shaft is chiseled on two sides the picture of a log cabin, and at the door appears a female figure in sitting posture, with a dog in repose at the feet, while in the back ground is seen the

---

<sup>14</sup>From Searight's "The Old Pike."

representation of a martial group, with branches of a palm tree overhanging the whole design."

In the suburban town of Elm Grove, at the Forks of Wheeling, one of the oldest settlements in the county, the tavern of the National road era was Mrs. Gooding's. Its stone building on the south side was still standing in 1892. The table set by this landlady was one of the most popular among the old wagoners, and sleighing parties from Wheeling were also delightfully entertained there.

"Oh, the songs they would sing, and the tales they would spin,  
As they lounged in the light of the old country inn.  
But a day came at last when the stage brought no load  
To the gate, as it rolled up the long, dusty road.  
And lo! at the sunrise a shrill whistle blew  
O'er the hills—and the old yielded place to the new—  
And the merciless age with its discord and din  
Made wreck, as it passed, of the pioneer inn."

The next place of interest along the pike was what has been familiarly known in later years as the Stamm House, a brick tavern on the south side of the road, kept by Samuel Carter as early as 1830, and subsequently by William Stamm. A stone tavern a mile west of this and on the north side was once run under the proprietorship of Michael Blackburn.

Two miles before reaching Wheeling was Steenrod's, a brick and stone building on the south side of the road and widely known in the pike days. The landlord was Daniel Steenrod himself, who owned a large amount of land in that vicinity and was one of the influential early citizens of Wheeling. His son Lewis was a congressman from this district and used his influence for the benefit of the road. The Steenrod tavern was in existence as early as 1825. Near Steenrod's was what in early days was known as Good's Bottom, but afterwards as Pleasant Valley. During the '30s a race course was laid out in this valley, and a noted horse of the period, "Tariff," lost its laurels on that track.

At Wheeling most of the taverns of the early days were grouped conveniently near to the steamboat docks and ferry landings. Mr. Searight in his work has given notice to all of the prominent ones of that era. "John McCortney kept the most noted wagon stand in Wheeling. He was likewise a commission merchant, which further identified him with old wagoners, enabling him to furnish them with back loads. His tavern was located on Main street, running back east on Fourteenth to Alley B, parallel with, and between Main and Market, with ample grounds surrounding it for wagons and teams to stand on. These grounds were so extensive that they accommodated the

old time circus, in addition to wagons and teams of the road, and two distinct circuses have been known to exhibit on them at the same time. They were not of the modern 'triple ring' order, but of the Dan Rice design. McCortney was a man of agreeable manners, and managed his extensive business with marked success. He died in Wheeling on December 10, 1872, aged seventy-nine years. He was three times married. His last wife was the widow of William H. Stelle, one of the proprietors of the Good Intent stage line. Martin Bugher was McCortney's bar-keeper for many years, and is remembered by old wagoners as a rival of Wilse Clement in hard swearing. On lower Water street, Robert Newlove kept a wagon stand, and was well liked by old wagoners, and well patronized by them. He was the owner of wagons and teams, which he kept on the road, in charge of hired drivers. In 1829 Richard Simms, the old stage proprietor, kept the United States hotel, and was its owner. James Beck kept this house after Simms, and James Dennison after Beck. James McCreary kept it next after Dennison, and Mordecai Yarnell next after McCreary. The Monroe House was kept in 1830 by John McClure, and subsequently by James Mathers. The Virginia House was kept in 1830 by John Graham, and afterward by one Beltzhoover, and later by Jacob Kline. Beltzhoover and Kline came out from Baltimore. The United States, the Monroe and the Virginia, were stage stations. On upper Main street, in 1830, Moses Mosier kept a tavern, and on the same street, and at the same time, a tavern was kept by Mrs. Beymer, widow of Captain Frederic Beymer, assisted by her son, Samuel, who was a soldier of 1812. Capt. Frederic Beymer kept a tavern in Wheeling as early as the year 1802, at the sign of the Wagon, and took boarders at two piasters a week. The town council of Wheeling met in Capt. Beymer's tavern in 1806. The house that Widow Beymer presided over as hostess, is a brick building on the southwest corner of Main and Ninth streets, on a lot bordering the river. This house is still (1892) standing, but has not been used as a tavern for many years. Beymer's old Landing was at the foot of Ninth street, where the National Road approached the Ohio river. In 1830 Joseph Teters kept a wagon stand in Wheeling, below McCortney's, and John Bradfield kept a similar stand on Water street in 1837-8."

"The old tavern keepers of the National Road were a remarkable body of men. In many instances they were free-holders, men well posted in current affairs, and influential in their respective neighborhoods. They were honorable in their dealings, and believed that every man's word should be as good as his bond. As caterers they made no

display. They had no bills of fare, printed on gilt edged paper, or fine linen, and it is doubtful if any of them ever heard the modern word Menu, yet the spreads of their generous boards would almost kindle exhilaration in the heart of a misanthrope. The thought may be attributable to change of time or circumstance, or taste, or all together, but there is an unmovable conviction in the mind of the writer of these pages, that the viands of modern hotels, lack the savoriness of those of the old taverns of the National Road."

The first line of passenger coaches on the National road between Brownsville and Wheeling was put in operation in 1818 by Stephen Hill and Simms & Pemberton. For thirty-five years the stage coach was supreme as the vehicle for travel by land out of Wheeling. The competition between the great stage lines hardly has any parallel in that existing in later years between railroads. This was of course due to the fact that the road itself was free, and the rivalry depended on the service furnished, and was not based on the exclusive ownership of both track and facilities. The largest company on the Cumberland road was the National Road Stage Company, and the largest west of Wheeling was the Ohio National Stage Company. There were also the "Good Intent" line, the "Landlords," the "Pioneer," the "June Bug," and the "Pilot" lines. Coaches had high-sounding names such as Pullman cars have. One advertisement of a stage coach line, in 1837, will serve as a sample of many that might be found in the papers of the time:

#### OPPOSITION!

##### DEFIANCE FAST LINE COACHES DAILY

From Wheeling, Va., to Cincinnati, O., via Zanesville, Columbus, Springfield and intermediate points.

Through in less time than any other line.

"By opposition the people are well served."

The Defiance Fast Line connects at Wheeling, Va., with Reside & Co.'s Two Superior daily lines to Baltimore, McNair and Co.'s Mail Coach Line via Bedford, Chambersburg and the Columbia and Harrisburg Railroads to Philadelphia being the only direct line from Wheeling—also with the only coach line from Wheeling to Pittsburg via Washington, Pa., and with numerous cross lines in Ohio.

The proprietors having been released on the 1st inst., from burthen of carrying the great mail (which will retard any line), are now enabled to run through in a shorter time than any other line on the road. They will use every exertion to accommodate the traveling public. With stock infinitely superior to any on the road, they flatter themselves they will be able to give general satisfaction; and believe the public are aware, from past experience, that a liberal patronage to the above line will prevent impositions in high rates of fare by any stage monopoly.

The proprietors of the Defiance Fast Line are making the necessary arrangements to stock the Sandusky and Cleveland Routes also from Spring-

field to Dayton—which will be done during the month of July.

All baggage and parcels only received at the risk of the owners thereof.

Jno. W. Weaver & Co.,  
Geo. W. Manypenny,  
Jno. Yontz,  
From Wheeling to Columbus, Ohio.

James H. Bacon,  
William Rianhard,  
F. M. Wright,  
William H. Fife,  
From Columbus to Cincinnati.

The Cumberland Road became instantly a great mail-route to Cincinnati and St. Louis; from these points mails were forwarded by packets to Louisville, Huntsville, Alabama, Nashville, Tennessee, and all Mississippi points. Mails from Washington reached the West in 1837 as follows:

Washington to Wheeling .....	30 hours
Washington to Columbus .....	45-½ hours
Washington to Indianapolis .....	65-½ hours
Washington to Vandalia .....	85-½ hours
Washington to St. Louis .....	94 hours

Nashville was reached from Louisville by packet in twenty-one hours, Mobile in eighty hours, and New Orleans in one hundred and sixty-five hours.

Amos Kendall while postmaster general in 1835-6 instituted a "pony express" for carrying the lighter mails at greater speed than the coaches could. With the relay stations about six miles apart, the horses were ridden at top speed, but the service proved too expensive or impracticable and was soon taken off.<sup>15</sup> "In the year 1846, after the railroad was completed to Cumberland, Redding Bunting \* \* \* drove the great mail coach from Cumberland to Wheeling, which carried the message of President Polk officially proclaiming that war

<sup>15</sup>The quotation of a page from the Wheeling Directory of 1839 may satisfy a casual interest in the local postoffice and the mail card of that date:

#### POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

Officers—George W. Thompson, postmaster; L. S. Dulaplain, clerk of letter distribution; C. J. Love, newspaper distribution; H. H. Feeney, book of mails sent; W. A. Isett, book of mails received; J. Stevenson, clerk of the delivery; A. E. Bier, assistant at delivery; T. Bowen, porter.

#### ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES OF MAILS.

ARRIVAL	DEPARTURE.
From the east, 11:03 A. M.—	For the east, 8:27 A. M.
From the west, 6:15 A. M.—	For the west, 3 P. M.
From Wellsville, O., 12 M.—	For Wellsville, O., 3 P. M.
From Wooster, O., 12 M.	Tuesdays, Thurs'days and Sat'days.
For Wooster, Ohio, 3 P. M.,	Wednesdays and Fridays.

existed between the United States and Mexico. Leaving Cumberland at two o'clock in the morning, he reached Uniontown at eight o'clock of the same morning \* \* \* and after breakfast proceeded with his charge, reaching Washington at eleven A. M. and Wheeling at two P. M., covering a distance of one hundred and thirty-one miles in twelve hours."

During the flourishing period of the road, before it suffered from competition by the railroads, the fares on the stage lines approximated a schedule of which the following was a sample rate card:

From Baltimore to Frederick.....	\$ 2.00
“ Frederick to Hagerstown.....	2.00
“ Hagerstown to Cumberland.....	5.00
“ Cumberland to Uniontown.....	4.00
“ Uniontown to Washington.....	2.25
“ Washington to Wheeling.....	2.00

---

Through fare .....\$17.25

The road having been brought to the Ohio at Wheeling in spite of the rivalry of the adjacent towns, from the close of the second decade in the century until 1853 when the railroad arrived, Wheeling enjoyed conspicuous advantages from the junction of the two highways. By 1820 when practically every mile between Cumberland and this place was finished and two years after the traffic had begun, the great west had so filled with settlers that Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri were states of the Union, and nearly all the middle west to the Mississippi was occupied. Five years were to elapse before the opening of the Erie Canal, so that the old pike and the Ohio river formed an unrivalled transportation route from seaboard to all the

---

From Woodsfield, Ohio, Thursday, 11 A. M.  
 To Woodsfield Ohio, Monday, 4 P. M.  
 From Marietta, Ohio, 9 A. M., Wednesday and Saturday.  
 To Marietta, 10 A. M., Thursday, during the summer.  
 From West Liberty, Va., 11 A. M., Tues., Thurs., Satur.  
 To West Liberty, 1 P. M., same days as arrives.  
 From Morgantown, Va., Wednesday morning.  
 To Morgantown, Va., Thursday morning, 4 A. M.

The great mails are closed one hour before the time of departure, and the cross mails half an hour before departure.

G. W. THOMPSON, P. M.

#### POSTAGE ON LETTERS.

On single letters, or on one piece of paper, not exceeding 30 miles, 6 cents.  
 Over 30, and not exceeding 80, 10 cents.  
 Over 80, and not exceeding 150, 12 cents.  
 Over 150, and not exceeding 400, 18 cents.  
 Over 400, 25 cents.



The Stamm House.  
From an Old Photograph.

population of the central west. And Wheeling was the door through which passed this vast and varied commerce.

Even in the modern railway age a city so located that the business of a great state or group of states is carried through it, occupies a strategic position in commerce. But the average town on the route of a great trunk railway derives little profit from the trains of freight that hurry by. Very different was the case of the towns along the National road, and Wheeling, being a terminus and junction point, received the richest tolls of all. Certain railroad towns are prosperous because they are division points where shops and other activities of the transportation business are located. On the old pike, owing to the nature and comparative slow speed of transportation, what would correspond to these division points occurred every few miles, where the tavern, the wagon yard, the blacksmith shop and the store were located to serve the passing travel. And Wheeling was a sort of general headquarters, ranking above a host of smaller places along the line. Here were the stage and wagon line offices and outfitting quarters, the commission and forwarding houses, the transfer point where the wagons and stages unloaded for the boats.

It is estimated that two-fifths of the trade and travel of the road were diverted at Brownsville, and fell into the channel furnished at that point by the slack-water improvement of the Monongahela. A like proportion descended the Ohio from Wheeling, and the remaining fifth continued on the road to Columbus and points further west. The travel west of Wheeling was chiefly local and was characterized by less energy and excitement than that of the east.

Thus at least three-fifths, and in dry seasons more, of the immense traffic on the road went up and down Wheeling hill and over the wharves on the river front. The handling of the great quantities of merchandise was a large business in itself, and laborers and forwarding merchants profited accordingly. On the various railways now passing through Wheeling, the great bulk of the passenger traffic goes through with hardly a pause. It was different in the stage-coach days. Through travelers from either direction stopped over night or spent several hours of the day between "connections." Almost as many taverns advertising as first-class places existed in the town of Wheeling during the pike era as in the city of Wheeling. In the modern railway age the worldly polish of the inhabitants of a community is to a considerable degree the result of easy, quick facilities of travel by which they have regular access to the great centers of the nation. In the era before the war the process was largely reversed. Information

and association with men of the world came to the community in the stage coaches. The relations between the local and the traveling public were more intimate, to the mutual advantage of both. And travel itself was more informative in those slow-going days than in the modern days when travelers acquire their knowledge largely through the car and hotel windows.

A host of notables passed through Wheeling on the stage coaches. The following quotation from the *Virginia Northwestern Gazette* of May 14, 1818, is one instance:

"Arrived in this place on Thursday last, the Hon. H. Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives, on his way from Washington City. The hospitality and respect of the citizens for this eminent statesman was evinced by those previous arrangements which were made for his accommodation. A sumptuous dinner was prepared on the occasion, of which the gentleman with a number of the citizens partook."

The famous Indian, Black Hawk, after the war of 1832 to which he gave the name, was brought east to Washington. The party arrived in Wheeling by steamboat, and the chieftain was very shy about entering a stage coach, thinking it was a white man's trap for his destruction. An upset of the coach at Little Washington further disturbed the composure of the old warrior. Daniel Webster was also a visitor to Wheeling and spent Sunday here. The custom of the wealthy or distinguished in riding in private cars had its counterpart during the stage coach era. Jenny Lind and her troupe, with P. T. Barnum as manager, left Wheeling after her concert in a "chartered" coach of the Stockton line for the east.

Wheeling toward the close of the second decade of the century was visited by three travelers who published their observations and journals. Two of these gave only a few meagre details about the town. The Fordham Narrative, of 1817,<sup>16</sup> is content with saying that Wheeling "is the court house town of Ohio (the county, Virginia) and contains 120 houses, 11 stores and two inns." Hulme's Journal under date of June 8, 1818, has the following: "Came to Wheeling at about 12 o'clock. It is a handsome place and of considerable note. Stopped about an hour. Found flour to be about four to five dollars a barrel; fresh beef 4 to 6 cents a pound, and other things (the produce of the country) about the same proportion. Laborers' wages one dollar a day. Fine coals here and at Steubenville."

---

<sup>16</sup>Thwaites' Early Western Travels.

In John Woods' account of two years' residence in the Illinois country is more detail and interest. He arrived over the pike from the east August 7, 1820. "After breakfast we entered into an agreement with Messrs. Knox and Pemberton, of Wheeling, for the conveyance of ourselves and luggage to Louisville, in Kentucky, 600 miles, for fifty dollars, on condition we should help to navigate the boat down the river. There were twelve tons of store goods for Cincinnati and Louisville, besides our luggage of about three tons. The ark was about 36 feet long and 10 feet wide, with a fireplace in the center; it was covered with boards as a protection from the weather. \* \* \*

"Wheeling is a thriving place with some iron works. As the National road is to terminate at this place, it bids fair to rival Pittsburg in the trade of the western country. \* \* \* At any rate the great road for all the western country, crossing the Ohio at this place, will always add much to its importance. The country round Wheeling is very fine, and I have seen no part of America I should like better than the valley above it. But all the land is taken up and sells for a high price; and what is still worse it is situated in a slave state where everything is done by the negroes while the whites look on."

During the next fifteen years the town benefited by the full impetus of the traffic along the road. One of the milestones measuring its growing importance was the act of Congress in March, 1831, making this a port of entry. Its incorporation under city charter in 1836 was the result of the increase in population and business. The foundation of its manufactures and wholesale trade was also laid.<sup>16\*</sup> It was during this period that the traffic of river and road reached its height.

A speech delivered in Congress in 1832 describes how the road had brought prosperity to the town. "In the year 1822, shortly after the completion of the road, a single house in the town of Wheeling unloaded 1,081 wagons, averaging about 3,500 pounds each, and paid for the carriage of the goods \$90,000. At that time there were five other commission houses in the same place, and estimating that each of them received two-thirds the amount of goods consigned to the other, there must have been nearly 5,000 wagons unloaded, and nearly \$400,000 paid as the cost of transportation. But further, it is estimated

---

<sup>16\*</sup>From this period during which the traffic from and through Wheeling passed over the National road and the Ohio river, the names of a few of the wholesalers and jobbers are still represented in the wholesale district of the present Wheeling. The Heiskell family since the '20s and the Otts since the '30s have been identified with the trade of this district, and the firm of Greer & Laing goes back to about the same period. The Berry family in the rope business likewise dates back to that era.

that at least every tenth wagon passed through that place into the interior of Ohio, Indiana, etc., which would considerably swell the amount. \* \* \* Before the completion of this road, from four to six weeks were usually occupied in the transportation of goods from Baltimore to the Ohio river, and the price varied from six to ten dollars per hundred. Now [1832] they can be carried in less than half the time and at one half the cost. \* \* \*

A portion of an act passed by the general assembly of Virginia March 9, 1827, reads as follows:

"Whereas, It is represented to the general assembly, that the town of Wheeling, in the county of Ohio, is rapidly increasing in population, wealth and trade, and that said town being situated on the bank of the Ohio river, at the point the Cumberland road touches the same, the citizens of said town, and strangers trading thither, experience great and growing inconvenience for the want of public landings, wharves and quays.

1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That the mayor and commonalty of the town of Wheeling, in Ohio county, shall be and they are hereby authorized to erect and establish public landings, wharves and quays, at any time and place, on the margins of the Ohio river and Wheeling creek adjoining said town; to keep in good repair, or annul and abate the same, as to them may seem necessary and proper. \* \* \*

How the canal and railroad era brought about the decline of the National road is told in the succeeding chapter, and only one or two facts need be noticed here. The first factor that brought about a serious diminution of the road's business was the completion of the Pennsylvania canal to Pittsburg about the middle of the '30s. About ten years later a big break in the canal caused a sudden suspension of traffic on that route, and once more threw the transportation burdens on the Cumberland road. In a few days, to quote the words of an old wagoner, "it looked as if the whole earth was on the road; wagons, stages, horses, cattle, hogs, sheep and turkeys, without number. Teams of every description appeared in view, from the massive outfit of Governor Lucas down to the old bates hitched to a chicken coop." This sudden revival is one of the most significant indications of the obsolescence which had seized the old pike.

The railroad was regarded with a persistent hostility by all the old pike men. John Snider, one of the noted wagoners, in 1842 hauled a load of butter from Wheeling to Washington, D. C. The dealer at

---

<sup>17</sup>From T. M. T. McKennan's speech in Congress, June 6, 1832, quoted in Searight's *The Old Pike*.

Wheeling could have transferred the load to the railroad at Cumberland, but his animosity toward the new means of transportation was such that he made the driver carry it clear through to its destination.

About 1842, when the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad was completed to Cumberland, a lot of goods aggregating 6,143 pounds, an average load for a six-horse team, was shipped from Baltimore via Cumberland to Wheeling, consigned to Forsythe & Son at the latter place. A wagoner contracted to haul the load from Cumberland to Wheeling in six days for fifty cents a hundred. When the wagon arrived at Steenrod's tavern, east of Wheeling hill, a delegation of wholesale and retail merchants of Wheeling met it and escorted it to town. In the evening there was a celebration over the unprecedented event of goods reaching Wheeling from Baltimore in the short space of seven days.

Some statistics concerning the traffic on river and road at about the beginning of their decline have been found in contemporary publications. During the year 1838, which was one of severe drouth and low water, steamboat navigation opened on March 11, and was suspended at the middle of August, a period of 160 days. "During that time there were 865 arrivals here of boats in the general river trade, and nearly the same number of departures, which is at the rate of almost 2000 arrivals and departures each per annum."

The following is from an issue of the *Wheeling Daily Times* of October 17, 1843:

#### PORT OF WHEELING.

##### STEAMBOAT REGISTER.

Arrivals and Departures of Boats for the last 24 hours, ending yesterday at 4 o'clock, P. M.

ARRIVALS.		DEPARTURES.	
North Bend,	St. Louis.	Mayflower.	Louisville.
Tioga,	"	New York,	St. Louis.
Clarion,	Cincinnati.	New Castle,	Cincinnati.
Lodi,	"	Jim,	"
Bridgewater,	Pittsburg.	Bridgewater,	Pittsburg.
Jim,	"	Tioga,	"
Mayflower,	"	North Bend	"
New York	"	Clarion,	"
New Castle	"		

##### ARRIVALS OF WAGONS.

From Cumberland, loaded with Merchandise for the west, for the week ending on Monday morning, October 2, 1843.

At J. McCortney's	27
At J. Riddle's	8
At R. T. Newlove's	8
Living in Town	1

The *Wheeling Daily Times*, February 4, 1843, at the top of its editorial column, gives announcement of important reduction in freight rates from Philadelphia to Wheeling, the reduced rates being one dollar per hundred pounds. This rate was put in effect by the "Great Central Route," over combined railroad and wagon routes. In the same issue is the following table of rates, in which the difference between the overland and the all-water rates is very notable :

## FREIGHT TO AND FROM WHEELING.

From Baltimore—Dry goods, 85; Groceries, 80; Tobacco, 100; General Produce, 100 cts. To Baltimore:

Zanesville	37	cts.
Cincinnati	15	"
Louisville	20	"
Nashville	50	"
St. Louis	75	"

To and from Pittsburg 10 cts.

The city of Wheeling in the year 1837, with especial reference to its trade and manufacturing, is the subject of an interesting letter dated here, May 27, 1837, and published in 1840 under the title of "Letters from the East and from the West" by Frederick Hall, M. D. The letter is as follows :

Wheeling does not come quite up to my expectations. I had heard many encomiums bestowed on it, and perhaps expected too much. It is not wanting, however, in enterprise, nor, in ordinary times, in business, commercial or manufacturing, nor has it an unsightly or inconvenient location. It is placed along the eastern margin of the Ohio, and pressed into close proximity with the water, by a sturdy range or abrupt hills, which lie directly back of it. Only a very narrow tract of alluvial ground is allowed for the site of the city. The town consists, principally, of two, long streets, running parallel with the stream, which are intersected at right angles, by a number of shorter ones. On these streets are erected many spacious and lofty stores, ware-houses, manufactories, and some elegant private dwellings.

\* \* \* \* \*

Wheeling owes its establishment to Fort Wheeling, an establishment, founded in the early part of the American Revolutionary war. Necessity, and perhaps convenience, accumulated a little population in its vicinity. The growth of the village was slow. As late as the year 1820, it embraced only 1567 inhabitants. The addition to its number, during the next ten years, was 3500. The present population of the city is estimated at about 9000. There are nine houses for religious worship, and several of the clergymen, who officiate in them, are said to be highly respectable for talents and piety. The majority of the congregations are uncom-

monly large. In point of population, Wheeling is accounted the fourth town in Virginia, and, as a manufacturing town, it ranks still higher. A catalogue of its manufactories, as they existed in 1835, is printed in Martin's Gazetteer of Virginia, a part of which I shall take the liberty to transcribe. These establishments are "kept in motion by twenty-six steam-engines. The Wheeling iron works roll annually one thousand tons of iron. Besides these, there are four iron foundries, employing seventy hands; four establishments, for making steam-engines, also employing seventy hands; five glass-houses; two glass-cutting works employing one hundred and ninety-three hands; three steam flour mills; two steam distilleries; two cotton factories; two paper mills; two steam saw mills; one copperas factory; two soap and tallow chandleries; two tobacco factories; ten bake houses; three printing offices and one book bindery." To these are added a host of operations of a minor sort; such as tailors, wheelwrights, saddlers, silversmiths, painters, rope-makers, &c.&c. I cannot copy the entire list, but the sum of the matter is, "that the whole number of the establishments, for the manufacture of domestic goods, amounts to one hundred and thirteen, consuming, yearly, more than one million bushels of coal." Tell me, does not Wheeling deserve to be styled *one* of the Birminghams of the West? One million bushels of coal! and, perhaps, an equal quantity is consumed for household purposes. Whence comes it? A kind Providence has stacked away enough of it, within stone's throw of the fires, where it is wanted, to supply a thousand generations. The hills are full of it, and can never be emptied. It may always be had by the poor for the digging. "Delivered at the factories, the price varies from one to three cents a bushel." Who would desire fuel at a cheaper rate? In Washington, it cost me, last winter, you will remember, thirty-four cents a bushel.

The National road, leading from Baltimore to St. Louis, passes through this city. Wheeling must, therefore, ever be one of the great thorough-fares for western travellers, and for western merchandise. Even now, the daily arrivals and departures of stages and boats create no inconsiderable activity and confusion. At the stage-houses quiet may be coveted, but is not always easily obtained. The multitude of river voyagers, who stop here, a longer or shorter time, as most of them do, is wonderfully large. The company, at our dinner-table today, consisted of seventy-four ladies and gentlemen, and the proprietor of the house informed me, that his customers, this season, are certainly not more than half as numerous, as they have been in past years "when times were good."

Are you aware, that the Roscoe, which brought us across the Atlantic, might have landed us here, without making her obeisance to the New York custom house? It is so. This is a port of entry. Merchandise and passengers may be conveyed from Spain, China, or the coral islands of the Pacific, directly to the wharves of this

city. In the dog-days, the inhabitants, no doubt, put up fervent petitions, for "brass heavens" and low water, for in that case, Wheeling becomes the Ultima Thule of navigation for the larger steamboats. The small craft only can, then, make its way upstream to Pittsburgh. The town, in these blessed seasons, is filled and thronged with strangers from the east and west, the north and south—the stores and streets and wharves are crowded with goods, all waiting for further transportation.

A city directory is hardly a book which one would choose for entertainment. From the name one would not expect the flavor of quaintness in its descriptive passages, nor even an unconscious humor. Yet, in the first directory of Wheeling<sup>18</sup> its author describes the city in a way that merits quotation for modern readers.

The introduction to the directory was dated February, 1839. Note the following general description: "The local position of the city is a declivity just sufficient for the rains to elute its surface from accumulating impurities, and to keep it freed from the detention of stagnant water." Despite the phraseology, the meaning is perfectly clear.

Further—

"The design of the city appears to have been elicited from the plan of Philadelphia. Although the streets are mostly 60 feet wide, some others vary from 50 to 100 feet, and the allies [alleys] are some 16 and some 20 feet wide. The most of them are substantially paved with stone, and run nearly north and south, and are crossed by others at right angles, running from the river eastward, forming squares of appropriate dimensions. Those squares are again equally divided each way, by allies passing through them, on some of which are erected valuable buildings, and are occupied either as private dwellings, or respectable boarding houses. The sidewalks are permanently paved with brick, and are sufficiently spacious, and kept in good order. The buildings are generally composed of brick, though some of stone, and a few of wood. They are mostly from two to three stories high, and substantially built. Many of them are of splendid structure."

In eulogy of Wheeling, probably no "booster" ever surpassed, at least in the commingling of his metaphors, the author of the directory of 1839. The following paragraphs would overwhelm even the chronic pessimist:

---

<sup>18</sup>"The Wheeling Directory and Advertiser: In which were alphabetically arranged the names of the chiefs of all the families, the business they are engaged in (if any), the names of the streets and allies upon which they live, their business place and family residence given," etc. By J. B. Bowen, Wheeling. John M. McCreary, Printer, 1839. The copy from which the above extracts are taken is now in the possession of Dr. Frank LeM. Hupp, of Wheeling.

"The citizens of Wheeling are courteous, hospital, active in business, enterprising, dignified, and intelligent. No idle groups of loungers here occupying the side walks beyond business time, to obstruct the passing crowds of the business populace, who in the constant hurry to and fro, with flippant step, are hastening to their various and respective engagements. Here, on the wings of the early morning, come forth the hands of industry, applying the sounds of a hundred different notes, to prosecute with assiduity the unfinished labors of the preceding day. It is amusing, gratifying and instructive to pass along the various work shops on a summer's day, when the windows are thrown up for the admission of air, and view the different mechanical operations carried on among the handicraft trades—while the performance of some of them is done as quick as presto, others require more of the mental exercises. \* \* \*

"The rich and the poor meet together, and merit is honored. But few traces here are to be seen of the venal or the bacchanalian obtruding from their obscene examples, demoralizing effects upon the virtuous order of society. The profligate is without companions, and seeks a country more congenial to his habits of life, while the business man, acting in any sphere of his usefulness, is seconded by the patronage and example of all around him."

The author of this little work was also a prophet. While prophecy, when regarded after the time of fulfillment is passed, is often discouraging, yet this seer was not altogether wrong in his forecasting of definite achievements and his rhetoric is worthy of preservation:

"After summing up the whole matter," he says, "I can't forbear giving an opinion. To me there appears no eviction from the condition of Wheeling prophetic of her delay upon her onward march to eminence and distinction. When I review her rapid increase of population—her great commercial advantages, with her present and prospective acquirements of overland transportation—her immense and exhaustless supplies of coal furnished by nature at the very threshold for her application of it—the facilities she has for transporting her products, wares and merchandise in any, and every degree of quantity, to every point within our own country, and abroad to every port of the habitable globe—and the conspicuous and undeceivable inducements which she possesses and holds forth to men of business habits, capital and enterprise, to come and locate within her precincts, and share the rich rewards of their industry in health, wealth, and every earthly blessing. I cannot essay to prophecy, but I see nothing to discourage the opinion, that there is suspended within a period at no great distance of time, the insignia of glory, magnificence, and grandeur, which Wheeling shall arrive at, and reap in full fruition. Her Water street shall then in the length of it be graded down, and blocks of warehouses tall and spacious, shall mark the margin

of the river, for the reception of her immense merchandise. Domiciles, dense, tall and magnificent, shall in splendid arrangement overspread her surface, and tens of thousands shall gather within her borders, to participate of her wealth and her blessings. That ever flowing and beautiful Ohio river shall bear on her bosom her thousand steamboats, fraught with the products and inhabitants of every clime. \* \* \*

Some valuable and interesting pen pictures of Wheeling during the '30s were written by Rebecca Harding Davis in her "Bits of Gossip." While this is reminiscence and hence not to be relied upon for complete accuracy of detail, it is valuable because she wrote especially of the social life and the cultural features of the town where she spent her childhood. The following extracts have special reference to the Wheeling of the period now under consideration.

"The village in Virginia, which was our home, consisted of two sleepy streets lined with Lombardy poplars, creeping between a slow-moving river and silent, brooding hills. Important news from the world outside was brought to us when necessary by a man on a galloping horse.

"But such haste seldom was thought necessary. Nobody was in a hurry to hear the news. Nobody was in a hurry to do anything, least of all to work or to make money. It mattered little then whether you had money or not. If you were born into a good family and were 'converted,' you were considered safe for this world and the next. \* \* \*

"Besides, the country was so new, so raw, that there were few uses for wealth. You must remember that in the early thirties Philadelphia, New York and Boston were in the same condition as the population, wealth and habits of life as the fourth-rate country town of today. Richmond and St. Louis boasted loudly of their eight thousand inhabitants. San Francisco was a bear den and Chicago a hamlet. The majority of Americans, both men and women, were then busy with farming or other manual labor, and the so-called gentry had no operas, no art galleries, no yearly trips to Europe to drain their thin incomes.

"Between the small towns scattered over the continent stretched the wilderness, broken here and there by the farms of squatters. Through this wilderness the rivers, canals, and one solitary road carried travelers and trade.

"Our village was built on the Ohio river, and was a halting place on this great national road, then the only avenue of traffic between the south and the north. Every morning two stage coaches with prancing horses and shrill horns dashed down the sleeping streets to the wharf, full of passengers from the east, who hurried on board the steamboats bound for St. Louis or New Orleans. Huge vans often passed, laden with merchandise for the plantations or with bales of cotton for the northern mills.

Now and then a white-topped Conestoga wagon drawn by eight horses, each carrying a chime of bells, came through the streets, bearing an emigrant family to the west. The mother and children peeped out of the high front, and the father, carrying a gun, walked with his dog. \* \* \*

"These wagons were full of romance to us children. They came up with these strange people out of far-off lands of mystery, and took them into the wilderness, full of raging bears and panthers and painted warriors, all to be fought in turn. \* \* \*

"With us, after a presidential election, a month often passed before the man on the galloping horse brought us the name of the successful candidate."

Referring to magazines and newspapers published at the time she says: "Of these I only remember two, the 'United States Gazette' and the 'Gentleman's Monthly Magazine,' which was always expurgated for my use by pinning certain pages together."

An event which of itself is worthy to be recorded in the history of Wheeling, but which takes on special significance in connection with the declining glories of the National Road, was the reception of President-elect Taylor when he made the journey from the west to Washington early in 1849, on his way to the inauguration. He came up the Ohio river, and from Wheeling continued his journey over the National Road. He was the last of the presidents from the west to use this method of travel, which even then was becoming obsolete, and with the departure of the coaches of the presidential party the remarkable history of this great highway is nearing conclusion.

Great preparations were made by the prominent Whigs of Wheeling for the reception of General Taylor.<sup>19</sup> When news came that his party on board the Telegraph had reached Marietta, the Wheeling band, many members of the different committees and about a hundred and fifty other citizens embarked on the steamboat Revolution, intending to meet the General down the river and escort him with fitting ceremony to the Wheeling docks. The river was full of ice, and at Grave creek bend the Revolution stuck in an ice gorge in mid stream.

"Oh dreary hills, Oh leafless trees,  
That tower on either side.  
Oh flakes of ice, that gorge and freeze  
The river surface wide,  
But worse than all, Oh helpless crew  
Of our distracted men.  
How sweet a home would be to you,  
Pent in this icy pen."

---

<sup>19</sup>*Daily Gazette*, February 21, 1849, and previous issues.

These were two of the stanzas composed by one of the hapless party. Some got off the boat and made their way over the ice to Moundsville, but the majority remained until about one o'clock in the morning they were hailed by a messenger who said that the boat on which "Old Zack" was a passenger was in the same predicament at Captina island. The General came on by coach and met the Wheeling party at Moundsville. That afternoon "the cavalcade, composed of seven or eight sleighs, two coaches, several carriages, and a considerable body of horsemen," arrived in Wheeling, where a great celebration was held on the streets and at a banquet in the United States hotel. The next morning the president-elect and company took coaches and other conveyances and went over Wheeling hill and along the snow-covered road to Washington, Brownsville and on to the capital.

The same year the venerable Henry Clay again passed through Wheeling and over the National Road, probably for the last time. "The Hon. Henry Clay arrived in this city on the steamer *Oriental*, yesterday morning at 4 o'clock, and after breakfasting at the U. S. hotel and, in company with some of our citizens, crossing the suspension bridge, left in the coaches for Washington City."<sup>20</sup>

The great thoroughfare between east and west had served its purpose well. It was an instrument in the building of the nation, and for more than a century armies of conquest, caravans of commerce, and the great men of the time had followed this route between the coastal plains and the Ohio Basin. Civilization had found better means for travel and transportation, and the era of wagon and stage-coach was closed.

"We hear no more of the clanging hoof,  
And the stage coach rattling by;  
For the steam king rules the world,  
And the old Pike's left to die."

---

<sup>20</sup>*Daily Gazette*, Nov. 7, 1849. Henry Clay died June 29, 1852.  
Vol. I—11

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE EARLY RAILROAD ERA.

It is communication that holds the country together, and renders it one for all social and political purposes as well as for commerce.

As the National Road had brought Wheeling into the current of the great travel and commercial activities between the east and the west, had stimulated business and given its citizenship personal contact with the great world, so it was the development of rival routes of travel in other parts of the country that brought about a decline in the comparative importance of this city in its relations to the expanding western empire. During the prosperity of the National Road, Wheeling was a gateway, a rival of Pittsburg, which both in its early and modern history has possessed itself of the title of "the gateway city." During the first third of the nineteenth century, Wheeling shared the same honors and was a serious competitor of its northern neighbor. The manufacturing and the trade at Wheeling during the '30s, measured by the standards of the time, were remarkably extensive. The east regarded Wheeling as one of the entrepôts of western trade, while to a large region beyond the Ohio it was a market and distributing point for much of the goods consumed and produced.

Useful as the road was as a pioneer highway, it was too primitive a means of communication to satisfy the needs of the bustling spirit of the nineteenth century, and before it had been completed to the Ohio river other plans were under way to supersede it by improved transportation facilities. With the era of western expansion which followed the second war with England, came a great impulse to industrial development and internal improvement. Transportation by wagon over the ever-increasing areas was too costly. The success of the steam-propelled craft on navigable rivers had started an era of waterway transportation. The employment of rail highways for wheeled vehicles and the adaptation of steam machinery to move them were proposed, but the ideas were too novel to gain the serious consideration of practical men. But the joining of natural waterways by means of canals was not a new enterprise in the experience of the nations of the world, though as yet it was untried on any important scale in America.

The state of New York had taken the lead in canal building, and after eight years of labor by 1825 had united the waters of the Hudson with those of the Great Lakes by the Erie Canal. Even before the canal was completed, its route had become the great commercial highway between the west and the seaboard. It was the greatest enterprise of the age, and the full extent of its influence can hardly be comprehended. That this canal should have affected the distant city of Wheeling may seem implausible, yet it was among the most important of the causes which brought about a readjustment of American commercial highways and a shifting of their commercial advantages to other centers. Before the opening of the Erie Canal, the National Road presented one of the best avenues for the commerce between the two sections of the country. But even the Ohio valley found the canal route more economical than the old methods of wagon freighting across the Alleghenies. Goods could be brought from New York by the all-water way to Lake Erie, and thence by a short portage could be transferred to the Allegheny river, and so be carried to any of the tributary country to the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Thus from Philadelphia to Columbus, Ohio, by the overland way, it took thirty days and cost five dollars a hundred pounds to transport goods, while the same articles could be brought from New York by the Hudson and canal in twenty days at a cost of two dollars and a half a hundred.<sup>1</sup>

The supremacy of the great commercial centers of Philadelphia and Baltimore in their relations to the western trade was greatly impaired by the completion of the New York route. A most effective statement of the situation was made in the report of the committee of Baltimore citizens who in February, 1827, were laying plans for the Baltimore & Ohio railroad. In the district between Baltimore and the Ohio river, and tributary to the line of the proposed railroad, there was a population, according to this report, of nearly two million people, or one-fifth of the total population of the United States. The population dependent on the Erie Canal was not more than a million. Yet in two years from the opening of the canal, the value of its traffic had more than doubled. This was a strong argument for the profitable operation of such a railroad. How this improved transportation service would stimulate production in the west was illustrated by the report in this example: Flour at Baltimore sold at five dollars a barrel; the cost of conveying the barrel over the mountains from Wheeling was

---

<sup>1</sup>McMaster, Vol. V, p. 136.

four dollars, hence the producer of the barrel of flour at Wheeling would receive only one dollar for it if he sent it to the Baltimore market. But with a railroad, the freight would be reduced to one dollar, hence the Wheeling miller would have an incentive to produce flour for the eastern market.

To break down the barrier of the Alleghenies had been the vision of statesmen for half a century, beginning with the surveys of Washington. A great waterway to connect the nation's capital with the Ohio river and the Great Lakes was an enterprise to which he had given long and careful consideration. The Cumberland road had been a temporary solution of the problem, but the remarkable success of the Erie Canal had made wagon roads obsolete, and the days of the freighter were numbered. The commercial enterprise of Baltimore and Philadelphia was awakened by the imminent danger of losing their trade, and the difficulties that commerce had previously contended with as best it could had now to be removed. Baltimore, with an enthusiasm and liberality hardly ever surpassed, undertook to solve the problem with a railroad. The undertaking was in advance of the times, and, in overcoming the difficulties involved in building the pioneer American railway, its promoters were delayed so that the triumph of first crossing the mountain barrier was won by Pennsylvania. Viewed from the present time, it seems that the commercial destinies of a large part of the nation were fixed by the success of the first great transportation routes into the west.

For more than a decade after the completion of the Erie Canal, a rage for canal building took possession of the country. Every state in the east and west planned and started the construction of canals, and in every state between the Atlantic and the Mississippi the weed-covered embankments and choked ditches may be traced as memorials of that era. To connect the tidewaters of the Potomac with the navigable sources of the Ohio, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was begun at Washington. But a quarter of a century elapsed before this waterway was completed to Cumberland, and that has remained its terminus to the present day, and it had little influence on the matters of this discussion.

But the state of Pennsylvania lost no time after the completion of the Erie Canal. At Columbia on the Susquehanna, eighty miles west of Philadelphia, ground was broken for the eastern division of a proposed canal to extend west to Pittsburg. This section was carried up the Susquehanna valley beyond Harrisburg and was completed by 1830. Another section, extending west from the Susquehanna, was

begun in 1827, was completed to Huntingdon in 1830 and to Hollidaysburg in 1834. The western section, from Johnstown in the Conemaugh valley to the Allegheny river at Pittsburg, was begun in 1826 and opened in 1830. To connect the western and central sections, in March, 1831, the legislature directed the canal commissioners to undertake the construction of a railroad over the intervening ridge of the mountains, with a tunnel through the crest. This was the origin of the famous Allegheny Portage railroad, extending from Hollidaysburg on the east slope to Johnstown on the west, a distance of thirty-eight miles. It was designed as the link between the canals, and was the ingenious solution of the old problem of breaking the back of the Allegheny mountains. In the distance of thirty-eight miles, there were six comparatively level stretches and ten "inclined planes." These "planes" being of too steep a grade for use of horses or locomotives in drawing the cars, a stationary engine was placed at the top of each such ascent and the cars were pulled up by cable. At first it was designed that goods should be transferred from the canal boat to the cars and carried over the mountains and then reloaded. But a short time after the opening of this road, in March, 1834, a plan was devised by which both the boat and its cargo was lifted on to the car, carried over the mountains, and shoved off into the waters of the canal on the other side.

In the meantime a railroad had been built from Philadelphia to Columbia, so that by the beginning of 1835 Pennsylvania had a through route, combined railroad and canal, from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, a distance of nearly four hundred miles. This was the first practical solution of the old problem of connecting the Atlantic seaboard with the Ohio river. A great rush of business followed, and through southern Pennsylvania flowed a stream of travel and traffic similar to that which had begun in the valley of the Mohawk the preceding decade. Ten years later, following the same general route, the Pennsylvania railroad began building, and when it was completed to Pittsburg in 1854 its superior facilities largely superseded the old canal.

The relations of the great enterprises just described to Wheeling and its surrounding country are easily understood. The Ohio river was still at the city's front, and it carried an ever-increasing burden of boats, but more than ever their destination was at Pittsburg, and Wheeling only a "port of call." The National road was still the highway for many stage lines and caravans of freighters, but from this time on this traffic began to decline. The old turnpike could not compete with the canal and steamboat and the railway. The Baltimore &

Ohio railroad was still on the eastern slopes of the Alleghenies, and nearly two decades passed before Wheeling was once more "put on the map" through the advent of the railroad.

Before continuing the narrative of the progress of railroad building towards Wheeling, attention must be directed to some very important developments at Wheeling itself. About 1848, following the close of the Mexican war, the city entered upon an era of remarkable prosperity and advancement, which continued until the hard times of the latter '50s. So far as the material upbuilding of the city is concerned, the prosperity and progress so much in evidence about 1850 did not again reach an equally high mark until after the Civil war.

To a large degree the progress of this period is concerned with the transportation interests, but before taking up the subjects of special moment to this article it will be well to review briefly the other important undertakings in the city at this time. The years 1848-49 marked the beginning of the free public school system of Wheeling. The high tide in municipal improvements until after the war was reached about that time, when the gas works were built and most of the streets were paved with cobblestone. It was also an era of building and the founding of permanent institutions. The Wheeling Female Seminary was incorporated and its building, still standing as the City Hospital, was erected. The Wheeling Athenaeum and Washington Hall building companies were chartered. The academy that is now at Mt. de Chantal was founded in the city, and early in 1850 the Wheeling Hospital was incorporated. During 1850 the McLure Hotel was being constructed. These were the more important enterprises, all of which were conspicuous in the life of the city in subsequent years and with one or two exceptions still continue as institutions of the city. Moreover, these undertakings characterized the spirit of achievement and progress that then prevailed. An energetic Board of Trade, though not so influential as the present organization, served to stimulate and concentrate the civic and business energies of the people. New manufactures were being established, old plants were extending their facilities, and industrially the city was more prosperous than it had ever been. In population, also, Wheeling in 1850 had relatively high rank among the cities of the Ohio valley. The census of 1850 gave the city a population of 11,510, while the adjacent Ritchietown, Fulton and Clinton brought the total up to 13,161. The total population of the county was 18,008.

Amid such substantial prosperity, the one great demand was for



View of Wheeling in 1852, from Chapline Hill.

better transportation. Though the local citizens, beyond subscribing generously to the still distant railroads, were able to do little practical work in hurrying on their completion, they did make active and energetic preparations to utilize the railroads to the best advantage when they should arrive. It is to this phase of developments that special attention must now be called.

During the decade of the '40s Wheeling stood between two great eras. The National Road had begun to decline, though it was not yet obsolete, and it was hoped that means might be found to preserve its commercial usefulness. The era of canal and river transportation was still at its height, but Wheeling was not in a position to reap the greatest benefits from the traffic which was carried along the river. The railroads would supply the needed facilities, but in the meantime the citizens could do much to uphold the utility of the old system and make ready for the new.

The importance of the Ohio river in the development of the middle west during the first half of the nineteenth century could hardly be exaggerated. Yet a natural highway of this kind inevitably forces travel along a single path, to the disadvantage of settlement and development in the country inland from its waters. And furthermore every waterway interrupts the continuity of overland routes. The Ohio was particularly an obstacle on the National Road at Wheeling,<sup>2</sup> and from early in the century the public wants had demanded a bridge at that point. But the attainment of this object was long delayed, and it was reserved for the period now under consideration to witness the first bridging of this great stream. Among the most picturesque features of the National Road were its bridges, by which practically every stream between Cumberland and the western terminus was crossed without the hindrance of ford or ferry. But the first bridge over the Ohio was not built until the great turnpike was in its declining age, and when the promoters of the bridge founded their expectations of profit less on the traffic along the old road than upon the travel and transportation incident to the building of the railroads.

In 1816 the legislatures of Virginia and Ohio, by concurrent action, incorporated the Wheeling & Belmont Bridge Company to build a bridge from the Virginia to the Ohio sides of the river.<sup>3</sup> One

---

<sup>2</sup>How the river interrupted traffic over the National Road is illustrated by the following: The mail was detained at Wheeling by ice in the river, in 1836 for 32 days; in 1837 for 17 days; in 1838 for 38 days; in 1839 for 22 days; in 1840 for 18 days; and in 1841 for 24 days.

<sup>3</sup>The original board of this company comprised the names of Archibald

of the clauses in the charter provided that if the proposed bridge should injure the navigation of the river it should be treated as a public nuisance, or, in other words, the public could compel its removal. Bridge engineering had not yet advanced sufficiently so that a bridge might be planned to escape the objections of this clause, and the cost of almost any kind of bridge at this point was so great that local capital could hardly project it at that time. In 1833, under the terms of the old charter, Noah Zane and associates began the construction of a wooden bridge between the island and the Ohio side, but this was not completed until 1837.

In the meantime, in 1836, the old charter had been revived by both legislatures. The necessity of a bridge at this point had been repeatedly urged upon the attention of Congress as a national work. In 1838 government engineers reported a plan for a bridge to be suspended between two piers six hundred feet apart, but no actual aid was ever obtained from Congress in promoting this enterprise. In March, 1847, Virginia amended the charter so as to permit of the construction of a suspension instead of a pier bridge. The suspending of a bridge structure by means of cables was then a comparatively new project, and the company that built the old suspension bridge at Wheeling deserve credit not only for constructing the first bridge over the Ohio river below the forks at Pittsburg but also for building what was at the time the longest single span in America.<sup>4</sup> From tower to tower this bridge span was 1,010 feet, the only other span at the time approaching this one being shorter by ten feet.

In 1847 a committee of the bridge company solicited subscriptions to the capital stock, and began the same year actual construction. Two of the leading engineers in the country competed in submitting plans for the structure, Charles Ellet and John A. Roebling. The latter proposed two piers in stream with the span between them not exceeding six hundred feet. His plan provided for a stronger construction, and from the modern viewpoint the simpler method. The fear that any piers in stream would interfere with navigation and hence invalidate the whole enterprise was no doubt one of the chief

---

Woods, Noah Zane, Samuel Sprigg, Joseph Caldwell, John White, Moses Shepherd, Notley Hays, Benjamin Ruggles, George Paull, James Barnes and Elijah Woods.

<sup>4</sup>The board of directors of the bridge company in 1847, when work of construction began, were: Thomas Sweeney, president, James Baker, Henry Moore, E. W. Stevens, W. T. Selby, John W. Gill, William Paxton, Thomas Hughes and Daniel C. List.

reasons that caused the company to choose Mr. Ellet's bold plan of spanning the entire channel.

It required two years to complete the bridge. In October, 1849, the first vehicle was driven across from shore to shore, and a great crowd gathered from the city and surrounding towns to behold the ceremony of joining Virginia and Ohio.<sup>5</sup> Flags were planted on the towers, and after the workmen had laid the floor up to the center Mr. Ellet drove in a carriage the entire length, his arrival on the other side being announced by the roar of a cannon. On November 15th the formal opening occurred, at which time a thousand oil lamps hung from the cables furnished a display such as had never been witnessed over the Ohio river. The first rates of toll established by the company were, in some of the items, as follows: Foot passengers, 5c for round trip; man and horse, 10c; six-horse wagon, 75c; monthly ticket for foot passenger, 50c. The novelty of the bridge at first attracted a large traffic, but the company soon found it necessary to reduce the toll rates.

With the opening of the bridge, the Zane ferry, which had been operated since the memory of the oldest inhabitant, was discontinued, though two other ferries at different points continued to ply over the river. The market wagons which supplied most of the provisions for Wheeling people now began using the bridge.

A very important result of the building of the bridge was the impetus it gave to the development of the island as an integral part of the city. The day after the bridge was opened a sale of fifty lots was advertised, and though most of the upbuilding of the island as a residence section occurred since the war, its beginning may be dated from the consolidation of this portion with the mainland through the construction of the bridge.

The bridge company had used much foresight in planning their enterprise not only to serve the needs which had existed for years but also in providing for the future. At that time it was reckoned as a certainty that Wheeling would be the junction point of at least the Baltimore & Ohio and the Central Ohio, both of which were under construction, and in addition were the Hempfield and other lines that were designed to connect here. With these facts in mind the bridge was planned as a link between the railroads on opposite sides of the river. After the work was finished it was seen that the structure would not bear the weight of trains of locomotive and cars. But at the

---

<sup>5</sup>*Daily Gazette*, October 22, 1849.

time this was not a serious objection, since the now universal custom of transferring cars from one railroad to another did not prevail. It was proposed that a railroad track should be laid across the bridge so that cars might be drawn by horses from one side to the other, thus effecting an interchange of traffic much better than ferriage. This plan would have satisfied all the then existing standards of railway co-operation, and would have furnished a better connection than the system of ferries in use across the river until about 1870. The events which deprived both the bridge company and the city of these great advantages as a railway junction will be described later in this chapter.



Old Suspension Bridge.

The suspension bridge, though the original cost of its building was close to a quarter of million dollars and the building itself was one of the remarkable engineering accomplishments of the time, had a significance in the history of Wheeling quite apart from its importance as an achievement of local enterprise. Wheeling was then at the critical period of its commercial history. It was an active and no mean rival of Pittsburgh, and had promise of growth into one of the greatest cities of the Ohio valley. When one considers the splendid spirit of co-operation and liberality which actuated the citizens of that time, in the building of this bridge and the promotion of other local enterprises and in their generous donations for the construction of railroads, nothing but praise can be granted to their efforts. And while it is a matter for regret that the best fruits of this enterprise were never secured to the city, this regret is really an expression of admiration for the vigorous struggle made against adverse circumstances. One of these circumstances was the subsequent choice by the railroads of Benwood

and Bellaire as their termini, which has always been considered to have been an unfair discrimination and an act of ingratitude to Wheeling. Another factor was the constant and vigorous hostility of Pittsburgh, to which attention is now called.

Throughout the years in which the subject of a bridge at Wheeling was agitated, the opposition of Pittsburgh to any such enterprise was a natural outcome of the rivalry between the two cities, and it was charged that the citizens of that city had been able to resist every application for a bridge up to the year 1847.<sup>6</sup> When construction actually began in 1847, no open hostility was manifested by Pittsburgh, and it was claimed that there was no intimation of a purpose to object until two years later, when the bridge company had expended the whole of its capital. Then, basing the attack on the grounds that the bridge "obstructed navigation," the rival city began an active campaign, holding meetings and raising money to prosecute the suit by the state of Pennsylvania against the bridge company. This suit was decided by the Supreme Court of the United States.

At low water the highest point of the flooring of the old bridge was ninety-two feet above the water, and at the lowest point of the flooring the distance was sixty-two feet. At a thirty-foot stage, which it was claimed occurred only about once in two years and was of brief duration, there still remained a space of sixty feet between the water and the highest part of the bridge. Before the bridge was completed the height of smoke-stacks on the river boats never exceeded sixty feet above water line, so that any of these boats could pass under the bridge except at times of extraordinary flood. So to prove their contention that the bridge obstructed navigation, it was charged, the steamboat interests at Pittsburgh constructed some six or seven boats with stacks about eighty feet high, and sent them down the river during high-water period. Through design or negligence on the part of the captains, one or two of these boats suffered injury to the stacks. On one occasion the bridge employes chopped off the top of one of the stacks. It is evident that the entire proceedings were part of a plan adopted by the upper city to destroy the bridge, and the attorney for the company was justified in describing the suit, in its origin and real purpose, as "purely vexatious."

---

<sup>6</sup>Much of the information concerning the suit against the bridge company is obtained from a little book published in 1851, entitled "Argument for the defendants in the Case of the State of Pennsylvania vs. the Wheeling & Belmont Bridge Company and Others, in the Supreme Court of the United States, by Charles W. Russell." The files of the *Daily Gazette* for 1850 contain many items pertaining to this interesting case.

The whole case has a broader significance than its results to the bridge company. It illustrates perhaps better than anything else would the dominant importance of water transportation at that time. To maintain the river highways free from any impediment was an object transcending the rights and benefits of any other form of transportation. Since then the federal government, though upholding its authority over navigable streams and forbidding their obstruction for the passage of boats, has greatly qualified the exercise of its power, so that in practice the right of a railroad or other highway to bridge a stream is held to be as essential to the public welfare as the privilege of navigation. Judged according to the prevalent opinions of that time, the majority of our modern bridges would be considered obstructive to navigation. The use of rivers by boats has since been so modified that, when the interests of a community or of business justify it, navigation may even be entirely interrupted at certain hours. To such an extent have usage and law been developed since this famous suit over the suspension bridge.

An act of the Virginia legislature, January 11, 1850, declared that the bridge as it stood was of lawful height and in conformity with the true intent and meaning of the act of March, 1847. Notwithstanding this act, and the argument of the defendants' attorney, which to the modern view seems to have lacked nothing in cogency or in breadth of reasoning, the Supreme Court in December, 1851, brought in a decision adverse to the company. The following spring the general assembly of Virginia instructed the state's representatives in Congress to urge such legislation as would protect the bridge as built and would also define exact regulations for the navigation of the Ohio and the extent to which piers might be erected in the river and other rules determining the height of bridges. An act of Congress in August, 1852, declared that the Wheeling bridges, on both sides of the island, were "lawful structures in their present position and elevation," thus ending the war against the bridge company.

The suspension bridge as long as it stands deserves the regard which is paid to monumental enterprises. When first built the structure excited the admiration of all who beheld its remarkable length of span and beauty of proportions, and even now those acquainted with its history regard it with an interest and affection quite apart from its utility as compared with the many modern bridges that cross the Ohio.

The subsequent history of the bridge may be briefly told. May 17, 1854, a violent gale overturned the bridge and left it a tangled ruin

in the river. The towers and part of the cables were intact, and the bridge was reconstructed largely from the old material, being once more opened for travel in January, 1856. The original width of the floor had been twenty-eight feet, but now the width between the cables was decreased to fourteen feet. In 1860 the cables were reinforced, and the foot passages were placed outside the suspenders. This was considered an unsatisfactory construction and also destroyed the proportions of the bridge. In 1872 the bridge was reconstructed in such a way as to restore the original symmetry and width and at the same time to strengthen the whole structure. In this form practically it has hung suspended over the river for the past forty years.

A "railroad," in the strict and original meaning of the term, is a road on which wheeled vehicles are supported and guided by a track of parallel rails. By association of ideas, the word now usually signifies a track of steel rails used for cars drawn by steam or electric locomotives. The first "rail" roads in America, however, though consisting of parallel lines of "rails," were neither tracks of iron or steel, nor were the vehicles that ran over them propelled by any mechanical motive power. The rails were made of parallel lines of stone, dressed to straight edges; or, of wooden stringers or rails, laid on stone sills, faced on the upper edge with straps of iron to meet the contact of the wheels. Also, the cars on the first railroads were drawn by horse power.

The first of such roads were short lines at coal mines or stone quarries. Their usefulness was limited to the same purposes as the tracks and cars now employed at coal mines, though in efficiency the little railway system of a modern mine is vastly superior. What is often mentioned as the first railroad of the United States, though one or two applications of the rail track had previously been made, was a road three miles long from the granite quarries near Quincy, Massachusetts, to tidewater on the Neponset river. This road was put in operation during the late '20s. The rails were wooden timbers faced with bar iron. From quarry to river was down grade, and two horses drew the loaded cars down and the empty ones up. This was a marvelous institution for the time, and people came in crowds from a distance to witness its operation.

Already, in England, the steam locomotives were being used with considerable success. The Delaware & Hudson Canal Company, with a canal from the Hudson river to Honesdale, built a railroad from the latter terminus to the mines at Carbondale. In 1828 they ordered four steam locomotives from England, and these arrived at New York

in 1829. The only one that ever moved under its own steam was the "Stourbridge Lion." This pioneer trial of steam locomotives in America occurred August 8, 1829, in the presence of a great crowd of marveling spectators. The daring engineer drove the "Lion" at considerable speed over the wooden track, around the curves and across the bridge, and at the end of two or three miles reversed the engine and brought it safely back to the starting point. As a result of the trial the road was declared unsuitable for locomotives, so the Stourbridge Lion was set aside, was stared at and its smaller parts carried away by vandals, and was never again used as a locomotive.

South Carolina had chartered a railroad company in 1828, and in January, 1830, they accepted the recommendation of the engineer who had made the trial of the Stourbridge Lion, to use locomotives instead of horse power. Their first engine, named the "Best Friend of Charleston," likewise the first locomotive built in America, made its trial trip on November 2, 1830. Then, in January, 1831, this road instituted the first regular passenger service in America.

These were the crude beginnings of railway building in America. None of them were enterprises on a great scale such as would effect a rearrangement of states and commercial empires. The first great railway undertaking, deserving the honor of the pioneer American railroad, was the road which Baltimore planned for the purpose of saving her commercial supremacy, and the western terminus of which was to be at Wheeling. Despite the wonderful efforts of the builders, so many years passed away before the first train ran into Wheeling, that the splendid benefits which would have resulted from early success were not accomplished, yet the Baltimore & Ohio railroad was one of the cornerstones of Wheeling's prosperity during the second half of the nineteenth century and the history of its building is part of the history of this city.

February 12, 1827, twenty-five citizens of Baltimore met to discuss the feasibility of a railroad to the west. A few days later the report which has already been quoted was read. The men who handled the affair acted with remarkable unanimity and quickness. An act of incorporation was obtained from the Maryland legislature, and on April 24, 1827, the company was organized. The state took a half a million dollars of the stock, the city of Baltimore as much, and the popular subscriptions were several times larger than the amount offered. On the 4th of July, 1828, a great throng assembled to celebrate the laying of the cornerstone of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad. Charles Carroll, who, fifty-two years before, had signed the declaration of independence,

performed the rites of the trowel, an act the importance of which he believed second only to the signing of the declaration.

Many interesting facts about the primitive construction of this railroad must be omitted from this sketch. Railroad-building was almost wholly experimental at the time. The laying of the track was similar to what has been already described. On a stone foundation yellow-pine rails were laid, these being faced with iron straps. The outer edges instead of the inner were prepared for the contact of the wheels, the flanges of which at first were on the outside. When seven miles of track had been made, two rude horse cars were employed to satisfy the curiosity of the public in this marvelous form of transportation. In May, 1830, a "brigade" of cars began operation three times a day between Baltimore and Ellicott's Mills, a distance of thirteen miles. One horse supplied the motive power. Various other forms of locomotion were tried. Peter Cooper, of New York, who looked for the success of this railroad to enhance the value of a tract of land near Baltimore, set about to make a model of a steam locomotive. This was the famous "Tom Thumb," whose boiler flues were musket barrels, and altogether a rudely contrived machine, and in size about like a hand-car. But it demonstrated its power in August, 1830, when, drawing a car with thirty-six passengers, it made the trip to Ellicott's Mills and back, at times attaining a speed of eighteen miles. Up to 1834 the company had only three locomotives, and horses were still used in drawing a considerable part of the traffic.

In April, 1832, the track was completed to Point of Rocks on the Potomac, seventy-two miles from Baltimore, and from that time the freight traffic tested the full capacity of the line, and the efficiency of the railroad for transportation was demonstrated for all time. On reaching the Potomac, the further progress of the railroad was barred by the Chesapeake & Ohio canal, and it was a year before a compromise was reached by which the two enterprises were to proceed side by side. But for some time the railroad company was compelled to use horses over this portion of the way in order not to frighten the tow-horses. By December, 1834, the road was completed to Harper's Ferry, where connection was made with the thirty miles of the Winchester & Potomac road, by which a great impetus was given to the business of the Baltimore & Ohio and its operation became profitable to the stockholders. Though the liberality of citizens in supplying funds for the construction of the road had been abundant, the cost of building had far exceeded all estimates, and the promoters had a constant struggle both in financing the enterprise and in man-

aging their labor forces. However, these problems and the details of improvement in facilities can be only referred to in this sketch.

In August, 1835, the branch of the Baltimore & Ohio from Baltimore to Washington was opened. Over this line about two years later the beginning of the modern system of mail transportation was made.

In 1837 the railroad directors recommended the extension of the road to Cumberland. The financial panic of that year and increasing difficulties that beset the builders delayed this construction so that Cumberland was not reached until November, 1842. This extension resulted in the revenues of the road nearly doubling in two years. In 1846 the company began the entire reconstruction of the original track from Baltimore to Harper's Ferry, in order to bring it up to the new standards of railroad construction.

Between Cumberland and Wheeling was the roughest country yet traversed by any American engineering. There were eleven tunnels and one hundred and thirteen bridges in this distance. One of the builders of the road afterwards stated that if the people of Baltimore had realized the real difficulties of this portion of the undertaking they would have had the builders locked up as lunatics. But in spite of the engineering obstacles, this part of the road was carried forward rapidly during 1851 and 1852. An engine had been brought to Wheeling by way of Pittsburgh, and this end of the road had been built as a separate section. The last rail completing the entire line was laid on December 24, 1852, and on New Year's day of 1853 the first cars from the east came into Wheeling.

Thus more than twenty-five years had passed since the enterprising men of Baltimore had planned the route over the mountains in order to hold the trade of the Ohio valley. Though the full triumph of the original plans was not realized, yet the achievement itself was probably the greatest in the annals of American engineering up to that time. It was in deserved recognition of this fact and also to express their own satisfaction at the benefits to be received from the railroad, that the people of Wheeling planned a monster celebration at the opening of the railroad. The officials of the road, the governors and legislatures of Maryland and Virginia, and other distinguished citizens, numbering in all more than four hundred, left Baltimore in two trains on January 10th. An improvised dining car was the first introduction of that now familiar service of railroads. On the following day a broken axle near Fairmont delayed the excursion so that it was dark when the Board Tree tunnel was reached. The tunnel was not

complete, so the trains were operated over the summit, with the power of ten engines, by means of "switchbacks." This experience was too much for the nerves of many of the passengers, who preferred to find their way over the mountain on foot. It was midnight and in the midst of a rain storm when the company finally reached Wheeling, so that the banquet had to be delayed until the next day.

At Washington Hall nearly a thousand guests and citizens participated in the festivities attending the opening of the road, and it was necessary to divide the assemblage into an "upper" and a "lower" house. All the leading Wheeling men of the time were among the presidents and vice-presidents of the celebration. Among the subjects proposed for toasts, the following indicate some of the significance of the great work and the forecast of the future: "The completion of our great work, the consummation of hope deferred, the result of far-distant forecasting, skilful toil and wise counsels; may its twenty-five years of preparation have a corresponding greatness of success," which was responded to by George Brown, one of the originators of the road. "The Union of the states: Its true foundation consists in commercial intercourse, and a wide-extended and connected system of national improvements." "Thomas Swann (president of the company): Standing upon the banks of the Ohio, and looking back over the peaks of the Alleghenies, surmounted by his efforts, he can proudly exclaim, *veni, vidi, vici*." "Baltimore, the Monumental City: She has no nobler monument than the great work whose completion we now celebrate." "Baltimore and Wheeling: Their wooing has been rather coquettish; united, now, by the strongest bond of reciprocal interests, may their union be life-long and fruitful."<sup>8</sup>

The development of the west and the readjustment of new routes of transportation during the preceding twenty-five years had made Wheeling an unsatisfactory terminus for acquiring the full benefit of the western trade. Hence, in 1851, the Northwestern Virginia railroad was chartered as a subsidiary of the Baltimore & Ohio. This resulted in the construction of a line from Grafton to Parkersburg on the Ohio river, which was finished in May, 1857. At the same time the Marietta & Cincinnati railroad was opened from a point on the west side of the Ohio near Parkersburg to Cincinnati, the transfer over the

---

<sup>8</sup>For several weeks the trains stopped on the south side of the creek, until the completion of a bridge. The building of the first depot, at the mouth of the creek, was not finished for some months. The first agent at Wheeling was J. B. Ford, who in 1866, was succeeded by R. T. Devries, who was local superintendent many years. Thomas Dixon, the first baggage-master, held that position for over a quarter of a century.

Ohio river being made by steam-ferry. Also, the Ohio & Mississippi railroad had been completed in 1857 from Cincinnati to St. Louis. Thus in that year it became possible to travel by combined railroad and ferry from Baltimore to St. Louis, this being one of the first great trunk routes of America. As a result of the institution of this "main line," Wheeling was left as the terminus of practically a branch road.

A brief reference should also be made to other great railroads between the east and west, to indicate the position of Wheeling with relation to the great transportation routes of the country at the time of the completion of the Baltimore & Ohio. The Erie railroad<sup>9</sup> by 1851, two years before Wheeling became a railroad terminal, had been completed from the Hudson near New York to Lake Erie. The following year, 1852, the Michigan Southern was completed so as to connect the west end of Lake Erie with the southern end of Lake Michigan, so that the northern route of trade, first established by the Erie Canal, was now extended as far west as Chicago. Two years later another road extended this connection to the Mississippi river at Rock Island. Mention has been made of the completion of the Pennsylvania railroad to Pittsburgh in 1854.

As the Baltimore & Ohio was originally planned to be built direct to Wheeling, the choice of the roundabout way by which the road comes into Wheeling requires some explanation. The easier and shortest route from Cumberland over the mountains would have been about the course followed by the National road. As a matter of fact, when the surveys along the mountain division were made during the latter '30s, the route adopted crossed the Monongahela river at Brownsville, in Pennsylvania, thence into the valley of Ten Mile creek, in

---

<sup>9</sup>"The opening of the Erie to Dunkirk, and the completion of a through route from New York by way of Albany to Buffalo a few months later, upon the opening of the Hudson River Railroad, completely revolutionized travel between the east and the west. Before these roads were opened for traffic, the journey from St. Louis to New York was a formidable enterprise which nothing but the most urgent necessity could induce anyone to undertake. The usual route was by steamboat to Wheeling or Pittsburgh, thence by stage through a nightmare of rough roads, sleepless nights, stiffened limbs, and aching heads to Baltimore or Philadelphia, thence to New York.

"But the opening of the eastern roads and of a road from Cincinnati to Lake Erie reversed the current of travel. Instead of going by way of Baltimore or Philadelphia to New York, nearly all the traffic moved to Cincinnati by boat, from whence New York could be reached by rail by way of Dunkirk or Buffalo in less than forty-eight hours, and Washington in about fifteen hours more. This was less time than was required to go from Cincinnati to Pittsburgh by steamboat. The routes by Wheeling and Pittsburgh were practically abandoned, while travel by the new railroads, according to the newspapers of the day, became 'almost incredibly great.'—C. F. Carter's "When Railroads were New," p. 106.

Washington county, and over the dividing ridge into Templeton run, whence it ran into the Wheeling creek valley and thence to Wheeling. In 1828 the state of Pennsylvania had authorized the Baltimore & Ohio Company to lay part of its proposed road through that state, the only condition being that a branch terminal of the road should be built to Pittsburgh. In 1839 the legislature granted an extension of this construction privilege until 1847. In 1844 the railroad company sought another extension. But in the meantime Pennsylvania had devoted its resources to the construction of its own trans-Allegheny road, with Pittsburgh proposed as the terminus. Hence the citizens of Pittsburgh no longer favored a road whose objective point was Wheeling. Opposition arose from another cause, which indicates the attitude of the people of that time toward railroad enterprise. The inhabitants along the National road near the surveyed route of the railroad, anticipating that the road would be superseded by the new form of transportation and that their own welfare was thereby threatened, showed a determined hostility to the railroad. As a result, the extension of time was not obtained, and the railroad surveyors had to choose a route which would avoid the southwest corner of Pennsylvania altogether.

The failure of the Baltimore & Ohio Company to lay its original line through Southwestern Pennsylvania and secure a terminus at Pittsburgh has been remedied in later years when the company secured by lease some connecting lines, originally constructed under Pennsylvania charters, by which Wheeling and Pittsburgh were linked together. One of these lines was the old Hempfield railroad, extending up Wheeling creek to Washington, along the route which had been followed by the first surveys of the Baltimore & Ohio. This was the second railroad by which Wheeling was joined to the outside world.

The Hempfield Railroad Company was a Pennsylvania incorporation, following an act of the legislature in 1850 authorizing the construction of a railroad from Greensburg to the western boundary line of Donegal township in Washington county. On March 14, 1851, an act of the Virginia legislature incorporated the company in that state. Although the enterprise was of Pennsylvania origin, Wheeling and Ohio county gave more support to it than did Washington county. Only the western section of the line, from Wheeling to Washington, was ever constructed. Under the terms of the legislative acts, both Ohio and Washington counties were permitted to vote subsidies for the construction of the road. The subscriptions of Ohio county, as reported in 1851, amounted to \$300,000, while subscriptions

of individual citizens amounted to \$154,000. Washington county subscribed \$200,000 and its citizens \$100,000. The directors of the company in 1855 included Thomas Sweeney, J. C. Acheson and Sobieski Brady, of Wheeling. In November, 1855, the first nine miles of the road from Wheeling east was reported ready for laying the rails, but the entire line to Washington was not completed until the spring of 1857, when the first freight trains began running between the two cities. A passenger service was installed in September of the same year. This road was in financial difficulties from the start. In 1861, as a result of foreclosure, it was placed in the hands of trustees, and ten years later was sold to the vice president of the Baltimore & Ohio Company, which had already for some years controlled its operation.

At the beginning of the Civil war the only railroads running trains into the city of Wheeling were the Baltimore & Ohio and the Hempfield road. However, this is not a complete description of the railroad situation of Wheeling at that time. Though the Ohio river continued an unbridged barrier to direct railroad communication until about 1870, yet for fifteen years the railroads on opposite sides interchanged their traffic by means of ferries, so that Wheeling commerce had transportation outlets to most of the territory west and north of the river.

The first road completed to the west bank of the river was the Central Ohio. This old road has for forty years been a link in the Baltimore & Ohio system. The Central Ohio was chartered in 1848 to build from Columbus through Newark and Zanesville to a point on the Ohio river. In 1849 the road was opened between Zanesville and Newark, and extended the next year to Columbus. In 1853 it was built from Zanesville to Cambridge and in 1854 completed to Bellaire. Thus, about a year after the completion of the Baltimore & Ohio into Wheeling the Ohio road was ready to receive its through western freight on the opposite side of the river.

The city of Wheeling had subscribed half a million dollars to the Baltimore & Ohio, the county had voted over a quarter of a million and individual citizens had subscribed over a hundred and fifty thousand to the Hempfield road; and in addition the suspension bridge at Wheeling had cost a quarter of a million. Subscriptions had also been made for two other proposed roads. It must be remembered that all this had been done when the population of the entire county was less than twenty thousand and of Wheeling about twelve thousand. Liberality of this kind would seem to have deserved well.

The Central Ohio when first surveyed was planned to reach the river down Indian Wheeling creek. But when, on top of all the donations just mentioned, Wheeling was asked for a large subscription to this road and was forced to decline the request, the Central Ohio located its line several miles south and placed its terminus on the present site of Bellaire.

The choice of Bellaire as the river terminus of the Central Ohio was a fact that affected the commercial welfare of Wheeling at the time in no small degree. In effect it deprived the city of the expected great advantages as the western terminus of the Baltimore road. Benwood became a more important point in some respects than Wheeling, for, being directly across the river from Bellaire, it was the place where the Baltimore trains were unloaded for transshipment to the other road, and where the through freight from across the river was received. Thus, only the freight consigned directly to Wheeling was carried over the road beyond Benwood.<sup>10</sup> And the manufactures and merchandise originating in Wheeling and sent west for distribution were, as a rule, not carried out of the city over the Baltimore line, but were loaded at the city wharves on barges and steamboats and taken down the river to Bellaire. This situation continued until the building of the railroad bridge at Bellaire by the Baltimore and the Central Ohio roads, when it became possible to ship freight at Wheeling for an all-rail haul to points on the west side of the river.

In 1860 Wheeling's railroad outlet to Pittsburgh and the net of railroads connecting the Great Lakes was what was then called the Cleveland, Pittsburgh & Wheeling railroad, which operated trains from Bridgeport to Pittsburgh and other northern points. This road, now known as the Cleveland & Pittsburgh division of the Pennsylvania, was opened from Cleveland to Beaver Falls, Pa., in 1853 and completed from the latter point to Bridgeport in 1857. By means of the suspension bridge, Wheeling was thus given access to railroad communication up the Ohio valley and to the Great Lakes.

Like the railroad and many other forms of modern communication, the telegraph has long since ceased to be considered above the plane of commonplace things. Yet until the time of the Mexican war it took days and sometimes weeks for important news from the

---

<sup>10</sup>The town of Benwood was incorporated by the act of March 2, 1853, and its temporary trustees, named in the act, were: William McMechen, George Blake, David B. McMechen, Dr. Smith Holloway, William H. Powell, Samuel H. Norton, A. Wilson Kelley.

East to reach Wheeling. In the early '40s the Washington dispatches were published two or three days after the date of writing.

Prof. S. F. B. Morse had worked out the plan of the electro-magnetic telegraph in 1832, but not till 1837 did he perfect a practical instrument. The "semaphoric telegraph" had for many years been used for military communication in Europe and to some extent in America. By means of "semaphores" or arms attached to towers some miles apart it was possible to convey messages through code signs somewhat as signals are given to railway trains at the present time. But Morse utilized Franklin's old experiment of sending a current of electricity over a wire, by means of which signals from one end could be flashed over the wire and registered at the other. In 1837 the government was considering some improved methods of long-distance communication, but the expense of installing Morse's system and the skepticism of the officials about "the scientific toy" delayed the adoption of the invention for some years. Finally, in 1842, the matter was again brought before Congress, and to demonstrate the efficiency of the telegraph a line was run between two committee rooms in the Capitol. In March, 1843, President Tyler signed a bill appropriating thirty thousand dollars to construct a line from Washington to Baltimore. In May, 1844, the line having been constructed to a point fifteen miles from Baltimore, the news of Clay's nomination as the Whig presidential candidate was taken by train to the end of the line and thence telegraphed into Washington "an hour and a half before the cars got along with it."

That was the practical beginning of the "magnetic telegraph." Lines were soon constructed between various other cities in the East. In 1846 a company was organized to join Philadelphia and New Orleans by way of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis and cities along the Mississippi. This was the line by which Wheeling first came into telegraphic communication with the world. The line at this point was on the Ohio side of the river and was completed in 1847. A tap wire was brought across the river to an office on Front street, but as there was no bridge at the time, the wire had to be suspended for a distance of a thousand feet from the island to this side. A steamboat broke the wire on one occasion, and several times during the winter of 1847-48 communication was broken and the telegraph operators had to move to temporary quarters on the island. The editor of the *Times*<sup>11</sup> also complained that the Pitts-

---

<sup>11</sup>*Wheeling Daily Times*, Dec. 10, 1847.

burgh operators gave Cincinnati the preference over Wheeling, thus delaying dispatches, so that they could not be given to the readers in the morning issue. The new form of communication was also expensive. The publisher stated that the president's message cost fifty dollars to receive, hence he could not afford to print it free with the paper, but it could be bought of the carrier or at the office "at a fip apiece."

During January, 1848, the *Times* announced that the "indomitable Henry O'Reilly has added another link to his great telegraphic chain. The line has been completed to Alton, Ill., and we yesterday received the first streak of lightning from that place." The telegraph company had raised some money by subscriptions among Wheeling citizens, so that local people had a more than passive interest in this improved mode of communication. It is noteworthy that several years elapsed before the railroads first adapted the telegraph to use in the transmission of train orders, so that previous to the war the railroad and the telegraph were not so intimately associated as at the present time.

## CHAPTER IX.

## WHEELING AND VICINITY IN 1860.

"Beside the river's wooded reach,  
The fortress, and the mountain ridge."

Imperfect though it may be, a view of Wheeling just before the war discloses some features of the city's history that should not be overlooked by the present generation. Apart from the terrible experience of the war, which could then be dimly anticipated, Wheeling was entering upon a new era. Some of the institutions founded before this time still survive as landmarks, but with some such exceptions the old Wheeling passed out of existence during the war. This transition was not peculiar to Wheeling. The experience of this locality was merely an aspect of a national epoch. In the South the phrase "before the war" is spoken with a special significance, but in the North and over the nation as a whole the war was the dividing line of two economic and social periods of history.

Thoughtful observers now see evidences that the cycle which began after the war has been completed and that the country has entered upon a new course of destiny. It is interesting to note that in Wheeling, at least, this recent epoch is producing some things that had their counterpart in the enterprising decade of the '50s. We have spoken of the enthusiasm and liberality of the citizens sixty years ago in the undertaking of business and public works for the general welfare of the community. Only in the last few years has the civic spirit of this vicinity been aroused to similar degree of co-operation and interest in the public good.

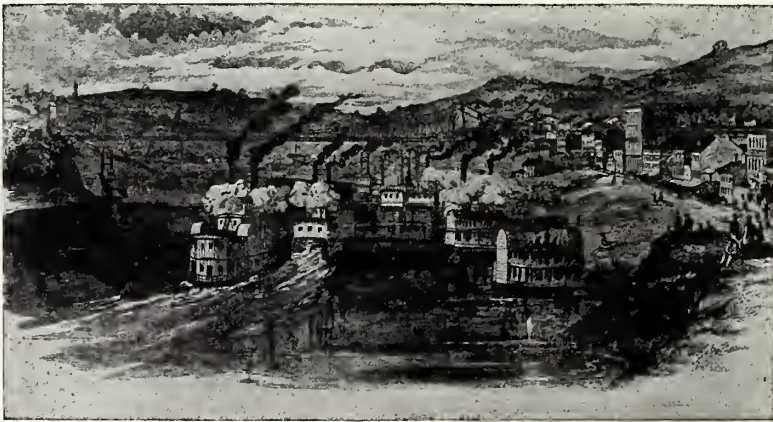
By the close of the '50s the civic and industrial movement that began ten years earlier had come to a halt. As the preceding chapter has shown, some of the important ends which the citizens had sought were not attained, though this failure was really creditable to the spirit of the people. Wheeling had railroads, but was not a railroad center nor terminal.<sup>1</sup> The city was circumscribed by political con-

---

<sup>1</sup>The Baltimore & Ohio had a direct line to Baltimore and its eastern connections, and also by ferry and a line of steam packets on the river connected with the lines to the west and south. The Cleveland, Pittsburgh & Wheeling operated on a schedule from Bridgeport trains for Pittsburgh and the east and to Cleveland and the great lake routes. The Hempfield during 1860 ran one mixed train each day between Washington and Wheeling.

ditions, by incomplete transportation facilities and by the powerful business rivalry of the two states on each side. And it was not political reasons alone that impelled many citizens about this time to desire the annexation of the Panhandle to one or other of the adjoining states. One of the railroads to which Wheeling had voted subsidies was not yet built, and two others, the Cleveland & Pittsburg and the Hempfield, were bankrupt, yet amid the general depression of business the city and county were struggling to meet the interest and installments on the railroad bonds.

Yet, all things considered, Wheeling had acquired a good position in this first great era of railroad transportation and the general use of the telegraph. In 1849, when the railroad mileage of the entire country was less than six thousand miles, there was not a railroad line of any importance within a hundred miles. By 1860 the



War-time Sketch of Wheeling Water front.  
By permission of Nicoll's Art Store.

railroad mileage of the entire country had leaped to thirty thousand miles, and Wheeling had a practicable access to four great routes, leading east, west and north.

Throughout the nation the material progress during 1850-60 was greater than that of any preceding decade. The same was true of this locality, though modified by various causes that placed the city at somewhat of a disadvantage when the next forward movement began after the war. It had been a decade of invention, marked by the first successful use of the harvesting machines, the breech-loading gun, the sewing machine, the fire-alarm telegraph, the steam fire engine and by the laying of the first Atlantic cable. Indirectly these

were of benefit to every community, and a glance at one of the Wheeling newspapers of 1860 will show that the agents for the mowing and harvesting machine and the sewing machine were not idle in promoting sales in this vicinity.<sup>2</sup>

As happened before, during the '30s, and as has often happened at the climax of a good-times epoch, the decade of the '50s was marked by money panics and business depression. There was a brief panic in 1854, mainly affecting the Wall street interests. During the '30s the panic had followed an era of phenomenal speculation in western lands, of state and national "internal improvements" and the extension of credit for the building of canals and a few railroads. Similar causes brought on the troubles of the '50s, which reached their height in 1857-58. The expansion of credit for the building of railroads is assigned as the prime cause, but extravagance in all lines of business and in living was also a factor. The banks of the principal cities suspended specie payment, merchants were without trade and staples of flour and pork declined in value, factories stopped and the progress of many railroad lines was halted, so that for years the ends of grades and tracks remained to decay in the midst of fields and woods, and some were never continued along the original route of survey. Fortunately four of the lines terminating at or near Wheeling were finished or continued, so as to give the city connections with the main transportation systems of the time. But the banks suspended payment, though they resumed after a few weeks, and some of the big industries which were so important to the commercial welfare cut down their output and working force so as seriously to impair the daily existence of many laboring men and their families.

---

<sup>2</sup>Photography had made progress during the decade. In 1852 the daguerreotype was the prevailing method, and there were at least two of these artists in Wheeling. The following is an advertisement of 1852:

Wm. Cowden  
Daguerreotypist

Rooms No. 56 Monroe street, between the New Hotel  
(McLure) and the Court House.

Likenesses taken in any required shade, and colored to represent the living complexion by a new style of coloring—warranted never to fade. Pictures of all sizes, both single and in groups, put up in plain and fancy cases, at the lowest prices. Likenesses of children accurately taken.

Then by 1860 one of the advertisements read—

Ambrotypes, Photographs, etc.,  
Wykes Gallery,

139 Main St.

"Top of the Hill."

Taking the country as a whole, the recovery of business and industry from the panic of 1857 did not produce normal conditions until about the second year of the war. In Wheeling, while there was no resumption of full activities among some of the most needed industries, it is evident that the ordinary lines of trade and finance, and even some of the factories, were gradually regaining their prosperity.<sup>3</sup> This was especially true for the early part of the year 1860, when local capital was getting confidence and there was considerable discussion about promotion of new enterprises—one in particular being the construction of a railroad bridge over the Ohio river.

The latter half of the year 1860 witnessed the climax of the political revolution which had begun in 1854. "Never was there such earnest discussion engaging such masses of people." Ordinary political interest was intensified by the deep moral and religious feelings of men. In this nation-wide agitation Wheeling experienced more than a proportionate share. When it is recalled that in 1860 the old-line Democratic party was split into three camps, while the vigorous new Republican organization was making its first great campaign, and that Wheeling and vicinity divided its vote almost equally among the four candidates, it is possible to appreciate the confusion and anxiety that attended this struggle. Secession was already threatening, and in its anomalous situation between the two sections of the nation it was felt that this locality had greater interests at stake than cities of the extreme north or far south. Business and civic energy very naturally paused until the crisis was passed.

While the local vote at the presidential election of 1860 had no effect on the general result, it is important as showing the rapid development of the new party in this section and as indicating the strong sentiment of the people for the integrity of the Union. For the first time in history the Republican party had become a factor in local politics. The *Intelligencer* espoused the cause of this party, and its influence as the only conspicuous Republican journal of the state of Virginia was important, not so much for its effect on the vote polled at this election, but rather in producing a definite, concentrated public opinion on the issues which in the following year were decided at the Wheeling conventions. During the campaign Wheeling had its

---

<sup>3</sup>The *Intelligencer* during the summer of 1860, evidently with the desire to find some signs of progress, cites the activities of the Island foundry for the manufacture of cooking and heating stoves and the weekly output of five hundred boxes by the Robinson's window-glass factory in the first ward.

"Wide Awake" clubs of Republican adherents, and in enthusiasm this party was not behind the others. It is noteworthy, too, that a Wide Awake club was formed among the German inhabitants, and the *Staats Zeitung*, published here, was pronounced in its Union sentiment.

In the presidential election of 1856 the vote of Ohio county was distributed as follows:

Buchanan (Democrat).....	1,632
Fillmore (American).....	1,465
Fremont (Republican).....	108
	<hr/>
	3,205

The American party at that election had been built up on the nucleus of the Know-Nothing society, with a remnant of the disorganized Whigs, most of whom had joined the new Republican party. In contrast with the above figures note the results at the presidential election in this county of November 6, 1860:

Breckenridge (Southern Democrat).....	914
Douglas (Northern Democrat).....	815
Bell (Constitutional Union).....	1,199
Lincoln (Republican).....	769
	<hr/>
	3,597

The platform of Breckenridge and his adherents had declared for the protection of slavery in the territories. Douglas, while representing the northern Democrats, also held to his favorite doctrine of "squatter sovereignty." The Constitutional Union party, which contained a remnant of the Whigs and Know-Nothings, and which polled the greater part of the Virginia vote, had adopted the slogan of "the Constitution, the Union and enforcement of the laws." The division of local vote on these lines indicates a large majority in favor of the general principle of the Union, and it is also noteworthy that the Republican vote had increased seven-fold over that cast at the previous election.

The vote of the entire Panhandle at the election of 1860 was as follows:

	Bell.	Breckenridge.	Lincoln.	Douglas.	Total.
Hancock .....	33	262	254	85	634
Brooke .....	173	451	178	76	878
Ohio .....	1199	914	769	815	3597
Marshall .....	990	871	195	108	2164
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	2395	2498	1396	1084	7273

Barely was the election over when a new depression in business and finance occurred. A Baltimore paper early in December said: "Three months ago the material condition of the country was healthy and prosperous. Careful trading and close economy had relieved it from the pressure which, during the four previous years, had weighed upon its energies and had restricted its resources. The magnificent crops of the Northwestern states, when taken in connection with the steadily increasing demand for the cotton of the South, warranted the belief that our commercial and industrial interests were about to enter upon a career of activity almost without parallel in the history of the republic. These well-grounded expectations have been scattered to the winds. Banks have suspended; commerce languishes; trade is paralyzed; the federal government has been brought to the verge of bankruptcy, and the prospect in the future is gloomier still. The depreciation in values is general and all-pervading."

At Baltimore and throughout the state of Virginia there was a general suspension of banks, and along with the rest the Wheeling banks refused specie payment in November. There has never been a time in the memory of the oldest inhabitant, said the *Intelligencer* in December, when there was so great a scarcity of silver change. This was ascribed to the practice of timid people hording all their silver coin. Along with this condition in the banks, the stores were reported and advertised to be selling all goods at cost, and even so there was dullness on street and in the shop. Such were some of the aspects of business which accompanied the entrance of this locality and the nation upon the great era of the Civil war.

With the impulse given during the first years of the decade the population of the city and vicinity had materially increased by 1860. The detailed figures of the 1860 census are as follows:

Ohio county.....	5,360
Wheeling city.....	14,283
South Wheeling (Ritchietown).....	2,640
Fulton .....	312
	<hr/>
	22,595

This was the free population. There were enumerated in the county at that time only 100 slaves. The census for the entire Panhandle is as follows:

Counties.	Whites.	Slaves.
Hancock.....	4,442	2
Brooke.....	5,425	18
Ohio.....	22,196	100
Marshall.....	12,936	29
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	44,999	149

A complete picture of Wheeling and its people at this time cannot be presented. But from many sources there is testimony that Wheeling was then a somewhat quiet town, lying between the river front and the looming hills. On this narrow bench of land, two principal streets, shaded with rows of poplars, were the lines along which were arrayed most of the stores and residences, and terminated at both the north and the south in the factory districts of the time. These factories, with the steamboats and the houses, emitted great quantities of soft-coal smoke, so that even then the atmosphere was smoky, and drew from the poet, Nathaniel P. Willis, who visited here in 1859, the following comment: "Wheeling as a town confesses to the one little drawback of too *coal'd* an atmosphere for the lovers of clean linen—the idlest inhabitant being under the necessity of two clean shirts a day (too much 'coke upon littletown')." There were no street cars, only a few railroad trains each day, and except for the activity at the wharves and in the few big trading establishments, the description of Wheeling as a sleepy Virginia town was not altogether inapt.

One of the few contemporary accounts of Wheeling at this time is contained in a letter written here June 3, 1860, for a Michigan paper.<sup>4</sup> The correspondent, who made the journey along the river on the railroad, speaks of the river steamers above Wheeling as all having stern-paddle wheels, but between here and Cincinnati were several luxurious side-wheelers. The run from Wheeling to Cincinnati was made in about fifty hours, cabin fare six dollars. By railroad the time was fifteen hours and fare ten dollars. On arriving at Bridgeport this correspondent got a five-cent ticket over the bridge, and in crossing he noticed a large number of residences built on the island. He described the city as consisting nearly altogether of brick houses, "substantial, but not very elegant," and the "long-continued use of stone coal gives everything a sombre appearance." The hue and cry against abolitionists, it was declared, was gradually sub-

---

<sup>4</sup>Cited in the *Intelligencer*, June 20, 1860.

siding, and "if it were not for oral voting a majority would years ago have been cast against the ruling dynasty of the state." The writer also notes the several splendid church edifices of the city, but the absence of comment on any conspicuous features aside from those mentioned confirms the conclusion that in its superficial aspects the Wheeling of that day presented little to attract the eye of the passing traveler.

Throughout the country the decade previous to the war marked the beginning of the accumulation of large fortunes. The conditions which produced millionaires in this nation began with the era of the railroad and the telegraph. In Wheeling it is noteworthy as one of the aspects of the date now under consideration that there were few wealthy families and also few in the class at the other extreme. Considering the average standards of living at the time, the comforts and necessities of life were more evenly distributed among the population of the city then than at any subsequent period.

Outside of the commonplaces of existence, attention should be called to some of the things that afforded variety in the social life. So far as the reading of many books is a criterion of culture, the people of that time were not so progressive as those in the twentieth-century city. The library society in 1860 was reported to have a collection of 2,500 volumes, yet there were few subscribers, and the society had difficulty in keeping up its existence. The national literature was in a golden age during the decade of 1850-60. The people had access to the fresh output of Lowell, Hawthorne, Holmes, Longfellow, Whittier, Bancroft, Motley, Ticknor, Prescott, while Irving and Bryant had attained the distinction of "standard authors." In periodical fiction, instead of the deluge of weeklies and monthlies which later burdened the counters, the three great issues of that date were Harper's Magazine, Putnam's Magazine and the Atlantic Monthly. It is interesting to see what was offered to those who demanded the "new books" at the shops. The following list was advertised at Orr's, 106 Main street: Hawthorne's last, "Marble Faun;" "Life of Charlotte Bronte;" Miss Pardoe's "Adopted Heir;" the new Pronouncing Bible; Works of Prescott, Bayard Taylor, W. Irving, Hugh Miller, Mayne Reid, Dickens' and Waverly novels, etc.

Three apostles of humor were then furnishing the levity which is always a judicious accompaniment of serious concentration—Artemas Ward, J. G. Saxe and Petroleum V. Nasby. The first was heard in lecture in Washington Hall during the war time, and the contributions of Nasby appeared in the local press. On the stage Edwin Forrest

was then the favorite tragedian, with Edwin Booth growing in favor, but so far as known neither of these appeared at Wheeling at this time. The starring and stock company system was then general, and in some of the troupes that appeared on the local stage of Washington Hall or at the Athenaeum were some of the youthful players who in after years gained national and international fame. The church still frowned on the play, and in towns like Wheeling the principal amusements were furnished by lecturers, concerts and minstrels. The lecture system about that time reached its height, and among those who came to Wheeling were Henry W. Beecher, J. G. Saxe, Artemas Ward, J. G. Holliand and probably others.

In concert Wheeling entertained during this decade two of the greatest songsters the world has known. In 1851 Jenny Lind, then at the height of her career, came to Wheeling. To secure this attraction a committee of citizens had guaranteed her manager, P. T. Barnum, the sum of five thousand dollars. At that time the Fourth Street M. E. church was the largest audience room in the city, and this was secured for the occasion. The fame of the singer was probably more deeply impressed on the current appreciation of the people than that of any subsequent artist. The seats were sold at public auction, and the first choice was sold for two hundred and fifty dollars. The ordinary price was ten dollars, and five dollars gave admission to the gallery. Standing room was at a premium, and throngs gathered in the street before the church hoping to see the wonder woman and catch a fragment of her melody.

In contrast with this great tribute to fame, when Adelina Patti, who at the closing years of the century commanded almost equal admiration on her tours, appeared in Washington Hall in December, 1860, the price of admission anywhere in the house was one dollar, and the event drew only a few lines in the local paper, with a brief comment on the "brilliant audience."

The functions of local society at that time were restricted to a few lines. The churches were important social centers, and among their activities were the "strawberry festivals," which were a regular function of each season. In the absence of many social clubs and societies, the fire companies were no less social than municipal organizations, and their celebrations were features of the social season. In September occurred the Northwest Virginia Agricultural Fair, at the grounds on the island, where the old sport of horse racing was ardently attended, though the exhibits of manufactures and agriculture, at least in 1860, were meager in interest and value.

In the endeavor to characterize the city in its more important details just before the war, it may not be inappropriate to close this brief article with the statement that the people of that time had not yet arrived at the metropolitan state in which the activities of the day are continued far into the period of night. Perhaps the need of a curfew law was not apparent, since most of the people retired to their homes at nightfall. The modern city without a night police would be a fair field for carnival of license and crime, and a fact that affords means of contrasting the present with the Wheeling of 1860 is that up to that date a night watch had never been regularly maintained. During that year the business men had raised a fund among themselves to support such a watch, but either the necessity had not justified it or the merchants felt the expense was too great, so the watchmen were dismissed during the fall. "The city council," said the *Intelligencer*, "must take the thing in hand if it wants an efficient night watch." So far as this matter is significant of the spirit of calm contentment that prevailed over the vicinity, it is symbolic of the era which was then closing in the history of the city and its people, and was the quiet which preceded the storm and stress of war and the strenuous industrial epoch which followed.

## CHAPTER X.

## WHEELING DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

"For there shall be henceforth five in one house divided; three against two, and two against three."

Wheeling was the rallying point of the loyal forces of Western Virginia at the beginning of the war; here were held the conventions which preceded the formation of a new war-born state; the city was the capital first of the restored government of Virginia, then of the state of West Virginia;<sup>1</sup> it was the recruiting place for all the country around, and the military camp on the island was the temporary quarters of many regiments; for some months the headquarters of the Mountain Department were here, commanded by two noted generals of the war; hundreds of young men in and about the city went to the front as volunteer soldiers, most of them in the uniform of the Union, but some wore the gray; also, on several occasions, the paths of actual warfare approached so close that the city was aroused in dread of the raiding foe, though neither battle nor skirmish belongs among the annals of the city.

Such an outline of facts would satisfy a superficial history of Wheeling's relations to the great rebellion. In the many hundreds of volumes devoted to the subject of the war the emphasis has been placed on the movements of the contending armies, the strategy and exploits of their leaders and the work of the general government. With these larger phases of the war this chapter has little to do; its purpose is not to follow the course of the campaigns by which the issues were decided, but rather to keep the mind of the reader at home in Wheeling, so that it shall picture the war from the local setting. It is important to remember that several thousand families lived here during the four years in which the soldiers of North and South were fighting each other in Eastern Virginia and in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi. While a generous quota from this locality went to the front, they were only a small proportion of the population that remained behind. It is with the lives and interests of those that stayed at home—many of them related by ties of family

---

<sup>1</sup>The account of the Wheeling conventions of 1861 and the formation of the state of West Virginia is reserved for a separate article.

or friendship with those who went away—that this chapter will concern itself.

Adopting this point of view—studying Wheeling in its relations to the war, and the war in its relations to Wheeling—the whole subject, often-told tale that it is, takes on new meaning and interest. The experiences of the home people are ever in the foreground, and the thunder of guns on distant battlefields and the proclamations and laws of government are noteworthy only as they affect the conditions and life of Wheeling in its homes and on its streets.<sup>2</sup>

After the election of Lincoln in November, 1860, and the beginning of the secession of the states in the following December, it became evident to all that a great national crisis was impending. However, the great mass of the people were interested only in the one vital question, whether the Union should be preserved. "The Union, to the average American of that day, was as essential a foundation of life as was his Bible or his God."<sup>3</sup> While there is unmistakable evidence that the majority of people at Wheeling and vicinity were opposed to the dissolution of the Union, the natural sympathies of some were with the South. While in the contention between Unionism and Disunionism the local popular judgment favored the former, there quickly followed other issues on which the public mind had to take sides. It was soon seen that the South was arrayed against the North, and in a sectional dispute where a boundary line separates a people into two hostile factions it was inevitable that the "northerners" should regard the "southerners" as differing in sympathies and attachments. Another issue, that involving loyalty to state or loyalty to the Union, was modified in this vicinity because of the long-standing antagonism between the inhabitants of the north-western counties to the older part of the state, so that, when Virginia seceded, its action was not regarded as binding upon the

---

<sup>2</sup>Most of the data for the following account of the war period is taken from the files of the *Daily Intelligencer* and, as a corrective, from the *Daily Register*, the file of which begins in the fall of 1863. The *Intelligencer*, under the editorial management of A. W. Campbell, was an uncompromising advocate of the cause of Unionism and the government. At the same time its editorial expression was characterized by a moderation and judicial temper only occasionally lost in the tempests of feeling that swept this community. The *Register* held the Conservative Union attitude of that time, and was the local organ of expression for the northern Democrats.

<sup>3</sup>Mrs. R. H. Davis, "Bits of Gossip." The author lived in Wheeling at the beginning of the war.

people of this section. The other issue, that of abolitionism, did not become important here until the second year of the war.<sup>4</sup>

"Throughout the whole country, however, there was a time when the great mass of the people took no part in the quarrel. They were stunned, appalled. I have never seen an adequate description anywhere of the amazement, the uncomprehending horror of the bulk of the American people, which preceded the firing of that gun at Sumter. \* \* \* Each man, however, after the American habit, soon grappled with the difficulty and discovered a cure for it. He urged his remedy incessantly—in church councils, in town meeting, at street corners."<sup>5</sup>

While in private discussions opinions as to secession must have had free expression, there was a general desire to avoid in public anything that seemed to favor the extreme measures. This cautious attitude is manifested in the resolutions of the city council in February, 1861, commending the officials of Ohio for their aid in returning an escaped slave to its owners, and thus by upholding the law and constitution helping to promote the harmony among the states.<sup>6</sup>

From early in January the people had watched with much anxiety the proceedings of the extra session of the legislature at Richmond, and still later the deliberations of the state convention. But with the approach of the day when the Lincoln government would begin its administration, attention was directed toward Washington. How the new president would meet the national crisis was the one general topic at home and in the street. Never in the history of the nation has the 4th of March been such a momentous date. About five o'clock in the afternoon the *Intelligencer* began receiving the inaugural address by wire and issued it in an extra edition. "In a few minutes afterward it was being read aloud in nearly all the stores of the city." The conciliatory tone of the address, and its absence of any specific recommendations for coercion of the seceded states, added to the suspense.

---

<sup>4</sup>"Abolitionism never was a burning question in our part of Virginia. Nothing lay between any slave there and freedom but the Ohio river, which could be crossed in a skiff in half an hour. The green hills of Ohio on the other side, too, were peopled by Quakers, all agents for the Underground Railway to Canada. Hence the only slaves we had were those who were too comfortable and satisfied with us to run away. We knew 'the institution' at its best, and usually listened to the furious attacks on it with indifferent contempt."—"Bits of Gossip."

<sup>5</sup>"Bits of Gossip."

<sup>6</sup>*Intelligencer*, Feb. 14, 1861.

A few days later the news came that the garrison at Fort Sumter was running short of provisions. The daily topic of conversation then became, what would the government do, supply the garrison or allow the fort to fall into the hands of the secessionists? "The news now from all points possesses a painful interest. It is not to be longer doubted that open, forcible, fighting rebellion in the south is imminent, if not already begun. \* \* \* Mingled with the feeling of painful apprehension, there is a sort of relief. It is a relief to know that the suspense that has been hanging over us all for months is about to be ended."<sup>7</sup>

Two days later it became evident that the government had taken a determined policy. "It proposes no aggression, but a course of firm and fearless self-protection." Anderson was to be furnished with supplies in the broad open day, without any attempt to conceal the fact from the Confederate government. On Monday (April 15) a cut of the flag and a stanza of the "Star-Spangled Banner" began appearing regularly at the head of the editorial column of the *Intelligencer*. "The exciting news from Charleston on Saturday, we presume, took no one by surprise." "There was great excitement in the city on Saturday and yesterday in consequence of the reception of the news of the attack on Fort Sumter by the South Carolina secessionists. Nothing else was talked of in the stores and shops and private dwellings and upon the streets. Eager citizens crowded about the *Intelligencer* office, and it would have taken an eight-cylinder Hoe press to have supplied the demand for extras. \* \* \* A lot of young fellows went about the city on Saturday night with drum and fife, which they continued to exercise with considerable vigor." The editor observes the development of a strong and healthy Union feeling. "The question for every man to decide is, where do I stand? \* \* \* In war there are no neutrals."

What stand would be taken by the people of the Panhandle in the secession of Virginia had been discussed here for weeks. That the narrow wedge of land between the states of Ohio and Pennsylvania should be made a foreign territory was a local question to be decided on more grounds than those of state fealty or loyalty to the Union. It was hardly possible that the states of Ohio and Pennsylvania would permit the Panhandle to secede even if all Virginia went over to the Confederacy. And the prospect of Wheeling lying under the command of the Ohio hills across the river was not pleas-

---

<sup>7</sup>*Intelligencer*, April 8, 1861.

ant when it was considered that the city depended largely on that country across the river for its supplies and trade. It was seriously proposed that the Virginia Panhandle should be annexed either to Pennsylvania or Ohio. This sense of commercial identity with the adjoining states, and the absence of any pronounced sectional prejudice, while being additional reasons for loyalty to the Union, also encouraged the feeling of security with regard to the ultimate results of the inter-sectional struggle. This feeling of security may account in some measure for the fact that the people were not quickly aligned into two parties, one the unqualified supporters of the government and the Union, and the other equally loyal to secession. A large part of the people held aloof from any active support of either side and felt free to express their sentiments without respect to the sharp criterion which soon divided loyalty and treason.

The fall of Sumter and the call for volunteers ended the period of suspense, and for several months the city was in the stir of military preparation. Meetings were held every night for the formation of volunteer companies. April 15 a meeting in American Hall adopted resolutions to stand by the federal government, and thirty young men signed their names in the organization of a Union guard. Two or three days later similar meetings were held in South Wheeling and the fourth ward. By the 25th it was stated that three companies were organized and drilling in Ritchietown, three in the fifth ward, one in the fourth ward and one had organized the previous evening in the third ward. "Squads are seen drilling on the commons at nearly all hours of the day in Ritchietown, and all the halls in the different parts of the city suitable for the purpose are occupied at night." Over on the east side, there being no hall for the purpose, the recruits drilled by the light of the moon. From a hall on Market street the heavy tramp of feet was heard from "early candle lighting" until the small hours.

From Wheeling and vicinity some sixty-five young men went east during the months of April and May, of 1861, and formed the famous company of Shriver Greys, of which Jacob Shriver of Wheeling was captain. In the same company were a few men from New Martinsville and other places in Northwest Virginia, but the company was essentially a Wheeling organization and deserves mention in history for this reason. The company became part of the Twenty-seventh Virginia regiment, attached to Stonewall's brigade, and in 1862, after the first term of enlistment, some of the Greys joined Major James Sweeney's cavalry battalion. Some of the youths who went with

their Old Commonwealth and fought for the stars and bars have since been prominent in business and professional affairs at Wheeling, and a few still survive.<sup>7\*</sup>

It is noteworthy that the volunteer to the Confederacy who went from the vicinity of Wheeling had to endure greater sacrifices and hardships than those who went from here to the Union army. This was largely owing to the fact that the old homes of the former were practically closed to them throughout the period of the war, since no southern soldier could come into this vicinity without being arrested as a spy or public enemy. And while they might write letters to home folks, which were permitted to pass the lines after rigid censoring, the relatives and friends at home had no regular means of communicating by letter or otherwise with the southern soldiers. The Union soldiers often received assistance in the way of money, food and clothing from home; and the Confederates from the seceding states, as long as their homes were within the jurisdiction of their own armies, had similar assistance. But almost from the time of their departure, all communication with home was cut off to the

---

<sup>7\*</sup>How the Greys in Wheeling got their uniforms is related in the following incident, described by George V. Reilly to Miss A. C. Knote, who has furnished it for this chapter:

"We wrote to the cutter of a firm of custom tailors, asking him to meet us, on business, at 7 P. M., in the hose house across the street from Squire Phillips' office (or house). We waited there until we were all ready. He knew nearly every one, and supposed we were planning for a wedding. We swore him to secrecy. As he had often measured young men for clothes, and often promised not to tell, and as those present were young men of social prominence and as it was springtime when new clothes and weddings are not unusual, he readily took an oath to make the garments promptly and say nothing. He measured the men. When he asked about the cloth he was told the color, quality and purpose of the suit." He had a family to support, business had been dull, it was a big job, he had sworn to do the work, and he made the uniforms. At that time some people were excited on one side, other people were excited on the other, while a large number had not decided which side was right. I think it likely the cutter did not know his own mind. He afterwards was in the federal service, but his son told me he "always had a warm feeling for the Shriver Greys." As the civil engineer, "old Crozet," said—"There is but the difference of a T between the north and the south. What one side thinks reasonable, the other side thinks treasonable."

Miss Knote has furnished the names of a number who went from this vicinity into the Confederate service—perhaps most of them at the beginning were with the Shriver Greys. The list follows: Dr. George Cracraft, surgeon, from Triadelphia, and his sons George Cracraft and William A. Cracraft; Dr. Matthew Hale Houston, surgeon, and his sons, William W., M. Hale, Archibald and John; Rev. Perkins, chaplain, who left the rectorship of St. Matthew's Episcopal church; Dr. Alfred F. Hullihen, Walter Q. Hullihen, Major John White Mitchel, Brown Porter, George S. Feeney, John Fry and Henry Fry, Charles Wilson, William Quarrier, Pryor Boyd, Theodore Sauvageot, Philip Henry Moore, Theodore Morris, Noah Zane, Edmund Greathouse Zane, Thomas M. Reilly, George V. Reilly, ——— Busby, Henry Miller, Stephen Rice, William Love, John Good, William Thompson, Major Daniel McKelloran Shriver, Samuel Sprigg Shriver.

boys from Wheeling, and they had to depend on many expedients to secure the supplies which their small soldier pay could not buy.

One fact that impresses the student of that period is the festive character of all these preparations for war. In public, at least, the people were almost gay, and the grim horror of war was unrealized. Throughout the early months of 1861 the city was animated as with a carnival spirit. There were balls and parties where the young volunteers enjoyed their sudden elevation to the role of heroes and where the flags and emblems of the Union were almost entirely used in decoration. Flags appeared everywhere along the streets, and the houses that did not display them were under suspicion as disloyal. At the Belmont Mill a Union pole, 128 feet high, was raised amid the thunder of cannon salutes.<sup>8</sup>

On April 19th the rumors that Governor Letcher had ordered the militia companies to occupy the Wheeling custom house spread over the city, and "in less than an hour hundreds of people congregated about the custom house to tender their services to its defense." After being assured that the building was safe the crowd dispersed. On the same day the attack on the federal troops passing through the city of Baltimore had produced great excitement throughout the country. As a result of the rising turbulence, the mayor issued a proclamation exhorting all citizens to refrain from violent and harsh expressions, and also swore in a hundred extra policemen to maintain peace and good order.

On the 23d, at a citizens' meeting in the court house held to devise means to secure the peace and good order of the city, it was insisted to be of prime importance to keep down the excitement and offer no occasion for factional disputes. A motion to ask an increase of the police force was withdrawn, and the meeting finally adopted Daniel Lamb's resolution "that we pledge ourselves to do all we can to preserve the peace and order of the city and to protect the persons and property of all persons whatsoever against lawless or mob violence."

One of the first war measures to affect Wheeling was the publication by the Ohio governor<sup>9</sup> of the order forbidding the exportation of all contraband supplies into the seceded states. No supplies were

---

<sup>8</sup>"We yesterday unfurled to the breeze from our office window a large Star-Spangled Banner in accordance with the example set us by several of our manufacturing establishments and patriotic citizens in various parts of the city."—*Intelligencer*, April 18, 1861.

<sup>9</sup>*Intelligencer*, April 30, 1861.

permitted to be shipped over the B. & O. railroad east. It was thought at first that this order applied to Wheeling, and much humorous discussion was heard on the streets as to how the people would get their market supplies from across the river. It would have been a serious blow to mercantile enterprise in this city had it been cut off from intercourse with the adjoining states, and the possibility of such an embargo may have had something to do with the unanimous action of the Wheeling merchants, at a meeting on May 2d, when they resolved to pay no state license revenues to the secession government at Richmond.

Thursday, May 9, was set apart, by order of the city council, "as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer" in consequence of the



Old Custom House and Postoffice.

dangers threatening the nation. The following Monday the first Wheeling convention began its session, and in the days that followed the predominance of Union sentiment in the city was completely asserted. The presence of many strangers in the city and the establishment of the military camp at the fair grounds on the island gave occasion for almost daily demonstrations of some kind. The ceremony of raising the national flag over the custom house brought several thousand people to the scene, who sang patriotic songs and roared their applause of the speakers. "Never was there any such a time in this loyal little city before." In the evening the crowd, with a band, massed before the McLure House and were addressed

by prominent citizens from the balcony. By the 21st eleven companies were in camp on the island, and B. F. Kelley was elected colonel of the regiment, which soon afterward went to the front as the First Virginia Regiment.

An important event which occurred about this time was the organization of the Ladies' Union Aid Association of Wheeling. The purpose of the association was to aid and relieve the necessitous families of Union volunteer soldiers in the city. The women who took official part in this organization at the beginning were: Mrs. Dr. A. S. Todd, Mrs. J. W. Paxton, Miss Mary Conard, Mrs. George K. McMechen, Mrs. Andrew Wilson, Mrs. William Holliday, Mrs. Isaiah Warren, Mrs. L. Bulloch and Miss Mary McGall.

The election of May 23d, on the adoption of the secession ordinance, passed with no disorder. In Wheeling and South Wheeling 2,595 votes were cast against the ordinance and only 87 for it. Although, under the viva voce system of voting then in existence, very few took occasion to cast their votes for secession, and the Union element were in complete control, the election served to classify the citizens into two distinct parties and intensify the feeling against those whose sympathies were with the Confederacy. A few nights later a large crowd collected in the fifth ward and made a hostile demonstration before the house of one secessionist. Mr. C. D. Hubbard arrived in time to persuade the crowd to desist and move on. At another place the crowd demanded that the resident should exhibit the American colors, which was done.

A proclamation from the mayor warned all citizens against attempts at violence or intimidation, and in the issue of May 29th the editor of the *Intelligencer* denounces mob rule. "We might just as well have a secession despotism as a Union despotism—every bit. \* \* \* We make these remarks in view of some manifestations which we have lately seen and heard of in this city. Against all such doings we are determined to set our faces, let others do as they may."

Three days after the election, General McClellan issued his address to the Union men of West Virginia. Troops had been ordered to cross the Ohio, but they came, he assured, as friends, and he desired that they be received as such. The next day Colonel Kelley's regiment crossed from the island, and left the city for the campaign in western Virginia. The knowledge that the Union army was in the field to reinforce the loyalty of this portion of the state, besides encouraging the substantial element of the citizens, also afforded cover

under which the reckless and violent felt free to vent their feelings against the secessionists.

"The condition of the people of the northwest at this time (April and May, 1861) was truly remarkable.<sup>10</sup> In consequence of the violent denunciations of those who were regarded as secessionists, they wisely maintained silence, and hence nothing was heard but loud and defiant shouts of the opposition to the scheme of secession. It is safe to say that a large majority of the magistracy and office holders generally, either from conscientious scruples in relation to their oaths of office, which included that of fealty to the Constitution of the state as well as that of the United States, or from inclination and sentiment, favored the secession movement. Others again refused to perform the duties of their offices by reason of the commotions of the times and the general uncertainty that pervaded all classes. No one could furnish a solution to the great problem in process of demonstration. The tenure of property became a matter of great doubt, none felt secure in the enjoyment of civil rights. Distrust was everywhere \* \* \*.

"It had been whispered about, first in an undertone, and then the rumor grew and swelled into a terrible reality, that there was no law. Then sprang up that class of men who for years had been, from various causes, but nominal citizens in every community; men who sought retirement from the public gaze, and who had endeavored to screen themselves by the debris of some by-gone wreck. They were now among the foremost in promoting the general confusion incident to the apparent disruption of society. Bands of armed men traversed the country, bearing at their head the national banner, shouting death to all opposers. All persons who refused, after being notified by a committee, to plant the stars and stripes before their dwellings, were held to be enemies to the Union, and were required by the force of public opinion, expressed in no unqualified terms and frequently in no undemonstrative manner, to take the oath of allegiance to the United States. The people ceased to follow their usual avocations; the farmers left their plows in the furrows, the mechanics their anvils and benches, not knowing who would reap the fruits of their harvests or labors. They assembled at the usual points of public manifestations, armed with their trusty rifles, and here and there a musket of antique pattern was to be seen in the hands of the descendant of a revolutionary sire."

The enormous cost of the rebellion is usually expressed in the figures of the government debt. But besides the contributions paid through the various forms of internal revenue and increased price of necessities, every community had its own local burdens. Many citizens of Wheeling gave liberally to the cause. Early in June the county

---

<sup>10</sup>J. M. Hagans' sketch of the Formation of West Virginia, (1866).

court ordered a levy of five thousand dollars for the families of the volunteers, and an additional thousand for the deserving poor thrown out of employment because of the war. This was the first of many county levies laid on the taxable property of the county during the following four years.

The assembling of the second Wheeling convention in June again made this city the center of interest for all the northwestern counties. When after ten days of work the plan of the restored government was adopted, there was a feeling of satisfaction among the majority of citizens that they now had a tangible object of allegiance in their own loyal state government. "The city was wild with excitement last night in consequence of the demonstration of rejoicing at the decisive action of the Western Virginia Convention. All the bells in the city were ringing, rockets were flying, drums beating, men and boys were shooting, and the two cannon captured recently from the secessionists at Sisterville were booming from the hills east of the city. \* \* \* The streets were full of people until a late hour."<sup>11</sup>

On the 23d of June, Colonel Kelley, who had been wounded at Philippi early in the month, returned to the city, and was given a demonstration of welcome. Crowds followed the chair in which he was carried from the depot to the hotel. This was the first occasion for the citizens to pay tribute to their soldiers returning from the actual field of war. On the following day came the news of Colonel Kelley's promotion to the rank of brigadier-general.

At the end of July the first great reverse to the Union armies occurred at Bull Run. A few days later, a letter from the field announced the death of several sons of Wheeling families. Now for the first time the reality of war laid its fears and apprehensions on the daily life of the people. The festive spirit of the preceeding months was succeeded by the practical sense of the grim actualities of the battlefield.<sup>12</sup> The confidence of the Union people in this section was shaken by the disaster, and many began to express doubt whether after all the Confederacy might not triumph and coerce the rebellious counties of northwestern Virginia. Along with this lack of confidence came a sterner attitude toward the Confederate sympathizers in the

---

<sup>11</sup>*Intelligencer*, June 21, 1861.

<sup>12</sup>"Yet with all this fever of preparation we never quite believed that there was a war until, one day, a rough wooden box was sent down from the mountains. A young officer had been killed by a sharpshooter, and his body was forwarded that it might be cared for and sent to his friends."—"Bits of Gossip."

city. There was report of secret caucuses and of the organization of another rebel company.<sup>13</sup> The statistics of war relates only the material facts of the number of the killed and wounded and the money expenditures. In the border states during the Civil war, a more important result was the hardening of the spirit of the people. The sum of qualities by which a man's position in the community had been estimated in times of peace was no longer regarded. His kindness to family and friends, his promptness in meeting business obligations, his morality and religion, were forgotten. The one persistent rule of judgment was "loyalty." And in the intense narrowness of the times, all "loyal" men were good citizens, and all the "disloyal" were traitors and both public and private enemies.

In the fall of 1861 the Athenaeum building, at the corner of Market and Fourteenth streets, began its history as a military prison. At first only one floor was used for this purpose, and the upper floor was occasionally occupied by a theatrical performance, but later the entire building was converted into dormitories, dining hall and kitchen for the prisoners. The secessionists gave it the name of "Lincoln Bastile." Early in November eighty persons were confined there, twenty of whom were hostages and the rest prisoners of war.<sup>14</sup> "Some of them are men of great wealth, pride, position and influence, and some are as ragged a lot of ruffians as can be scared up in the United States. Secession, like misery and politics, makes strange bed-fellows." The fare of the prisoners was the same as that of the soldiers, and all the prisoners had to take turns at cooking. On one side of the hall were fifty sleeping bunks "not overly cleanly." One old gentlemen, who had been used to better things, complained of his associates and the body lice.<sup>15</sup>

During the sessions of the federal court in the city at this period, its principal business was the examination of persons brought before it on charges of disloyalty. All were required to take the oath of allegiance, and a refusal to take the oath, the judge said, was a test of a man's loyalty.

In August the First Virginia Regiment, having served its three months' time, returned to Wheeling. Its march along the streets from the depot was through crowds of people, amid the waving of flags and handkerchiefs, and "bouquets and wreaths fell about the soldiers

---

<sup>13</sup>*Intelligencer*, August 9, 1861.

<sup>14</sup>*Intelligencer*, November 7, 1861.

<sup>15</sup>*Intelligencer*, November 19, 1861.

like leaves in October." After being mustered out, the regiment began reorganization for the three years' service. Early in November six companies of the regiment, under Colonel Thoburn, departed for Romney. The account of the scenes at the departure of the troops indicates what has already been mentioned that the people were less impressed by the pomp and circumstance of war than in the stirring months of April and May. Of the crowd at the station, "if there had not been many clouded tearful faces among them, they would not have been women." Some of the soldiers also had sad faces, although the majority maintained a cheerful demeanor.

The papers of the times contain numerous instances of rowdiness due to drunkenness among soldiers and citizens. In the fall of 1861 the city council passed an ordinance forbidding the giving or selling of liquor to the soldiers. But in spite of the regulations of the civil and military authorities, it was impossible to keep the soldiers from liquor. One citizen kindly offered his bottle to two soldiers on the street, and was fined, but on petition to the council obtained remission of the penalty. All sorts of schemes were devised by the soldiers for smuggling liquor into the camp on the island.

In November, 1861, the government leased the Sprigg House and converted it into an army hospital. Later on many of the disabled soldiers were quartered at the North Wheeling Hospital.

On the 4th of December General Rosecrans removed the headquarters of the Army of Western Virginia to Wheeling. For a few days the general and his staff were at the McLure. The house of C. W. Russell,<sup>16</sup> who had accepted a place in the Confederate congress, was selected as the army headquarters. A telegraph line was run from Water street, and from this old home all of the orders to the field were issued. At the end of March, 1862, General Fremont arrived to take command as the successor of Rosecrans, and the "Mountain Department" was then created by adding eastern Kentucky and eastern Tennessee to Western Virginia. General Fremont had his headquarters here until about the first of May, 1862, after which the headquarters were transferred to the east. "Rosecrans impressed the towns-people as a plain man of business, but Fremont was the ideal soldier—simple, high-bred, courteous; always at a white heat of purpose. His wife was constantly beside him, urging the cause with all the wonderful magnetism which then made her the most famous

---

<sup>16</sup>The house is now No. 75 Twelfth street.

of American women."<sup>17</sup> "General Fremont came here, as it were, under a cloud—with the prejudices of the people against him, but he has taken his leave with the popular sentiment in his favor so far as we can judge by the expressions of all classes. He chose to be so quiet and seemed so anxious to avoid anything like display or splurge that we venture to say that in his whole five weeks' residence among us not one in a hundred of our citizens have seen him."<sup>18</sup>

After the battle at Winchester in March, 1862, the home people were again reminded of sacrifices demanded by the war god when the bodies of several soldiers of the First Virginia Regiment came back for burial. Colonel Thoburn, who had been wounded in the arm, also returned. On the 1st of April the first through train since May, 1861, passed over the Baltimore & Ohio railroad to Baltimore, and passenger and freight traffic was resumed. The breaks in the road caused by the rebel armies had been repaired under military protection, and the road was guarded throughout its entire length.

In the *Intelligencer* of April 26, 1862, Mr. Campbell reviewed the past year. April, 1861, had opened and closed upon a city distracted. In Pittsburgh, after Sumter, the people were all ablaze for the Union; in Richmond, all were for secession. "In Wheeling what a dreadful gloomy suspense and inertia prevailed throughout the month. Our Unionism was being born, and it seemed as if there was scarce strength to bring it forth." Little "Unionism straight" was to be found. "We had it with 'no coercion'—we had it with the 'conditional' dilution—with the 'sovereignty' ingredient." When Major Oakes arrived in the city to begin recruiting, the idea of enlisting "Lincoln hordes" to coerce the south shocked many people. He made, indeed, slow progress at first. Everybody wanted to enlist on condition that the volunteers should not be required to go out of western Virginia. In the course of a year conditions had been defined, and the people for the most part had adjusted themselves to these conditions.

During the spring of 1862 the insistence on loyalty from all residents of the city and vicinity was made more rigorous, and as a result there was renewed activity in arresting and bringing persons suspected of disloyal sentiments before the federal courts. In May, 1862, all the merchants but one took the oath to support the United States con-

---

<sup>17</sup>"Bits of Gossip." Jessie Benton Fremont was the daughter of Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri. Fremont's staff was composed almost entirely of foreigners, several Hungarians among them, who were naturally the subject of much comment and curiosity.

<sup>18</sup>*Intelligencer*, May 5, 1862.

stitution and the restored government of Virginia. The same requirements were made of all clerks and employes, and the few who refused thereby became incompetent for further service. One physician was reported to have given up his practice rather than take the oath. The latter part of the oath was as follows: "and will neither directly nor indirectly give aid or information to the enemies of the United States, and will not advocate or sustain, either in public or private, the cause of the so-called Confederate states."

Already the complaint was being heard that this oath and the methods employed in connection with it interfered with the constitutional liberty of speech. To this the editor of the *Intelligencer* replied: "This war is not a political campaign. There are no sides to it except an *inside* and an *outside*—in other words there is no issue except the one of national existence or national destruction."

However, it is probable that at Wheeling, as was true in other places, the arbitrary power placed in the hands of the military authorities was in some cases abused, resulting in humiliation and even harsh injustice to some individuals. The executive order of February 14, 1862, directed that "all political prisoners or state prisoners now held in military custody be released on their subscribing to a parole engaging them to render no aid or comfort to the enemies in hostility to the United States. \* \* \* Extraordinary arrests will hereafter be made under the direction of the military authorities alone."

The summer of 1862 was one of the gloomiest periods of the war, not only here but throughout the entire north. Though the 4th of July was celebrated with picnics and fireworks on the island, the news of the Union reverses on the Chickahominy exercised a depressing effect on the general mind. "Yesterday," says the *Intelligencer* of that date, "was a day that will long be remembered in the history of this city. For the most part it was a day of gloom and depression among the great majority of our people. Along all the streets the people turned out to talk over the news. \* \* \* We don't know when we have seen so much silent deep feeling pervading a people as that which was visible here yesterday." The report received late in the day that the army had retired in safety cheered everyone.

It was about this time also that the scarcity of money and high prices most seriously affected every family in the north. In July it was said<sup>19</sup> that the merchants were losing business because of the disappearance of all small change from circulation. Many stores

---

<sup>19</sup>*Intelligencer*, July 7, 1862.

would not change a dollar unless the purchase amounted to twenty-five cents, and they added a charge of five cents for making the change. Banks were urged to issue small notes of value from ten to ninety cents. Some token money was issued in this locality, but the appearance of the postage currency soon afterward supplied the deficiency of metal coins. The fifty- and twenty-five-cent notes of the postage currency were about one-quarter the size of the dollar and two-dollar note, and the fifty-cent note was green and the twenty-five cent was brown. The interruption of trade between the north and south practically brought about a cotton famine in the northern states. At the close of July, 1862, the quoted price of cotton in bale at Wheeling was 48-50 cents a pound, and brown drillings, worth before the war 8¾ cents a yard, was now twenty-five cents. One citizen in Wheeling raised a small crop of cotton during 1862, and the editor of the *Intelligencer* had in his office a jar of cotton seed which he offered to distribute among others who wished to experiment with its culture.

Toward the end of July a big war meeting was held in Wheeling.<sup>20</sup> The speaker's stand was placed in the shade of the Odd Fellows' hall, and the crowd was massed about the court house and in the street. A memorial was adopted calling on the citizens to fill up the quota of two regiments assigned to West Virginia in Lincoln's call for three hundred thousand. The memorial also requested that the county court should make a levy so that it might pay a bounty of thirty dollars to each recruit. At the close of August it was estimated that Wheeling city had furnished five hundred volunteers to the Union army, exclusive of the numbers from Fulton and Ritchietown. On the first of September came the news of the second Bull Run. On the Sunday preceding the troops of the Twelfth Virginia Regiment had begun moving from the island camp to the depot, on the way as reinforcement to the hard-pressed eastern armies. A few days later the *Intelligencer* contained a reassuring editorial that held out hope for ultimate success in spite of the disasters that then were multiplying about the national armies.

In these trying times those suspected of disloyal sentiments were under the constant espionage of the Union authorities. At the beginning of September suspected persons in the city, not only men but the women, were brought up to take the oath, and on refusal were locked up.<sup>21</sup> At the same time an order came from the war department to

---

<sup>20</sup>*Intelligencer*, July 28, 1862.

<sup>21</sup>Mrs. Davis, in "Bits of Gossip," states that some pretty young girls were led to jail because they were strumming "Dixie" on the piano.

Provost-marshal Darr that he should not release persons refusing to take the oath. A minister and his wife had been arrested. The latter took the oath, but the former refused, and at the intercession of many citizens was released. This brought out the strict order issued to the provost-marshal. One of the numerous cases of a more flagrant character is illustrated in the following news item:<sup>22</sup> "Deputy marshal W. H. Irwin yesterday arrested one ———, a traitor, for using treasonable language. The affidavits charge that he said he would die before he would take the oath of allegiance—that we are now living in the Southern Confederacy, and that he did not recognize the United States government. He was committed to the Athenaeum." Indicative of this tension between the ideas of patriotic duty and the common charity which governs men in times of peace—a tension that reached its highest point about this time—is an editorial in the *Intelligencer* condemning any display of sympathy or attempts to interpose between the government and the rebels. "Good feeling for disloyalty will never save this government. It has got to be saved by the strong arm of force. \* \* \* This policy may look very hard on the face, and so it is. These are strange times upon which we have fallen. The easy methods of peace are gone. We are living in an era of force."<sup>23</sup>

Towards the end of September the news of Antietam showed that the Union forces were holding their own. This was followed in a few days by the publication of Lincoln's emancipation proclamation.

In the issue of December 11 the editorial column of the *Intelligencer* begins with a triumphant "Glory to God in the highest! West Virginia has been admitted into the Union of States." The news that the statehood bill had finally passed both houses of Congress had been received the previous afternoon and had quickly spread to all parts of the city. At night a salute of thirty-five rounds had been fired from a cannon captured at Romney.

On New Year's day of 1863, following the announcement of the signing of the bill, crowds gathered in the streets, and again the old cannon was brought forth and the hills reverberated the news through all the valley.

Due to the presence of soldiers and the lax regulations on liquor selling, but more particularly because of the presence in the city of the ruffian class which everywhere appear in time of great disorder,

---

<sup>22</sup>*Intelligencer*, September 2, 1862.

<sup>23</sup>*Intelligencer*, September 6, 1862.

the peace of Wheeling suffered almost daily some infraction. Numerous reports occur of window breaking, garrotings and "ghostings," and an increase of police force was urged to secure the citizens from outrage.<sup>24</sup>

It is noteworthy that the issue of "Unionism" was introduced even in the choice of city officials. A very considerable faction of the citizens adopted the name of "unconditional unionists," comprising those who felt that in the perilous times of the nation the supreme and only duty of men was to support the government, and that before this test all other distinctions and blendings of opinion must be temporarily obliterated. Those not included within this extreme faction would naturally consist of men of various shades of opinion, ranging from the conservative unionists to those radically opposed to the government and the war. In the city election of January, 1863, W. W. Shriver was the mayoralty candidate on the "Unconditional Union" ticket and was opposed by Dr. George Baird. Dr. Baird was elected by a vote of 1,093 to Shriver's 612.<sup>25</sup>

Immediately after the president had signed the statehood bill, with its provision that the convention should insert the anti-slavery section and then submit it to the people, the issue of slavery became for the first time an important one in this vicinity. The census of 1860 showed that there were only one hundred and fifty slaves in the entire Panhandle, so that the emancipation of them all would have been a small loss among their owners. At the same time, many people were opposed on general principles to emancipation and also objected to the action of Congress in imposing any conditions before West Virginia should enter the Union. The election in Ohio county early in February, 1863, to fill a vacancy in the constitutional convention, afforded an opportunity for testing the sentiment of the people. No doubt there were other elements contributing to the division of opinion as expressed in this election. A. F. Ross was the anti-slavery candidate, and the opposition ticket was headed "Anti-Abolition ticket." The total vote of the county was 2,954, and Mr. Ross' majority was 186.<sup>26</sup>

On February 12th the constitutional convention reassembled for the purpose of inserting the slavery amendment, and when the entire constitution was submitted to the people for approval on March 26th

---

<sup>24</sup>*Intelligencer*, January 17, 1863.

<sup>25</sup>*Intelligencer*, January 27, 1863.

<sup>26</sup>*Intelligencer*, February 6, 1863.

only eight votes out of 1,813 in the county were cast against it. On April 23d the president's proclamation appeared, declaring the new state government in operation after sixty days.

One of the incidents illustrating the "late unpleasantness" is contained in the following: "Outwitting the Butternuts.—In front of Lieutenant Haycock's recruiting office in Washington Hall there is an American flag displayed. During the last six months several ladies and young girls have, in passing along the street, preferred to walk around the emblem of liberty rather than pass beneath its folds. \* \* \* Yesterday the sargeant stretched a flag clear across the sidewalk and extended another out several feet into the street, so that now all who pass on that side of the street are bound to pass under one of the flags or go out into the middle of the street."<sup>27</sup>

The crucial period of the war was the summer of 1863, and the state of apprehension that existed throughout the country was shared by the people of Wheeling. At the end of April the raid of Imboden's Confederate cavalry, at Morgantown and about Grafton, caused the first real war scare in this city. To ward off the enemy, volunteers came in from Steubenville and Wellsburg, but their services were not required.

A few days later came the news of Hooker's reverses at Chancellorsville. "Take it all in all, yesterday (May 7) was a gloomy day. The news from Hooker's army, together with the apprehension felt about matters below, was not at all calculated to inspire the loyal public feeling with brightness and buoyancy. Nevertheless, our brave-hearted Union people bore up well. It was common to hear the expression, 'Never mind, it will all come out right at last.' And so it will. \* \* \*"<sup>28</sup>

On the following Saturday and Sunday the reports of the West Virginia raiders again alarmed the city. The governor reassembled the Sixteenth Regiment of militia, and General Kelley sent Colonel Mulligan's command galloping off to Moundsville. "About eleven o'clock the country militia came into town with drums beating and flags flying" and were marched to quarters amid loud hurrahs and huzzahs from the people in the windows and on the sidewalks. On Sunday the streets were thronged. Late in the afternoon an extra contained a report that Richmond had been captured. The corner at Quincy and Main became the center of excitement, a flag was swung to the breeze,

---

<sup>27</sup>*Intelligencer*, February 17, 1863.

<sup>28</sup>*Intelligencer*, May 8, 1863.

and the newsboys made Bedlam as they hurried through the city crying their papers.<sup>29</sup>

On May 28, 1863, occurred the first election of state and county officials under the new constitution of West Virginia. Under the constitution the old Virginia system of *viva voce* voting was abrogated, and that of the ballot substituted. This is a significant fact in the study of the elections held in western Virginia before and after the adoption of the constitution.<sup>30</sup> "The new system of ballot voting went rather awkward with a great many, who for the first time in their lives cast a vote in this way." "The result of the late election speaks well for the loyal sentiment of Wheeling. For the first time in its history, all voted with perfect freedom from restraint or intimidation. Unless the voter chose to make it known, no one but himself need know for whom he voted."<sup>31</sup>

In March, 1863, the conscription act had provided for the enrollment of able-bodied males from eighteen to forty-five years, from whom the president might draft required quotas as needed. With the beginning of Lee's northern invasion in June, the president called for six-months' troops in the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland and West Virginia. The quota of ten thousand assigned to West Virginia was thought to be disproportionate, and caused a good deal of discussion. Among the many who took the serious side of the matter, one critic in the city, while the thermometer was in the 80s, went about the streets asking for a load of coal. When some one inquired why he wanted it, he replied that the president had exhorted the citizen soldiers "to stand by their firesides."<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup>*Intelligencer*, May 11, 1863.

<sup>30</sup>An act to regulate municipal elections, passed February 22, 1864:

"All elections by the people for members of council and other officers of incorporated cities and towns shall be by ballot, and shall as far as practicable be so conducted that it may not be known at the polls for whom any person has voted.

"In time of war, insurrection or public danger, every person present and offering to vote at any such election shall, if required by any voter of the city or town, take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of West Virginia, or produce to the officers superintending the election the certificate of some person authorized to administer such oaths that he has taken such oath, under pain of suspension of the right of voting. Any one of the officers superintending such election is hereby authorized to administer the said oath at the polls; and also to swear any person at the polls to answer questions respecting any right to vote which is disputed."

<sup>31</sup>*Intelligencer*, May 29 and June 1, 1863.

<sup>32</sup>*Intelligencer*, June 16, 1863.

Now that the war had been in progress two years and the enthusiasm of patriotism no longer satisfied the stern demands of duty to country, it was not so easy to get volunteers to fill up the quotas. When, in June, the Fourth and Fifth Regiments of militia responded to the muster call, some of their number had to be looked up by guard details and brought into the court house.

With the month of July the gloom of the war began to lift. The first news of the battle of Gettysburg reached the city on the 3d, and three days later the defeat of Lee was confirmed, but the extent of the battle and its great results were hardly appreciated at the time. It was not till the 8th of the month that the glad tidings of Vicksburg's surrender were published.

Toward the end of July an order from the war department reached Wheeling, giving permission for the clearing of boats and cargoes, except contraband, for New Orleans. Thus the steamboat traffic throughout the length of the Mississippi basin was again open. The last boat said to have left Wheeling for New Orleans had gone in December, 1860.<sup>33</sup>

The raid of the famous Confederate cavalryman, John Morgan, through southern Indiana and Ohio during July caused a general alarm through the city. General Wheat called out the militia, the ringing of bells aroused the citizens, and both branches of the legislature then in session adjourned and its members quickly enrolled themselves as a militia company.<sup>33</sup> The path of the raiders ended many miles short of Wheeling, and two days after the alarm it was announced that "John Morgan, the mighty, has been captured at last."

The chief result of the Morgan raid was to demonstrate the loyalty in all essential matters of the people of the states of Ohio and Indiana. The so-called rebel sympathizers failed to offer any substantial aid or reinforcement when the Morgan troopers appeared, and though the "copperhead" followers of Vallandigham had bitterly denounced the course of the administration in the conduct of the war, they were by no means willing to welcome the southern invader in their homes.

During 1863 and 1864 the opposition in the north to the government's war policy reached its height. Naturally the opposition party represented the greatest diversity of individual opinion. There were the "Copperhead" Democrats, the Conservative Unionists, the southern

---

<sup>33</sup>*Intelligencer*, July 25, 1863.

sympathizers, and even a sprinkling of abolitionists. In the presidential campaign of 1864 it was sought to weld all these various elements together under one party leader. While the movement to unseat the Lincoln government failed, it did serve as a conservative influence to curb the arbitrary use of the extra-constitutional and military powers that were justified by the national crisis. Even at Wheeling were occasional evidences of a more conservative regulation of affairs, and during the last two years of the war the life of the city settled down into a somewhat commonplace existence, only now and then interrupted.

The anti-war party did not lack for the materials of criticism. Plenty of reasons could be brought forward to prove that "the war was a failure." Furthermore, contrary to the principles first enunciated by the president, it had become "a war for the negro." With better reason it was complained that the administration had exceeded its constitutional authority, and that the government was rapidly becoming a despotism. The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus when the public safety required it, authorized by the act of March, 1863, with the consequent military arrests and arbitrary detention of prisoners without trial, was in many instances abused. The law directed that lists of the military prisoners should be returned to the federal courts, and unless the grand jury found cause for indictment of such prisoners they were to be released after taking the oath of allegiance. By strict observance of this statute, no lasting hardship and nothing but transient injustice would have been done. In the majority of cases at Wheeling, the imprisonment of suspected persons seems to have followed the instructions of this law, and worked only a temporary hardship and humiliation.

On the 9th of July, 1864, Captain Ewald Over, the local commander of the post, received a dispatch from General Kelley directing him to proceed at once, by order of General Hunter, "to arrest Baker & Long, editors and proprietors of the *Daily Register* \* \* \* and place them in confinement at the military prison in that city and so keep them until further orders. Also to seize and suppress the *Register* newspaper and take possession of the office and keep the same until further orders."<sup>34</sup> For seven weeks Baker & Long were lodged in the Athenaeum, unable to obtain any hearing from either the military or civil authorities. The only cause for the arrest which the proprietors could assign, after they resumed publication (about September 20), was that

---

<sup>34</sup>*Intelligencer*, July 11, 1864.

General Hunter had been offended by some articles published relative to his conduct as a military officer, and had vented his personal anger by having the paper suppressed. General Sheridan finally took cognizance of the matter and ordered the editors released, which was done on August 30.

The modern historical judgment is now in substantial agreement that in cases like this, of which there were a number of similar instances in the northern states, the authority of the government and the military was extended beyond its proper bounds. James Ford Rhodes in his *History of the United States* says:<sup>55</sup> "I do not hesitate to condemn the military arrests and arbitrary interference with the freedom of the press in states which were not the theatre of the war and where the courts were open. [He refers particularly to cases in New York and Illinois, but the conditions were substantially the same in Wheeling.] I do not omit to take into account that, bad as was Vallandigham's speech in the house, even worse was much of the writing in the Democratic newspapers; that the 'Copperhead' talk on the streets, in the public conveyances, and in the hotels was still more bitter and vituperative; that the virulence was on the increase, and that constant complaints of 'the utterance of treasonable sentiments' were made by patriotic men to the authorities. Nevertheless I am convinced that all this extra-judicial procedure was inexpedient, unnecessary and wrong; that the offenders themselves should have been prosecuted according to law, or, if their offenses were not indictable, permitted to go free."

In this connection it is interesting to read a part of Lincoln's reply in June, 1863, to the New York Democrats who had protested against his treatment of Vallandigham:

"If I be wrong on this question of constitutional power, my error lies in believing that certain proceedings are constitutional when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety requires them, which would not be constitutional when, in absence of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does not require them. \* \* \* Nor am I able to appreciate the danger apprehended by the meeting, that the American people will by means of military arrests during the rebellion lose the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and the press, the law of evidence, trial by jury, and habeas corpus throughout the indefinite peaceful future which I trust lies before them, any more than I am able to believe that a man could contract so strong an appetite for emetics during temporary illness as to persist in feeding upon them during the remainder of his healthful life."

---

<sup>55</sup>Vol. IV, p. 234.

How political sentiment in this locality was divided between the Unconditional Union Republican and the Conservative Union Democratic parties is illustrated in the fall elections of 1864. In October were held the state and county elections. In Ohio county, Chester D. Hubbard, the Republican candidate, received 1,810 votes to his opponent's 1,357. At the presidential election on November 8, Ohio county gave 2,139 votes to Lincoln and 2,008 to McClellan. In Brooke county the vote was 464 for Lincoln and 401 for McClellan. In Marshall county the vote was less evenly divided, Lincoln getting 1,470 to McClellan's 770.

In the city election of January, 1864, Henry Crangle, the Union candidate, was elected mayor by a vote of 1,125 to his Conservative opponent's 941. But a year later, A. J. Sweeney, the Conservative, received 1,145 votes for mayor over 1,097 for Crangle.

The Athenaeum was in service as a military prison throughout the war. However, it was never officially established as one of the regular prisons for prisoners of war, being used rather as a prison station on the road to Camp Chase and other large prison camps. After the battles of the Gettysburg campaign a number of Lee's soldiers were detained here while on the way to Camp Chase. On July 28, 1864, the *Intelligencer* reported that on the previous Friday night the Athenaeum contained over seven hundred persons, the largest number ever quartered in the establishment. Of these 378 were rebel prisoners, and the balance were the sick and wounded, a few convalescents and the two companies on guard. On the following Sunday the sick were removed to the North Wheeling Hospital, while most of the prisoners were taken to Camp Chase.

Mention has been previously made of the regulations placed on the commerce of Wheeling. The city being so close to the Confederate border, especially during the early part of the war, it was necessary to blockade any commercial intercourse between this city and the enemy's territory. However, after West Virginia had become a state and the enemy had been pushed back into the mountains along the eastern and southern border, there was no longer any reason for the strict supervision of the local merchants. All business men had been compelled to secure "permits" from the military authorities before they could sell goods outside of the city. The merchants complained of discrimination in the issue of these licenses, and that not only was great injury done to their trade but that residents outside of the city likewise suffered much inconvenience in buying goods in this city. Finally in January, 1865, Secretary Chase abrogated the permit system except in the back counties of the state.

Under the successive calls for soldiers it became necessary during the last year of the war to offer more than ordinary inducements to get volunteers to fill the quotas assigned to West Virginia. In February, 1864, when Ohio county needed two hundred to fill its quota, the board of supervisors offered a bounty of three hundred dollars to each of the first two hundred men enlisted. Then, under a call issued in the following summer, a similar bounty was offered to all one-year recruits. In September several cases of "bounty-jumping" were reported. Attracted by the sums offered, some professional recruits offered their services and on being paid the bounty departed to other fields. To remedy this condition, it was suggested that all recruits should be kept under close guard until the troops left for the front.

The last general call, for 300,000 men, was issued December 19, 1864. Three hundred and twenty-five volunteers were required from Ohio county by this call, and the board of supervisors, in addition to the regular bounty of three hundred dollars, recommended the raising by private subscription of an additional two hundred dollars for each recruit.<sup>36</sup>

Under such generous inducements, Ohio county, so far as can be ascertained, never had a forced draft, nor did any of the Panhandle counties. But the draft for some of the other counties in the northwest part of the state was drawn on the steps of the court house in this city. Pleasants county was the first. The names of the individuals liable for service were placed in a wheel, and as it revolved the drawer, blindfolded, took from it double the number of names required for the draft. In case this list, on account of disqualifications, did not provide sufficient recruits another drawing might be made. The drawing was watched by a crowd of spectators, including some of the citizens of the affected counties, who were said to have displayed an uneasy interest in the results of the lot.<sup>37</sup>

At the battle of Cedar Creek, in October, 1864, the gallant Colonel Thoburn, who had gone from this city at the head of the First Virginia Regiment, was killed while commanding the first division of the Army of West Virginia. Captain Philip G. Bier and Sergeant Benjamin Jenkins, of this city, were also among the list of the slain. The bodies of all three were brought back home and buried with military honors. From early in the war the people of the city had become accustomed to the fatalities of the battlefield, but the death of Colonel Thoburn

---

<sup>36</sup>*Intelligencer*, February 10, 1865.

<sup>37</sup>*Intelligencer*, September 20, 1864.

was made the occasion of the largest patriotic demonstration during the war. All factions united in paying tribute to the distinguished dead, and on the day of the funeral the banks and many stores were closed, the flags were at half-mast, and the tragic glories of war were perhaps never more impressive than on that day.<sup>38</sup>

In March, 1865, the government began remodeling the "pork house" on the creek in East Wheeling for use as recruiting quarters and barracks. No complete list is available of the different buildings occupied for government uses in Wheeling during the war, but in April, 1865, it was estimated that the government was paying at the rate of twelve thousand dollars a year for rent in this city. The soldiers' and officers' quarters, the hospitals, prison and various houses for storage of supplies comprised most of the items in the list. Wheeling was only a very inconsiderable post in the great war establishment, so that the cost of the local quarters was insignificant when compared with the enormous total spent in the course of such a war.

About eleven o'clock in the morning of April 3, 1865, the news-reached the city that Richmond had been taken. In a few minutes all ordinary occupations ceased. Flags were hung from windows and housetops, the merchants closed up their shops, and in the general joy the people left their homes and spent the rest of the day on the streets in gratulation and celebration. In the afternoon a band of music led the procession through the principal streets. The bells rang without pause, while at intervals the hills shook from the firing of cannon. In the evening came the illumination and noise of rockets and Jackson crackers, while a crowd gathered around the court house and rejoiced again in the congratulations of the speakers.

The evacuation of Richmond was considered the beginning of the end. Hence, when a week later the dispatches announced Lee's surrender, the event was taken as a matter of course and was attended without special demonstration.

The city was scarcely awake on Saturday morning of April 15, when the news came of the assassination of the president on the previous evening. Again the people poured forth into the public places, but over all was the hush of consternation. Instead of the uplifted faces of a crowd in festive mood, men gathered in small knots and in low tones discussed the bulletins that arrived from time to time. The sky itself was gloomy and overcast, in gray harmony with men's emotions. All day the bells tolled, flags were lowered to half-mast, and over the

---

<sup>38</sup>*Intelligencer*, October 22, 1864.

gay drapings were hung the sombre colors of mourning. A proclamation from the mayor called for a general suspension of business. Amid the dominant note of grief were heard the occasional threats of vengeance. During the afternoon handbills passed about calling a meeting at the court house for the evening. The old building was crowded and hundreds stood on the steps and in the streets. A. W. Campbell, Dr. John C. Hupp and Samuel Laughlin were appointed a committee on resolutions. After expressions of a formal nature, the resolutions indicated the special causes why President Lincoln had justly endeared himself to the people of Wheeling and West Virginia. "To us his name and memory will be forever especially dear. When we needed a friend he came to our rescue and, snatching us as a brand from the burning of the rebellion, made us the happy people of a new and better commonwealth. \* \* \* Striving to rise in this dark hour to a proper conception of the loyal duties of our citizenship \* \* \* We pledge ourselves \* \* \* to the successor of Abraham Lincoln that full support and co-operation still so perilously necessary for the common deliverance \* \* \*" The resolutions offered by the committee were adopted in one chorus of approval.

The truth of history makes it necessary to add some other facts to this account of the court house meeting. If the preceding narration of war times in Wheeling has fairly indicated the temper of the people, it is not extraordinary but in accordance with human nature that the national calamity should cause an outburst of temporary indignation beyond all limits of prudence and discrimination. After the adoption of the report of the resolutions committee, thus concluding the main business of the meeting, an individual resolution was brought forward and read: "Resolved, that no individual who has left here for the purpose of going into the rebellion shall be permitted from this date to return to the city of Wheeling, of which determination on our part this resolution may be taken and regarded as sufficient notice." To this an amendment was added—"and this resolution shall also be taken as notice to all returned rebels to at once leave the city." Several protests were heard, but the resolution and amendment were adopted.<sup>39</sup>

The resolution was said to have been aimed at several conspicuous Confederates from this city. Whether this resolution really increased the feeling of indignation against the former citizens who had joined

---

<sup>39</sup>By "an overwhelming majority" says the *Intelligencer*, "by a meagre vote" says the *Register*.

the Confederate cause, or, as being a sudden outburst of passion too strong to suit the calmer popular mood, hastened the reaction in their favor would be difficult to determine. But it is evident that those in favor of radical measures and the banishment of their former fellow citizens did not long control the general judgment of the community.<sup>40</sup> Other causes from the outside contributed to this change of opinion. The soldiers of Lee, having been surrendered, were given permission to return to their homes, where they should be unmolested so long as they observed their paroles. Grant had announced to his army—"The war is over; the rebels are our countrymen again." All measures of the general government looked toward the peaceful return of all soldiers to their former homes and the resumption of the peaceful relations which had existed before the war. The state administration of West Virginia had adopted with some reluctance the recommendations to readmit its former citizens in accordance with the military paroles and amnesty proclamations, but on the 26th of May Governor Boreman issued a general address to all citizens requesting them to observe the terms of the amnesty and paroles under which the southern soldiers had returned.

An election held in the city on May 25 may be taken to indicate in some degree at least the division of sentiment concerning the matters above described. The legislature during the previous session had created a municipal court for Wheeling, and the election was held to choose its first judge. Though hardly a partisan subject, yet a reading of the two city newspapers shows an attempt to divert support to the candidates on the grounds of "unconditional" or "conservative" Unionism. The first candidate in the field was Moses C. Good, who was supported by the *Register* as the choice of the Conservatives. A "Union city convention" nominated A. B. Caldwell as the opposition candidate, whose election the *Intelligencer* urged as a vote of con-

---

<sup>40</sup>The *Register* in its issue of April 17, 1865, referred to the resolutions as follows: "We were sorry to observe last Saturday that the mournful circumstances of the president's death seemed to revive bitter feelings of partisanship in the hearts of some of the more earnest supporters of his administration.... We feel warranted in saying that, were he alive now, he would strongly disapprove of some of the sentiments uttered by his friends on the streets last Saturday and at the meeting in the court house. This is certainly no occasion for the display of bad passions or giving vent to a mob spirit \* \* \*. During the last four years we have many times differed with Mr. Lincoln in our opinion concerning the policy the government should pursue, and it may be that we have sometimes been led to speak of him with too much warmth and harshness of denunciation; but now that he is dead, while our opinions of his political course are unchanged, our bitterness of feeling is all gone; our prejudice all uprooted; and with deep sincerity we mourn his loss."

fidence to the principles upheld by the government party. Out of a total vote of 1484 Mr. Good received 938, or a majority of 292.

The effects of the war on the business of Wheeling were not so paralyzing as might be supposed. At the beginning of the war the entire country was suffering from the panic which began in 1857. During the first two years of the war the general depression continued, and then in spite of the heavy drain of taxes and citizenship in carrying on the war, and the interruption of trade, the North experienced a revival of prosperous times. These conditions were reflected in Wheeling, and especially in the latter part of 1864 both merchants and manufacturers apparently enjoyed better than normal business conditions.

Some lines of business were stimulated by the war itself. Thus at the beginning of 1862 it was reported that the wagon manufacturers, a large part of whose product had formerly gone to the southern trade, were now turning out contracts for army ambulances. At the same time one foundry in the city was making gun shells. In 1863 the firm of Norton, Acheson & Company had taken the plant known as the Missouri Iron works, where they were manufacturing armor plates for gunboats.

In the winter of 1864-65 the oil excitement shared the interest of the war. Wheeling was a center for many of the speculators and promoters in the petroleum development of this state, and the oil business benefited the local trade. At the same time there was a great increase in the steamboat traffic. The demand for houses and stores was said to exceed the supply.

However, the families that depended on daily labor or a fixed income found that "war times" were accompanied by many privations. Wages increased during the period, but prices of food and clothing increased at a faster ratio. It cannot be doubted that many poor men enlisted in the army because they had no other employment and were attracted by the liberal bounties offered by the government and the local authorities.

No exact statistics can be given of the work of the several relief organizations in this city during the war. Mention has been made of the Ladies' Soldiers Aid Society. The Sanitary Commission also had an office and agent located here. Every year there were meetings for the relief of the destitute soldiers' families. During June and July, 1864, was held a "Grand Patriotic Festival and Fair" on the island in behalf of the Sanitary Commission, the Christian Commission and the Soldiers' Aid Societies. Between twenty-five and thirty

thousand dollars were raised at this fair. The work of the women in preparing comforts and necessities for the soldiers in the field and their families at home, and the contributions of citizens for the same purpose, deserve more than a general recognition, but like all true charity they pass as "many unremembered acts of love."

It is only an apparent incongruity that the social pleasures and diversions should go on in war times. More than ever, amid the oppressive sense of national calamity, people needed the entertainment that relieves the mind of its burden of serious cares. Especially during the last two years of the war the theatre flourished. No attempt has been made to compile the list of attractions which were offered to the public, but almost nightly during the winter seasons some kind of entertainment was being offered in the old Washington Hall, at the corner of Twelfth and Market. Early in 1863 Artemus Ward amused



The Island and River in 1869.

By permission of Nicoll's Art Store.

the people with his quaint humor. A little later Gottschalk, the pianist, and Carlotta Patti, the singer, drew a crowded house. It was the keen interest in the war that drew the people for several successive nights to the "Polymorama of the war," a sort of crude predecessor of the moving picture show, depicting every feature of interest from the firing of the first gun down to the great battle of Fredericksburg, and interspersed with "startling diorama effects. The horror of the battlefield, fierce and deadly conflicts, the din of battle and the crash of war, the thunder of the cannon and din of the battlefield fall

upon the ears of the audience," etc. It may be of interest also to name some of the titles of music advertised by one of the stores in the spring of 1863: "When the Cruel War Is Over," "Jenny Lind's Bird Song," "Warblings at Eve," "The Soldier's Return," "They Buried Her Under the Old Elm Tree," "Drummer Boy of Shiloh," "Her Bright Smile Haunts Me Still," "Maryland, Our Maryland," "Marching Along," etc.

As the social diversions were influenced, but not interrupted by the war, the same is true of other forms of social life. The services of church and school were continued, and if anything men and women prayed more fervently and relied more implicitly on the divine guidance and comfort during the times that tried men's souls.

## CHAPTER XI.

## THE ERA OF LARGER GROWTH.

"Towered cities please us then,  
And busy hum of men."

In the period of forty years subsequent to the Civil war, which brings Wheeling close to modern view, the life and affairs of the locality assume the large proportions of all things when seen from close range. Business and industry, professional activities and institutions, and municipal development, are therefore best treated separately—special chapters covering these departments. The present article is intended for a general view of the chief features of the growth and improvement during the four decades above noted.

When the story of development was interrupted by the hard times and the war of the late '50s and early '60s, the efforts of local citizens were concentrated upon the acquirement of adequate transportation connecting this city with the rest of the country. The building of new railroads, or the extension of old ones, was resumed soon after the war. This is the first subject for consideration in this chapter.

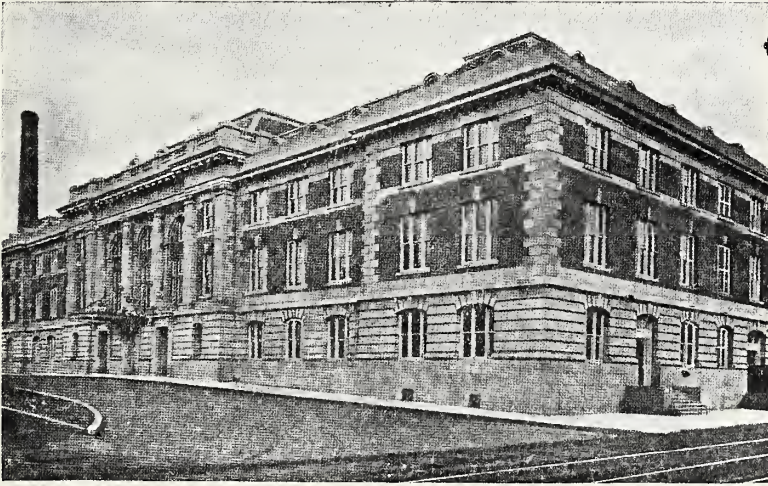
At the close of the war a traveler leaving Wheeling could go on a Baltimore & Ohio train east to Washington and connecting points entirely by railroad. Or he could take a train for Washington, Pennsylvania, from this city. By walking or riding in a hack over the suspension bridge to Bridgeport, he could secure railroad passage to Cleveland or Pittsburgh. Again, by taking boat and going down the river to Bellaire he could ride over the Central Ohio to Newark, Columbus and other points in Ohio and the west. The steamboats also offered their facilities throughout the course of the Ohio river.

One improvement in this transportation situation came when the old horse car street railway, in the latter '60s, began operating cars over the suspension bridge to Bridgeport. This was a minor advantage, but pointed to a new era. Another article describes the history of the street railway system of Wheeling. More important was the acquisition by the Baltimore & Ohio railroad of the Central Ohio lines, and the construction, about 1870, of the railroad bridge connecting Benwood with Bellaire. After this, passenger and freight

traffic went from Wheeling in railroad cars without change both to the east and west.

The subsequent development of the Baltimore & Ohio lines, so far as Wheeling is concerned, may be noted here. The acquisition of the old Hempfield road has been mentioned in a previous chapter. In 1876 the Cleveland, Lorain & Wheeling was constructed between Bridgeport and Dennison, Ohio. This was extended to Bellaire in 1888, and about that time became part of the B. & O. system through Ohio. What is known as the Ohio Valley division, along the river from Wheeling to Parkersburg, was built late in the '80s.

The next railway system to be described is the Pennsylvania, which reaches the Wheeling district by lines paralleling the Ohio



The Baltimore and Ohio Depot.

river on each side. The Cleveland & Pittsburg, on the west side of the river, at Bridgeport and Bellaire, has been referred to in the railroad era before the war. The line which follows the river front along Water street and connects with the main trunk of the "Pan-handle" route of the Pennsylvania system at Wheeling Junction, opposite Steubenville, is a railroad with an interesting history.

The first train to come into Wheeling over this route consisted of two coaches, baggage car and several freight cars, and made the run from Steubenville to this city on February 24, 1878. This road was then known as the Pittsburg, Wheeling & Kentucky. It had been constructed largely by local capital and enterprise, and its completion

was in a large degree due to the efforts of the late Chester D. Hubbard, president of the company at the time. Twenty-four miles in length, this railroad from the first was operated by the Pittsburg, Cincinnati & St. Louis R. R. Company, in the "Panhandle Route," then comprising a system of over a thousand miles, and now one of the important divisions of the Pennsylvania lines "west of Pittsburgh."

Those who were familiar with the times when this railroad was built understood that by connecting Wheeling with the Panhandle Route it was hoped to relieve the city from its sole dependence on the Baltimore & Ohio, which railroad up to this time was almost complete arbiter of the transportation destinies of this locality. It was proposed, by this road of twenty-four miles, to afford an alternate outlet for Wheeling commerce by either of two great and rival systems. The curious fact is that some years previously the interests of Wheeling had been strenuously opposed to any railroad across the Panhandle from Pennsylvania. This opposition arose partly from the inveterate rivalry between Pittsburgh and Wheeling and also from the interstate rivalry of Pennsylvania on the one side and Maryland and Virginia on the other. The Baltimore & Ohio was, in an important sense, a state undertaking by Maryland and Virginia, just as the Pennsylvania railroad was in origin a Pennsylvania enterprise. As the people and legislature of the latter state had prevented the Baltimore & Ohio from constructing its line across the southwest corner of the state with a branch into Pittsburgh, so later Virginia threw every obstacle in the way of an extension of the railroad from Pittsburgh through the Panhandle of Virginia. Any railroad from Pittsburgh into the Wheeling district, it was argued, would benefit the former city at the expense of the latter. In view of this contention, a brief sketch of the Pennsylvania lines that enter the Panhandle will add something to the general history of transportation development in its relations to Wheeling.

The Pennsylvania railroad from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh was begun in 1846. Three years later the Pennsylvania legislature chartered the Pittsburg & Steubenville railroad to build from the vicinity of Pittsburgh to the Ohio river at Steubenville, this being the first link in a proposed extension to Columbus and other western points. Construction began at Pittsburgh in 1852, but on reaching the Virginia line encountered an obstacle. The consent of Virginia was needed before any railroad company could cross the narrow strip called the Panhandle. The people living along the right of way of the proposed road were naturally favorable to its construction,

but Wheeling and the state at large were hostile to any such enterprise. Petitions for a railroad from the Ohio river at Steubenville to the Pennsylvania line had been presented to the Virginia legislature each session from 1847 to 1852, and each time denied. A bit of remarkable private enterprise in overcoming this legislative obstruction deserves to be recorded. Jesse Edgington and Nathaniel Wells, residents of the upper Panhandle, in 1853 bought a strip of land a hundred feet wide and seven miles long across the width of Virginia from the river bank to the Pennsylvania state line. On this private right of way, as a private undertaking and without legislative charter, a railroad was built in 1853-4, and the first train run over it on the Fourth of July of the latter year. An injunction had been sought in the Ohio county circuit court to prevent the prosecution of this work, but the court refused to grant it. Other obstacles were interposed by the state government, but without success. However, with the beginning of the financial depression of the '50s, the proprietors of this railroad, after running a passenger car each way for six months, discontinued operation and the roadway was unused for nearly a decade.

This private railway was subsequently acquired by the Holliday's Cove Railroad Company, which was incorporated by the Virginia legislature March 30, 1860, for the purpose of building a road from the Pennsylvania line to the river at Steubenville. Two years later an attempt was made to secure a bill permitting the construction of a railroad bridge at Steubenville, but as this was considered to be in direct opposition to Wheeling's welfare, the legislature of the restored government, then sitting at Wheeling, refused to pass it, to the great indignation of Wellsburg and Brooke county.<sup>1</sup> In an annual report of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, in 1863, it was stated that the Panhandle Railroad was desired as a short route from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati, and in completing this route, said the report, legislation had been obtained from Congress and Virginia authorizing the extension of the Pittsburg & Steubenville through Brooke county and across the Ohio river, and "work of construction has been vigorously commenced." By 1865 the road was in operation across the Panhandle and over the bridge at Steubenville. In the same year arrangements were made to operate the different links from Pittsburgh to Columbus under the name of Pittsburg, Columbus and Cincinnati railroad. In 1868 the several lines were consolidated under

---

<sup>1</sup>*Intelligencer*, January, 1862.

the title of Pittsburg, Cincinnati & St. Louis railroad. In this title the name Chicago was inserted some years later, and the P. C. C. & St. L. is now the official designation of the Panhandle route of the Pennsylvania system.

It was for the purpose of connecting Wheeling and Wellsburg with this already comprehensive railroad system that the residents of the West Virginia Panhandle projected what was first incorporated (by act of July 15, 1868) as the "Panhandle Railroad Company," to construct a railroad from the Holliday's Cove road in Brooke county to Wellsburg and thence to Wheeling. The project of this railroad, though designed as a link in a larger transportation scheme for Wheeling and its entire vicinity, really originated in Wellsburg, which, one of the most ancient towns of northwestern Virginia, was still without a railroad up to the decade of the '70s.<sup>2</sup> The act of March 1, 1869, gave the company permission to extend its line from Wheeling on to the Kentucky state line, and a later act, February 16, 1871, changed the corporate name to Pittsburg, Wheeling & Kentucky.<sup>3</sup> However, the road was never built beyond Wheeling.

In January, 1872, Ohio county, by a vote of 2,588 to 494, gave consent and a subsidy for the construction of this railroad. The original company began grading the line in 1870. By 1874, when the road was graded and bridged, the hard times following the panic of '73 stopped the enterprise. Nearly two years later the P. C. & St. L. took a lease of ninety-nine years on the company's property and franchise, then laid the rails and ran the first train into Wheeling on the date above mentioned.

On September 28, 1890, the terminal bridge from north Wheeling across the river above the island to Martins Ferry was opened to traffic. This was an event of great importance. It was the railroad bridge for which Wheeling had been striving for forty years. Now for the first time Wheeling commerce had a direct outlet over the river to the west without relying on the Bellaire bridge or that at Steubenville. The Wheeling Bridge & Terminal Railway Company was organized March 4, 1882, as the Wheeling & Harrisburg Railway Company, by Judge R. H. Cochran, Dr. George Baird, A. C. Egerter and four others. At a special election held in Ohio county

---

<sup>2</sup>Those named in the act to take charge of the subscription books and as incorporators were: Adam Kuhn, Thomas Everett, William H. Harvey, Lewis Applegate and A. M. Buchanan of Wellsburg; and Sobieski Brady, Thomas Sweeney, J. C. Acheson, Thomas H. Logan and Andrew Wilson of Wheeling.

<sup>3</sup>A popular name for this road for many years has been "Pe-Wi-Ky."

in February, 1888, a subsidy of three hundred thousand dollars was voted almost unanimously for the building of the proposed bridge and terminal road. Construction of the bridge began October 8, 1888. The terminal tracks enter Wheeling by a tunnel through the hill at the Top Mill, thence coming out into the Wheeling creek valley at the peninsula.

In 1888 the county also voted the sum of three hundred thousand dollars to the Wheeling & Lake Erie Railroad Company. This company, organized in 1886, built the road from Bowerston to the Ohio river at Portland station by 1889, and from the latter point effected entrance into Wheeling over the terminal bridge line. By 1890 the Wheeling & Lake Erie was completed to Toledo, its present terminus. The first regular passenger train from Wheeling to Toledo was run August 2, 1891. While the terminal bridge railroad is the route by which the W. & L. E. and other railroad traffic enters Wheeling, the terminal railroad is now owned by the Pennsylvania system, having been bid in at a forced sale in the late '90s. Thus as a result of the consolidation which in recent years has affected railroads everywhere, Wheeling's railroad facilities are now divided practically between the two great systems—the Pennsylvania and the Baltimore & Ohio.

Between Bellaire and Martins Ferry four great bridges now span the Ohio. Three of these have been noticed on previous pages. The "steel bridge" at Eleventh street rests on great piers of masonry nearly the width of the river apart and at an elevation above low water such that even the tall chimneys on the Pittsburgh steamboats of the '50s could pass under unscathed. Construction began on this bridge in July, 1891. The city's franchise for this structure was granted June 17, 1890, to the Wheeling Bridge Company, of which John McLure was then president. While this is, like the old suspension bridge, a toll bridge for foot and wagon traffic, it is especially the route of the street railway systems operating between the island and the mainland. The old rails on the suspension bridge, formerly used by the street cars, still remain, but only as convenient tracks for the vehicles that pass over that highway.

How manufacturing and commerce, through their intimate relations with transportation, have broadened out and increased in power and volume since the war, is told in a special article devoted to that subject. It is noteworthy, however, that the industries by which the factory fame of Wheeling has been spread abroad—the manufacture of nails and iron and steel, of glass, and stogies—originated here

before the war, and it was the development on these old foundations that produced the era of industry during the remaining decades of the nineteenth century. The lineage of many factory enterprises of the present day can be traced back fifty or sixty years, and in a few cases further still. The same is true of the wholesale trade, several of the well-known firms along Main street and the river front in the wholesale district having originated in the times when the river



The Modern Skyscraper in Wheeling.

boats and the wagons on the National road distributed the goods to retailers from this center.

The important result of this commercial development to be noted here is the expansion of the original Wheeling business and residence district. Transportation and business have been the chief factors in this growth. At the close of the Civil war Bellaire was a little village and railroad terminus down the river and only distantly, so to speak, related with Wheeling by means of the river boats. And

Martins Ferry was even of less importance as a suburban adjunct of the metropolis. The various industrial enterprises across the river were independent centers, and their employes usually dwelt close about the smokestacks of the plants where they worked. On the east side the conditions were similar, and the old horse-car railway, put in operation soon after the war, was hailed as a special boon to the laborer who hitherto had been compelled to walk from his home in the central part of town to, say, the Top Mill on the north or the iron works and other factories down in Ritchietown. Improved intra-urban and inter-urban transportation, beginning with the primitive horse-car lines of 1867, that carried passengers from the Marshall county line to the Top Mill and across the suspension bridge to Bridgeport, and developing into the electric system of the '80s, has been largely responsible for the marked changes in the shifting and extension of habitations and consolidation of many centers into a huge unit. The result is that now residents in Wheeling proper go to their business in Bellaire or Martins Ferry, and others, after hours of business in Wheeling, go home to Wellsburg, Moundsville, Elm Grove or Triadelphia. The phrase "Greater Wheeling" is not a fiction, nor a civic booster's motto, but accurately describes the results of a transformation that occurred during the four decades following the war.

A reading of the history of street railways in and about Wheeling, narrated on other pages, will enable one to follow the diverging lines of expansion in this growth of Wheeling. At the close of the war the Wheeling creek valley was practically undeveloped. An interval separated the city proper from the old village of Fulton, and then several miles out was Elm Grove. About the middle of the '70s the original Wheeling & Elm Grove horse-car line began operating. That was the beginning of a new era for the beautiful suburban district of the creek valley. It is interesting to note that the fitness of this rugged winding valley as a site for homes was recognized years before the railways and suburban promoters made the suggestion a reality. N. P. Willis, the poet, on his visit here in 1859, declared the suburban capabilities of Wheeling as unequaled. "Close behind the town, divided from it only by the high hills which form the bank of the Ohio, is a deep-down mountain-girt, well-wooded valley, inlaid with a most beautiful tributary stream, and giving hundreds of such sites for gentlemen's villas as no landscape artist could better contrive. It quite made my blood tingle to stand on the hill-top, overlooking the town on one side and this glorious vale on the

other, and imagine what it would be when Wheeling shall be suburbanized like Boston—the original Wheeling a thousand times more picturesquely beautiful than the original Boston!”

However, the suburban transportation furnished by the first car line was not calculated to stimulate growth of the city along its route, but still another retarding cause was in the well-known fact that the exchange from urban to suburban dwelling, here as elsewhere, did not assume the proportions of a general movement until within the last twenty years. Up to that time many of the old estates along the National pike were almost intact. But within the last two decades from Fulton to Elm Grove, the valley has been built up in almost continuous succession of suburban centers—Leatherwood, Woodsdale, Edgewood, Pleasant Valley, Park View, etc. To some extent the minor activities of urban life, such as small stores and shops, hotels, churches and schools, have followed population up the valley, but it is distinctively a residence section.

In this direction, the development has been the result of a desire to locate homes in the most picturesque region about the city, away from the metropolitan inconveniences, yet within a few minutes' ride of the business district. In the other units that comprise the Greater Wheeling, the consolidation has come more especially from business and industry. About each of the original centers factories, stores and homes have been built in ever-widening circumference, until now there is no gap from Benwood and McMechen on the south to the suburban villages of Richland, Loveland, Warwood and Glennova in the narrow river valley on the north. And across the river the town corporations from Martins Ferry to Bellaire likewise merge together so that at night the lights from factories and homes twinkle in unbroken line along the whole river front.

Most of this process of consolidation has taken place during the last thirty years. A general view of this civic and industrial region before that time, with a prophecy that after the lapse of three decades has more than intrinsic interest, was written by Joseph L. Wilde, in a Wheeling directory in 1879. He said:

“Her future is promising. \* \* \* When trade in all its ramifications shall revive and the progressing improvements—notably one of which, the Tuscarawa Valley railroad—are completed, she will take fresh strides in advance of her present prominence among western manufacturing and commercial cities. After that will certainly, though slowly, come the demand for more sites for building purposes. The island will be covered with private and business houses, and some means will be re-

sorted to to protect that part of it that is liable to the incursions of the Ohio river when it assumes the character of a flooding enemy instead of a tributary friend.

"All the progress that Wheeling has made has been in very spite of locality. Yet the die being cast, and finding ourselves where we are, of course here we must stay for all time, but there are children now living who will yet see the day when all the territory from the southern end of Martins Ferry—or Ohio City, as some of its more ambitious citizens are pleased to call it—down to the northern extremity of Bellaire, on one side of the river, and that great tract of land on this side beginning at Benwood and ending as the southern extremity of the eighth ward, will be as compactly built up with as much regularity as the eighth ward itself, making the entire group—Wheeling, Benwood, Bellaire, Bridgeport, Aetnaville and Martins Ferry, just as much one city, to all intents and purposes, as New York and Brooklyn now are."

Though the facts demonstrate the actual existence of a Greater Wheeling, comprising a wide area in population, industry and civic interests, the limits of Wheeling's civil jurisdiction have been extended only once since the incorporation of the city in 1836. By an act of the legislature passed February 3, 1871, the limits of the city were extended and prescribed so as to include the territory from the original south line at Caldwell's run to the Marshall county line. By the same act this became the eighth ward of the city. Thus the old town known as South Wheeling or Ritchietown became an integral part of the city, but with this exception Wheeling has not followed the "greater" policy of many cities in absorbing its contiguous suburban localities.<sup>4</sup>

While the statistics of population are not an accurate means of measuring the greatness of a city or state, they are valuable as collateral testimony. A fertile country may have a sparse population, but great numbers of people never live in a region that is barren of productive resources and means of industry. Therefore, a little study of the census figures from the district about Wheeling will supplement

---

<sup>4</sup>Much of the land lying south of the old city line, and on the flats between the river and the hills, belonged at an early day to Samuel Sprigg and John Ritchie, who in 1835 laid out a number of lots which they called additions to South Wheeling, the latter designation being then applied to that part of the city lying south of the creek and later known as Center Wheeling. Sprigg lived in a brick house at the corner of Thirty-ninth and Eoff, and Ritchie in a brick house on a square bounded by Forty, Forty-first, Chapline and Jacob streets—these being the original residences of that locality. The primitive nucleus of what was later the great glass works of Hobbs, Brock-

what has been said in this and other chapters about the development of this locality.

Since the Greater Wheeling of the present time is actually the central city not only of Ohio county but of the contiguous counties as well, this statistical survey will comprehend the three counties of Ohio, Brooke and Marshall, in West Virginia, and of Belmont in Ohio. The first federal census that enumerated the population of the area comprised within these four counties was that of 1810, at which time the inhabitants numbered 25,115. A century later, by the census of 1910, the total population of these counties was 177,914. A fact that proves the truth of the title of this article, "era of larger growth," is the rapid increase of population during the past fifty years. In 1860 the total figures were 77,311, since which time a hundred thousand additional population have found homes within the area of these four counties. The figures of the official census for these four counties since 1790 are given below. At the first census Ohio county comprised all the Panhandle counties; Hancock was in Brooke county until the decade of the '40s; and Marshall county was part of Ohio until the census of 1840.

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
Brooke .....	.....	4,706	5,843	6,631	7,041	7,948
Marshall .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,937
Ohio .....	5,212	4,740	8,175	9,182	15,584	13,357
Belmont .....	.....	.....	11,097	20,329	28,627	30,901

	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
5,054	5,494	5,464	6,013	6,660	7,219	11,098	
10,138	12,997	14,941	18,840	20,735	26,444	32,388	
18,006	22,422	28,831	37,457	41,557	48,024	57,572	
34,600	36,398	39,714	49,638	57,413	60,875	76,856	

The population of Wheeling town and city at the different ten-year periods has been as follows: 1800, 500 (estimated); 1810, 914; 1820, 1,567; 1830, 5,221; 1840, 8,793; 1850, 11,435; 1860, 14,083; 1870, 19,280; 1880 (including Ritchietown or South Wheeling), 30,-

---

unier & Company was founded about 1837, and some other industries started as a foundation of the later factory center.

By act of general assembly, March 31, 1851, the platted additions of Ritchietown and Lagrange were incorporated as the "Town of South Wheeling," but during the subsequent twenty years of its corporate existence it was familiarly called Ritchietown. The original trustees of the town, as named in this act, were Samuel Ott, George Birch, William Kryter, William B. Martin, Lloyd G. Hughes, Edward Cole and Samuel Humes. Among the important industrial enterprises which developed and sustained this portion of the city were Wheat's tannery, established in 1845, which was followed by other tanneries; and the LaBelle iron works, started in 1852, and the largest industry of the old town and one of the great productive mills of the Wheeling district.

737; 1890, 34,522; 1900, 38,878; 1910, 41,641. As previously stated, the only important territorial addition to Wheeling City during the past eighty years has been Ritchietown. The population of Ritchietown, or the town of South Wheeling, as it was officially known, in 1850 was 1,071; in 1860, 2,630; in 1870, 3,158, since which time its population has been included in the figures for Wheeling city.

Outside of Wheeling and South Wheeling the only town communities in this vicinity separately enumerated in 1850 were Fulton, with a population of 266, Clinton with 313, Triadelphia with 242, and West Liberty with 219.

The development of the various towns comprised within the Wheeling district may be followed through the population statistics for the successive decades. Some of the old settlements, like West Liberty, barely hold their own in population and finally disappear from the separate lists altogether, while other new industrial and commercial centers rise in importance and number of inhabitants with each successive decade.

Considering the towns outside of Wheeling proper, the census of 1860 named Fulton with 311 inhabitants; Triadelphia with 258; West Liberty with 280; Bellaire with 1,466; Bridgeport with 641; Martinsville (now Martins Ferry) with 1,220; West Wheeling with 326.

At the census of 1870 the figures for these towns were: Fulton, 333; Triadelphia, 239; West Liberty, 251; Bellaire, 4,033; Bridgeport, 1,178; Martinsville, 1,835; West Wheeling, 407.

The census of 1880 gives the results, in population, of the development which had only fairly begun when the preceding census was taken. The towns enumerated were: Fulton, 529; Triadelphia, 313; West Liberty, 251; Elm Grove, 236; Leatherwood, 94; Bellaire, 8,025; Bridgeport, 2,395; Martins Ferry, 3,819; West Wheeling, 470. In these figures is noted the beginning of such residence suburbs as Leatherwood, which was one of the earliest in the group that now surrounds Wheeling.

In 1890 the towns and the population were: Fulton, 491; Triadelphia, 515; Elm Grove, 594; Benwood, 2,934; McMechen,<sup>5</sup> 427;

---

<sup>5</sup>The town of McMechen was laid out on part of the Shepherd McMechen estate and the original town plat, recorded in 1889, was named Marylynn, in honor of the daughter of the former proprietor of the land. The first lots were sold from the plat in May, 1889. For several years the townsite was involved in litigation over the boundary between Benwood and McMechen. After these disputes were settled a town government was organized, and since then the town has been known by the present name. McMechen was incorporated as a city in 1905.

Bellaire, 9,934; Bridgeport, 3,369; Martins Ferry, 6,250; West Wheeling, 574.

The census of 1900 included in its official tables several of the well-known suburbs along Wheeling creek valley. The towns enumerated were: Fulton, 535; Triadelphia, 287; Elm Grove, 768; Leatherwood, 123; Pleasant Valley, 180; Benwood, 4,511; McMechen, 1,465; Bellaire, 9,912; Bridgeport, 3,963; Martins Ferry, 7,760; West Wheeling, 444.

The last census, that of 1910, enumerated the following towns, which may properly be considered as belonging to the district of Greater Wheeling: Fulton, 1,038; Triadelphia, 261; Elm Grove,



Wheeling's Federal Building.

1,899; Leatherwood, 144; Pleasant Valley, 346; Edgewood (incorporated 1906), 1,455; Patterson town (incorporated 1906), 713; Woodsdale (incorporated 1902), 831; Benwood, 4,976; McMechen, 2,921; Wellsburg, 4,189; Follansbee (incorporated 1906), 2,031; Bethany, 433; Bellaire, 12,946; Bridgeport, 3,974; Martins Ferry, 9,133. Thus between forty-five and fifty thousand inhabitants were enumerated in the principal suburban localities, and it is evident that the population in and about Wheeling is nearly one hundred thousand.

Considered from the standpoint of native and foreign born population, the Greater Wheeling district is to a greater degree than

most of the industrial cities an American city. The figures for the last census are not available, but in 1900 the foreign born were less than ten per cent of the total. The statistics for the four counties for five decades are as follows:

	1860.	Native.	Foreign born.
Brooke .....		5,026	450
Marshall .....		12,011	957
Ohio .....		16,811	5,511
Belmont .....		34,320	2,078
	1870.		
Brooke .....		5,066	398
Marshall .....		14,032	909
Ohio .....		22,811	6,020
Belmont .....		37,100	2,614
	1880.		
Brooke .....		5,610	403
Marshall .....		17,927	913
Ohio .....		30,711	6,746
Belmont .....		46,510	3,128
	1890.		
Brooke .....		6,270	390
Marshall .....		19,806	929
Ohio .....		34,601	6,956
Belmont .....		52,998	4,415
	1900.		
Brooke .....		6,883	336
Marshall .....		25,173	1,271
Ohio .....		41,873	6,151
Belmont .....		56,273	4,602

A century ago, when the population of the entire Panhandle and of Belmont county was twenty-five thousand, the various communities comprising these people were as widely sundered and as distinct as Wheeling and Charleston are now. On court days, elections and other occasions, the people assembled at the county seats from remote parts of the counties, and then occurred a general exchange of the news and a clearing of business transactions for the entire locality. The passage of the flat-boats and oar and sail propelled schooners up and down the river, or of the mail stage and "pony express" along the highways, was the most frequent event that linked the communities together.

Now, with a population of nearly two hundred thousand, the four counties are in many respects as closely united as were the dwellers of any single town a century ago. Should some necessity demand it, the entire population might be concentrated within the limits of Wheeling within two or three hours' time. For the signing of a paper at the Wheeling court house, a citizen of Triadelphia for-

merly spent the greater part of a day, but can do it now in two or three hours. The steam railroads, the electric lines, the improved turnpike highways, the automobiles, the telephone and telegraph, the rural free delivery, have all become important means in the complicated organism upon which modern society, business and industry depend for their efficiency.

## CHAPTER XII.

## THE MUNICIPALITY.

"Most persons judge of the size of the city by the number of the inhabitants; whereas they ought to regard, not their number, but their power. A city too, like an individual, has a work to do; and that city which is best adapted to the fulfillment of its work is to be deemed greatest."

The inhabitant of a modern, highly organized city like Wheeling lives in the enjoyment of a large number of conveniences and services. These are what are so often called "the advantages of the city." They are the essential features which distinguish a locality in which many people are living in a collective unit from that in which the single family or small group live as individuals. These conveniences and privileges, as well as some restrictions, have their origin in the fact of community existence. In their efficiency and range of benefits, they represent the aggregate of many individual contributions, usually in the form of taxes or the payment of the various bills for public utility service. Such contributions, it should be noted, bear no proportion to the cost of such service if maintained for the benefit of one individual. The individual cost is small because the cost of the whole is distributed among the thousands who compose the community. The agencies through which the total of these individual contributions are converted into the facilities for public service, may be comprised, for the purpose of this article, under the general head of "the municipality."

The average citizen is hardly conscious of the wide scope of the service for which he is indebted to the community or municipal form of living. From a plant established by public taxation and maintained by men in the public hire, is supplied to every household the water for its use, at an annual cost many times less than the expense and labor of maintaining an individual well or of bringing the water by bucketful from spring or river. The turning of a switch or a tap supplies the citizen with electricity or gas. He pays for this in monthly installments, it is true, but were he outside of the community which makes the operation of gas or electric plants possible, the same payment or perhaps several times as much would not enable him to secure these forms of fuel and light. The sidewalks and pavement are other results of municipal activity. Protection of person and

property by a regular police is another. The citizen's alarm brings a trained organization to fight his fire. Other public servants remove the garbage and enforce sanitation to protect the general health. Street-car transportation, only possible in populous communities, and originating by the chartered consent of the municipality, is another form of the city's service. Furthermore, the citizen has the use of schools, library, parks and many other privileges, which are either express functions of the municipality or exist by its sanction.

This is a general outline of the complex relations subsisting between the citizen and his city. No citizen can live in Wheeling who is not dependent in some or all the ways above mentioned on the municipality.

The Wheeling municipality is now more than a century old. Its complex functions of to-day have had a development and growth, and the story of their origin is an important part of the history of the city. Some very recent cities have been created with ready-made and fully organized municipal energies, but such instances are rare, and as a matter of fact are but transplantations from older organisms.

The general facts of municipal evolution are much the same everywhere. When people begin to congregate about a central point, there very soon arises a community consciousness, and that is the beginning of municipal growth. The individual soon feels both the privileges and the obligations that come from the fact of close dwelling. It is this sense of neighborliness which in many instances on the frontier has proved oppressive to the pioneer recluse and caused him to keep moving on ahead of the advance line of settlement. The people who thus collect about a center insure their welfare through a process of individual adjustment and common improvement, resulting in definite forms of municipal progress.

Among the scattered settlements about the mouth of Wheeling creek at the period of the Revolutionary war, there is one definite record of this community consciousness. Attention has been called to the strong traits of independence and self-reliance in the character of the first settlers. Yet in the face of general danger they did not fail to recognize the ages-old principle that in union there is safety. The old block house whose site on Main street has its stone marker may be regarded as the first municipal institution of Wheeling. In the building of this fort probably all the families in the vicinity contributed to the labor of hewing the logs and fitting them into place. That labor, as the chief currency of the time, was the first tax levy made in Wheeling. Old Fort Henry, during that period, provided

the protection against external foes, as the police department now offers safety against the dangerous elements mingled with the citizenship.

What was probably the first written expression of this collective interest was the petition, elsewhere mentioned, sent to the Virginia legislature in 1777 from inhabitants of "the town of Zanesburg," asking that, in view of the fact that in being compelled to seek safety in Fort Henry they had abandoned all their property to destruction by the Indians, they should therefore be reimbursed for their losses by the state.

Aside from this, a number of years passed before any important development occurred in the social organization. The habitations about the mouth of the creek and up the valley had no special bonds of union more than those that unite the homesteads in a country district of to-day. As the old fort had been erected on the land of the Zanes, these men, and especially Ebenezer, took the initiative in promoting the next movement toward community life. In 1793 Ebenezer Zane, who owned the land from Seventh street to the creek, laid out a plat of 120 lots on the land now included between Eighth and Eleventh streets, and from Market to the river. The fact of a town plat indicates several things. The lots for buildings were arranged in an order so that each had a fronting on one of the streets which divided the plat. Thus a certain physical order was introduced, and definite lines marked the division between the property of the individual and the common ground or streets upon which all should have equal rights. The plat itself was, so to speak, the first charter of the town, indicating one portion of the ground which the individual might control, and another part in which all had a common interest but which no one might obstruct or use for his sole benefit. So the streets of this little plat are the oldest permanent features of the city of Wheeling.

After the platting of the town came a sale of the lots, and the rude houses of the settlers increased in number. With the growth of the settlement the first expression of the need of government arose from the disagreement over the boundaries of the lots. In some cases the adjoining owners may have settled their boundaries by personal argument or harsher means, though there is no record of this. As in all American communities, the tendency was to resort to the methods of representative government, by which authority is delegated to the chosen few to regulate the affairs of all. So on December 25, 1795, the legislature passed an act "establishing" the

town of Wheeling.<sup>1</sup> While this was a recognition of the existence of the community as distinct from the rest of the population in this vicinity, the only provision for the government of the town consisted in giving the trustees the power to "settle and determine all disputes concerning the bounds of said lots"; and, further, that the proper owners of the lots should enjoy all the "rights, privileges and immunities which the freeholders and inhabitants of other towns in this state, not incorporated, hold and enjoy." A careful examination of the Virginia statutes beginning with the eighteenth century does not reveal any definition of the rights and privileges enjoyed by citizens of unincorporated towns. The phrase, which reappears in most of the acts for establishing towns, was evidently only a formal phraseology retained after its original meaning had been lost. In old Virginia it is well known that there were few towns in the ordinary meaning of the word, and in the time of Queen Anne and later acts were passed to encourage town organization. For this end certain privileges and exemptions from tax levies and other duties were accorded the town citizens. From the legislation of that period the later forms, of which the above is an example, probably had their origin.

As one of the prominent factors which gave distinction to Wheeling at the beginning of its municipal existence, reference should also be made to the establishment of the seat of justice for Ohio county at this place in 1797. The institutions of county government can hardly be considered as belonging under the title of this article, yet their establishment here at that particular time had important results

---

<sup>1</sup>The language of the entire act is as follows:

"Be it enacted by the general assembly:

"1. That the land, late the property of Ebenezer Zane, as the same is already laid off into lots and streets, in the County of Ohio, and on the Ohio river, shall be established a town by the name of Wheeling; and that John McIntyer, Andrew Woods, Henry Smith, Archibald Woods, James Nelson, Robert Woods, Absalom Martin and William Waddle, gentlemen, shall be and they are hereby constituted trustees thereof.

"2. The trustees of said town, or a majority of them, are hereby empowered to settle and determine all disputes concerning the bounds of said lots.

"3. So soon as the purchasers of lots in the said town shall have built thereon according to the conditions of their respective deeds of conveyance, such purchasers shall then be entitled to and have and enjoy all the rights, privileges and immunities which the freeholders and inhabitants of other towns in this state, not incorporated, hold and enjoy.

"4. In case of the death, resignation or removal out of the county of one or more of the trustees of the said town, the vacancy thereby occasioned shall be supplied by the remaining trustees, and the person or persons so elected shall have the same power and authority as if he or they had been particularly named in this act.

"5. This act shall commence and be in force from and after the passing thereof."

in promoting that concentration of business and civic interests which is one of the chief characteristics of the city community.

An entire decade passed after the platting of the town before its citizens took steps toward acquiring a local government. As already noted, the first trustees had very limited functions. By the act of December 28, 1803, the number and the powers of the trustees were increased.<sup>2</sup> At this point we see the first important transition from the condition of individualism to one of community authority. The citizens find that their common welfare could be better advanced by delegating the control of the general interests to officials representing the whole body of inhabitants. Thus the trustees were given power to make such rules as were necessary to protect the property against accident by fire; to regulate the conduct of markets; to keep the streets and alleys in repair, and to remove nuisances and obstructions therefrom at the expense of those who occasioned them; and to impose fines and penalties on those violating such rules. These fines had to be recovered before the justices of the county, so that the trustees were a purely civil body. The duties of the governing body were thus of a primitively simple nature. Yet they indicate some of the first municipal activities that arise in a center of population. With the grouping of buildings in a small area the danger of fire becomes not one individual's concern, but that of the entire population. The selling of provisions in public market requires general rules for the good of buyers and sellers. And the streets, being set aside for the use of all, must be maintained by some form of tax contributed by all citizens. The dweller of the country may throw his trash and garbage where he will, but the resident of a town may not constitute a nuisance which is dangerous or offensive to his fellow-townsmen.

No power was given to the trustees under this act to levy taxes within the town, so that the town was still without any constructive form of government. The trustees might make rules and prosecute the violators before the courts, but their functions were really of a negative character.

---

<sup>2</sup>The additional trustees named in this act were: George Knox, William Irvine, Thomas Evans, John Kerr, William McConnell, Joseph Caldwell, John White, Frederick Beinier.

<sup>3</sup>"Under the act of assembly of January, 1806, the freeholders and housekeepers of the town were empowered to select by ballot twelve fit and suitable men, being freeholders and inhabitants of the town, to serve as mayor, recorder, aldermen and common council for the same. And the persons so elected, one week after election, were to choose out of their own body one mayor, one recorder, and four aldermen, and the remaining six were to be common councilmen."—From the town records.

The beginning of organized and competent municipal government in Wheeling dated from the passage of the act of January 16, 1806, incorporating the town of Wheeling.<sup>3</sup> Henceforth the inhabitants of the town were to elect a body of twelve officials whose substantial powers were defined as both judicial and legislative and administrative. In the first place they could sit as justices of the peace in and for the town. Second, they could pass by-laws—for establishing and regulating markets; laying out streets, walks and alleys and improving same; preventing accidents by fire; licensing ordinaries (inns); erecting schoolhouses and other public buildings; preventing firing of guns and running of horses. And third, they had power to assess taxes, not exceeding fifty cents on each tithable, or fifty cents on the hundred dollars of taxable property.<sup>4</sup>

While this law enables us to understand the scope of powers and the principal objects to be attained by the town government, there are but scanty records to indicate how the powers were exer-

---

<sup>4</sup>The records of the first election and organization of the town government are contained in the report made at the first business session of the new government, April 15, 1806, quoted as follows:

"On the 17th day of March, 1806, the majority of the freeholders of said town met at the courthouse of Ohio county, in the said town of Wheeling, and proceeded to appoint Mordecai Yarnell, Moses Shepherd and George Miller to receive votes.

"That thereupon the freeholders and householders of said town proceeded to ballot for twelve freeholders and inhabitants of said town, to be Mayor, Aldermen and Common Councilmen for the same, and upon counting the ballots it appeared that eighty-four votes had been given of which the following persons received the number to their names respectively: Noah Linsley 74, George Miller 54, Wm. Irwin 53, Dennis Capat 53, W. McConnell 50, John Carr 49, Jos. Caldwell 49, Chas. Hammond 48, F. Beymer 46, John White 45, James Ralston 45, W. Perrine 44.

"That the said George Miller, William Irwin, Dennis Capat, William McConnell, John Carr, Charles Hammond, Frederick Beymer, Joseph Caldwell and William Perrine, on the 22d of March, 1806, met at the house of Frederick Beymer, in the said town, and proceeded to ballot for Mayor, Recorder and four Aldermen, and upon counting the ballots it appeared that Geo. Miller was elected Mayor; Chas. Hammond, Recorder; and Dennis Capat had eight votes, Wm. Irwin, seven votes; James Caldwell, six votes, and John Carr six votes for Alderman, and were declared elected."

The record of the second election of corporation officers is quoted as follows from the *Wheeling Repository* of March 26, 1807:

On Monday the 10th inst. the following persons were chosen to compose the Common Council of the Town of Wheeling for the present year, to-wit: Moses Chapline, Thomas Evans, Andrew Woods, Noah Zane, Mordecai Yarnell, George Knox, George Miller, Joseph Caldwell, John Carr, Noah Linsley, William Irwin and Charles Hammond. On Wednesday following, they met and elected Moses Chapline mayor, Thomas Evans recorder, Joseph Caldwell, George Knox, Noah Linsley and William Irwin, aldermen. They then elected Josiah Updegraff a common councilman, in the room of Andrew Woods, who declined, on account of his having the Post-Office.

cised. In organizing a government under the law, the citizens consented to contribute their proportionate shares of the expense in carrying out the specific objects named in the above act, and having permitted themselves to be taxed and having elected their officials, they believed, after the manner of citizens both at that period and in modern times, that they were relieved of further responsibility.

The first important fact is, that one hundred and six years ago the people of Wheeling arrived at the point in community development which imposes new privileges and obligations on the individual citizens, and since that time have been taxing themselves to maintain a municipal service. From time to time since then the scope of that service has been enlarged. It is the purpose of the following paragraphs to indicate the chief objects for which the taxes of the town were expended, and also the origin and development of the important additions to this municipal service.

*The Town Government, 1806-1836.*—The first object of the town government mentioned in the law of 1806 was to establish and regulate markets. None of the travelers of 1807 and 1808, in describing the town, mention a market, but some time previous to 1815 the first market house was erected, on a site west of Main street and near the present east end of the suspension bridge. It was described as consisting of six brick pillars, dividing the space into stalls, covered with a board roof. When not used for market purposes, this was a favorite shelter for the hogs and cows that then were allowed to roam about the streets. It is noteworthy in this connection that most towns of the last century did not enforce ordinances for preventing the running at large of domestic animals until a comparatively late date. In 1822 land on the west side of Market street between Tenth and Eleventh streets was secured from the Zanes as a site for a market house. The sum of \$690 was raised by popular subscription to enable the town to erect a suitable building, which was completed in August, 1822. This was a wooden structure, 98 feet long, divided into sixteen stalls, and with a large open space paved with brick, at the south entrance. An addition was made to the market house in 1828, when a second story was constructed at the south end, to be occupied as the town hall and council rooms. Two subsequent remodelings and extensions were made, one in 1830 and one in 1832.

The second function specified to the town government was the laying out and improvement of streets and walks. As already stated, the marking of streets occurs at the very outset of a town's history. A portion of the streets of Wheeling have been in use for a hundred



Old Market House, North End.

and twenty years. First in origin, they always continue to be among the most important objects of municipal care and expense. The subject of street improvement was the first subject for civic protest in Wheeling. After the town administration had been in existence two years and two tax levies had been laid, the people began to express their opinion as to the disposition of the public moneys and the efficiency of their corporate officials. Among the few local items in the first Wheeling newspaper<sup>5</sup> appears the following:

"The streets of Wheeling on Monday brought to mind the following lines of Stephen Duck—

"And when the thaw comes, on a sudden  
The streets are all like battered pudding."

A few weeks later a citizen "hints" that the taxpayers' money had been expended to the injury of their property, since instead of draining the water off their lots, the latter, at every heavy rain, were more inundated than ever.<sup>6</sup>

The care and improvement of the streets under the town government require brief notice because the net results were not large. It is known that during these thirty years the work of reducing the high ground on which the first town plat was laid and of filling in the low swampy area between that and the creek was begun. The streets themselves were little more than dirt roads, though the building of the National road and the consequent traffic caused more attention to be paid to the thoroughfares of the town than was ordinarily the case in western towns of that period.

The next important function of the town municipality was to prevent accidents by fire. So far as can be ascertained, the first "bye-

<sup>5</sup>*Wheeling Repository*, February 4, 1808.

<sup>6</sup>*Wheeling Repository*, April 28, 1808.

A Hint—Two Borough Taxes have been collected from the inhabitants since the Town of Wheeling was incorporated. But how has the money been appropriated? It appears that part of it has been expended to the very great injury of a number of those who paid taxes. In place of the water being drained off their lots, every heavy rain we have their lots are more inundated, by far, than formerly. It was expected they would have been completely secured from floods this spring; but the late rains found them as they were last summer.

With due submission, it is earnestly hoped that the Mayor will call a meeting of the Council, and that the situation of those whose houses and lots are thus exposed, will be taken into consideration. A CITIZEN.

April 27th, 1808.

*Repository*, June 30, 1808.

To the Editor of the *Repository*: Sir—I see in your paper of the 26th April, a hint from A Citizen, on Corporation affairs, to which it appears little or no

law" passed by the town government was for this purpose. Beyond the publication of the ordinance, little is known of its practical application, but as its provisions were similar to those of other cities of the times, it is evident that what is known of the methods employed in fighting fires elsewhere during the early years of the last century will also apply to Wheeling.

The "bye-law" passed by the Wheeling town government, June 17, 1806, appropriated the sum of twenty-five dollars from the first revenues of taxation in the town to be applied in the purchase of hooks and ladders.

Every owner of freehold estate in the town, of the value of a thousand dollars or more, had to provide two fire buckets, "to be made of good leather jacketed so as to be water proof, of such size as to contain two gallons," and owners of freehold estate valued between three hundred and one thousand dollars had to furnish one bucket. Failure to obtain such buckets subjected the freeholder to fines. On the side of each bucket the owner was instructed to paint his name in large letters, and also to "keep the same in some conspicuous place in the building" so that it could be seized without delay on the alarm of fire.<sup>7</sup>

As in the early days of settlement every citizen could be called upon for militia duty in defending the country against Indian attack, so now under town organization, to fight the common enemy of fire,

---

attention was paid. The money which has been paid for borough taxes is gone, but no account is given of the uses to which it has been applied. Two years' taxes have been collected, and it is said a third is about to be assessed. It is to be hoped that an account will be given of the expenditure of the money already paid, before any more is required. It is natural for a man, when he pays money, to wish to know what was done with it; and it does not appear that much advantage has resulted from any improvements yet made by the Corporation: on the contrary, some say they have paid for the injuring of their property. They say, that previous to their paying Corporation taxes, they derived from their lots all the benefits that could be expected, by raising vegetables; but since they paid the taxes, their lots, with four times the labour, do not yield more than half the former quantity of vegetables. Now it is hoped that the Mayor and Commonalty will consider that additional labour and expense, and diminution of the productions of the lots cannot be deemed a satisfactory consequence to result from the payment of taxes. It is also hoped, that the water which does individuals so much damage, will be turned: this the health of the town requires, as well as justice to individuals.

AN OBSERVER.

Wheeling, June 28, 1808.

<sup>7</sup>The *Intelligencer* of March 11, 1863, quotes from a copy of the *Western Post and Wheeling Advertiser* of April 18, 1823, the advertisement of C. McFadden, a maker of fire buckets. "All those who may please to call on him may expect to have their buckets made of the best Spanish leather and on the most reasonable terms."

"every free white male inhabitant of said town aged sixteen years and upwards, owning or occupying any real estate within the said town, upon which buildings of any kind are erected," had to enroll himself as a member of the town fire company. This company at an annual meeting elected a captain and a senior and junior fire warden. These officers inspected the fire equipment and were responsible for carrying out the provisions of the ordinance, and of course took command at fires.

Thus every householder was a fireman. By his front door or some other accessible place hung one or more leather fire buckets. At the alarm he seized the buckets, and while his wife put a lighted candle in the front window to illuminate the street, he hurried off to the scene of the fire. Two lines of men quickly formed extending from the burning building to the well or water supply, and along one line the full buckets passed from hand to hand, and the empty ones went back by the other line.

An ordinance passed in 1830 directed that "whenever there is a fire in the city, all the bells shall ring and keep on ringing as hard as they can while the fire is burning and till the fire is put out."

Two of the old-time volunteer fire companies were organized during the existence of the town government, one in 1830 and the other in 1835, but it will be more convenient to consider these in connection with the sketch of the fire department as a whole.

An account of Wheeling as it was in 1815 states that at the base of the hill near Tenth street, and back of the old court house and jail, was a spring, the waters of which were used by many of the residents. Some of the springs that gush from the hills have since been covered by buildings, while others are still in use. The people living on the riverside probably used the river water for all purposes. The supplying of the home or factory with water was for many years entirely left to individual effort. The first improvement on this method was the use of water carts—consisting of a 120-gallon barrel fixed on the axle of a two-wheeled cart. The barrel was filled at the river and its contents transferred to a similar vessel kept by the householder. The town government licensed this primitive water works by fixing the maximum rate at which the water might be delivered to the consumers at 12½ cents a barrel.

It is noteworthy that Wheeling was among the first of the trans-Allegheny cities to adopt a public system of water supply. Its establishment, too, marked the first big advance in securing those dis-

tinctive services and advantages which naturally belong to a city. An interesting illustration of a familiar practice of the times, and one that is now not only obsolete but outlawed, is given in the act of the general assembly which granted the means by which the town of Wheeling was to secure the water works. The act of January 3, 1829, is entitled "An act authorizing the Mayor and Commonalty of the borough of Wheeling to raise a sum of money by way of lottery." M. Wilson, Thomas Woods, George Dulty, C. D. Knox, and John McLure were named as commissioners to raise by lottery or lotteries the sum of thirty thousand dollars. This sum or any part thereof, as soon as raised, was to be paid to the mayor and commonalty and by them appropriated "to the erection of such waterworks as may be deemed necessary to convey water from the Ohio river into and through the said borough." No record has been found concerning the holding of this lottery, nor as to how much was raised by this means. But from the history of that period it is known that lotteries for nearly every imaginable purpose, public or charitable, were employed throughout the country, and much space of the local papers of the next and following decades is taken up by advertisements of lotteries, both in Virginia and other states. Hence it is very probable that a waterworks lottery was held under the grant of the assembly as above described.

The waterworks were completed and the machinery started on August 16, 1834, nearly two years before Wheeling became a chartered city. A rather quaint description of the water works, as they were in 1839, will be interesting:

"The city of Wheeling is supplied with water from the Ohio river, through the means of waterworks, under the superintendence of Mr. John Moore, which gentleman is also the duly authorized inspector of steamboat engines for the port of Wheeling. The building is at the foot of Adams street, upon the margin of the river, and contains an engine with a 20-inch cylinder, and 8 feet stroke—it has four boilers, each 30 inches in diameter, and 20 feet long, and a 12-inch pump, 8 feet long. The pump discharges twice at each revolution of the wheel 94 gallons of water, and makes 11 revolutions in a minute, in which time 1034 gallons are propelled through the main shaft, which is 1000 feet in length, and 14 inches diameter, into a reservoir, containing about half a million of gallons, situated on the brow of Wheeling hill, 172 feet above the pump, which is planted at low water mark—an elevation sufficient to force the water into the highest stories of all the buildings throughout the city. The works are kept daily in operation, 12 hours in each 24, Sabbaths excepted. One hun-

dred and twenty bushels of coal are consumed daily, which cost  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cents per bushel. The water is conveyed through the city in iron pipes to the amount of 744,480 gallons daily. These waterworks yield the corporation an annual clear profit of from 1500 to 2000 dollars. But the city authorities, in consequence of the rapid improvement of the city, and the ingress of settlers, have in progress of building a large addition to the present water house, whose internal arrangement is projected upon an improved plan, and which is calculated to discharge a quantity of water, exceeding that of the present works, in the ratio as 10 to 12 [?]."<sup>8</sup>



The Old City Hall.

*City Government, 1836-1912.*—The act to incorporate the city of Wheeling was passed March 11, 1836. The limits of the city under its first charter were those prescribed by an act of January 6, 1836, by which the boundaries of the town were described. In the

---

<sup>8</sup>Wheeling Directory of 1839.

forty years since the first town plat had been made, a very large area had been added, so that the boundaries of the original city of Wheeling may be described about as follows: The north line was the Jonathan ravine above First street, and the south line was Caldwell's run at Twenty-ninth street. All of the island was included. Wheeling creek was the east limit from "a stone arched bridge on the National road near the foot of the dug hill" around to or about the foot of Summit street. There the line crossed the creek and extended south to Twenty-ninth street so as to include the bench land under the hills.

The charter of 1836 provided that the city government should be entrusted to a council, of not less than twelve nor more than twenty-four members. A temporary board of commissioners under the terms of the charter were to be elected who should divide the city into wards and determine the number of councilmen. In this way the city was first divided into five wards, and the council consisted of fifteen members. The first election for members of the council was held May 16, 1836.

By this original charter the entire government of the city was entrusted to this council. The council chose one of its own number to act as mayor; also chose, from citizens outside the council, a body of "aldermen," who, together with the mayor, sat as a justice court for the city; also appointed a sergeant and such constables as necessary, to preserve the peace of the city.

The first important change in this form of city government was that provided in the law of March 9, 1838, making the office of mayor elective. Under this law it became the duty "of the mayor of said city to cause all the laws and ordinances thereof to be enforced," and he also presided at council meetings with a privilege of vote in case of ties.

This system of city government prevailed until the creation of the two-chambered council by the act of January 15, 1863. Under this act the former council body became "the second branch" of the city council, its members being elected annually as heretofore. The "first branch" was to consist of two members from each ward, chosen for terms of two years, one each year. All ordinances, appropriations and other orders had to receive the consent of both branches, but all propositions for the appropriating of money had to originate in the second branch. The new form of government thus established was, of course, modeled on the familiar bicameral system of the federal and state legislature, though with one important exception—the

mayor as the executive officer did not have the power of veto on the ordinances passed by the two branches of council.

By the act of May 28, 1852, all of the officers of the city, in addition to the mayor and council, were made elective annually, though at the same time the council was given power by a two-thirds vote to remove any such officers.<sup>9</sup>

Beginning with the charter election of 1871, elections were made biennial instead of annual, and the members of the first branch of the council were chosen for four years instead of two.

Under the law of 1836, as already mentioned, the mayor and the aldermen were made the justice court, with the same powers in the city limits as any county justices possessed. This crude form of city court continued for about thirty years. Much complaint was made against the imperfections of this "aldermanic" system, and by the act of February 24, 1865, "a court of limited jurisdiction in the city of Wheeling," was established. Moses C. Good was the first "municipal court judge" elected.

The municipal court was abolished by the law of February 22, 1889, and in its place a "court with general police jurisdiction" was established. The mayor was constituted the judge of this court, which was limited to cases arising under violation of city ordinances.

The modern era of municipal improvement in Wheeling began along in the decades of the '70s and '80s. When, on succeeding pages, the different departments of municipal enterprise are described, it will be found that anything like real efficiency was not reached until after the war, and though each form of public service began to be improved at a different date, there is a period of some ten or fifteen years that comprises all these beginnings. Thus, the fire department is first reorganized and made a salaried service; then follows the municipal control of the gas works; then a re-equipment of the water works, and the beginning of permanent street paving.

---

<sup>9</sup>The election of city officials by the people is provided in the act of May 28, 1852:

"That the mayor and members of the council of the city of Wheeling, together with all the officers of said city, under the ordinances thereof, shall hereafter be elected from among the citizens, qualified to vote for mayor and members of the council, on the same day of the general election held in and for said city, and shall hold their several offices for the term of one year and until their successors are qualified. \* \* \*"

This was amended February 25, 1856, as follows:

"That the mayor, councilmen, clerk, treasurer, aldermen, sergeant, wharf-master, superintendent of the water works and street commissioner of the City of Wheeling shall hereafter be annually elected from among the citizens thereof," etc.

All these improvements came about as the result of continued agitation and an awakening of the public spirit to the demands of modern progress. Along with the willingness to spend more money in making a better city, came a demand for more efficiency in the civic service and better methods. In after years the establishment of the boards of public works was sometimes spoken of as the source and beginning of municipal achievement. As a matter of fact the public works boards were themselves a product of the new civic spirit and municipal energy, and were merely improved methods for conducting the city business.

For years the business administration of the city was largely in the hands of the committees of the council, which in theory was a legislative body. Thus the street commissioner, though an elective officer, worked in connection with a large council committee on streets, and the work and the expenditures were conducted with so little system and so much division of responsibility that neither efficiency nor economy resulted.

When the city in 1871 took over the gas works, it provided by ordinance for a board of three trustees to manage the works, under rules and regulations approved by the council, but otherwise the trustees were left free to conduct the works according to their business judgment. Some years later a somewhat startling system of corruption and thieving by some of the gas office employes was disclosed, but this did not reflect upon the soundness of the board method of management, and a few years later, with the example of the gas works in mind, the citizens became persistent in their demands that the same system be extended to the management of the streets and the water works. This agitation reached its height in the winter of 1881-82. A letter that expressed the views of many other citizens appears in the *Intelligencer* of January 24, 1882. It is stated that during the previous ten years over \$375,000 had been expended on the streets and alleys for labor and other improvements, and yet, it is asserted, not one street had been new bouldered, and but one or two newly macadamized. During the same period more than \$125,000 had been spent for repairs on the water works, and yet the city had the same old engine house and the same inadequate basin, with only a new boiler house and one pump to show for the money. These two records are contrasted in the letter with the showing of the gas works under the board of trustees, a system that had resulted in a gradual reduction of its debt and also remarkable decreases in gas rates.

The result of this popular clamor was the amendment to the

city charter, drawn up and proposed by the city council and passed by the legislature on February 27, 1882. This act provided that the council should elect, for a term of two years, a board of three water commissioners and a board of public works, also three members. The gas trustees, after the expiration of the terms of those then in office, should come under the provisions of the same act. The public works board could not contain members of the city council. All the trustees were to receive a hundred dollars a year as sole compensation for this service. The boards were to adopt rules, to be approved by the council, and under these rules were to have the control and management of the water works, the management of and contract for improvement of the streets and sewers, and the supervision and control of the gas works.

Under this system of management of streets and sewers, gas works and water works, the city continued for twenty-five years. On the whole, it was a great improvement over the old methods. As modern municipal government tends to concentration and simplicity in its administration, by which standards the system established in 1882 seems to possess many faults. The administrative "board of control" which has replaced the old boards, and at the same time acquired important extensions of function and responsibility, is certainly a more effective means of municipal administration, and its work has also justified the change, at least in the view of a majority of the citizens.

From the passage of the first act of incorporation of the city of Wheeling in 1836 up to 1907, more than "fifty amending and supplemental acts were passed by the legislature. Thus the powers of the city government were the result of a piecemeal legislation, and had never been compactly defined under a single charter of government. On February 11, 1907, the legislature adopted an act to amend, revise and consolidate into one act, the act of the general assembly of Virginia, passed March 11, 1836, \* \* \* and all subsequent acts, both of the general assembly of Virginia and of the legislature of West Virginia, which form a part of the charter of the city of Wheeling." Since then the charter has been amended by the acts of February 1, 1908, and February 26, 1909. In this article it will be appropriate to analyze briefly the scope of powers of the city, its form of organization and divisions of official bodies, and also to indicate the important changes that have not been previously described.

The qualifications of voters at city elections are with two exceptions essentially the same as in 1836. In the latter act suffrage was extended to "every white male citizen" who had been a resident of

the city for one year and was qualified to vote for members of the general assembly; now the word "white" does not appear. The act of 1836 gave non-resident owners of a freehold estate to the value of five hundred dollars the privilege of voting in the city elections; now the amount of assessed value necessary to entitle a non-resident to a vote in corporation affairs is two hundred dollars. Also, formerly this privilege was restricted to a "citizen of the state," now there is no reference to state citizenship.

The composition of the city council remains practically the same as it was previous to the new charter—the first branch consisting of two members from each ward, elected for four-year terms, and the second branch consisting of not less than three members from each ward, nor in the total more than thirty-six members, elected each for two years.

Under the new charter the provision that all appropriations should originate in the second branch has been eliminated, but the appropriation of money or making of contracts requires a two-thirds vote of the members present, or the vote of a majority at two successive meetings.

The council has authority "to establish, own and operate water works, gas works, and works for generating electricity for the use of said city"; "to own and operate street railways and other works of public utility, to establish and maintain a fire department, police department, health department, crematory and city prison;" to construct and maintain wharves and docks on city ground; to "purchase both toll bridges or build a bridge" connecting the city and the island; to establish markets; to lay out or extend streets, squares, market grounds, etc., after obtaining title to the necessary ground, and to grade, pave or improve such public ways and grounds; to regulate building construction—besides such other powers of regulation of conduct and vocations as usually come under the scope of municipal authority.

Under the new charter, besides the council, six other officials are elected—mayor, auditor, treasurer, chief of police, and two members of the board of control—each for a term of four years.

The mayor under the present charter has the power of veto on ordinances, contracts or appropriations, a vote of three-fifths of all members elected to the council being required to pass a measure over this veto. He is also the executive head of the city, and is ex-officio a member of the board of control.

The auditor has the general duties of the former city clerk, but has

greater responsibility and control of the general finances of the city. The duties of the treasurer and the chief of police need no special comment.

The conspicuous feature of the new charter was the provision for a "board of control," consisting of the mayor and two associates. This board has "the management and control of the water works, gas works, electrical works, public markets, scales, parks, wharves and all other additional works of public utility that may hereafter be owned by the city. They shall also have charge of the maintenance improvements and repair of all the city streets, alleys, wharves, public grounds, sewers, and other improvements owned by the city in or under such streets, alleys and wharves. They shall also have the management and control of the police department, fire department, health department, city prison, crematory, cemeteries and hospitals and all other departments and institutions of like nature owned by the city. They shall have power to employ upon a salary for a term of two years a clerk of the board, a judge of the police court, a city engineer, a wharf master, a market master for each market, a chief of the fire department, a health officer, who shall be the chief of the health department and a practicing physician, a building inspector, and a superintendent of each of the other departments and institutions under their management and control, except as herein otherwise provided."

The exact relations of the board of control to the council and its municipal functions are defined as follows: "The jurisdiction of said board of control shall be administrative—not legislative. The said board shall not be authorized to inaugurate any new work without first fully reporting the plan of the same to and obtaining the concurrence of council." And, further, "the management and control which the board of control shall have over the various works, departments and institutions entrusted to them shall be in accordance with such lawful rules and regulations as shall be adopted by the council." Thus the council enacts by ordinance the rules and regulations for the city along the lines above indicated, and the board of control administers and enforces these ordinances.

The legal department of the city consists of the city solicitor and the judge of the police court, both chosen by the council. The solicitor is a practicing member of the Ohio county bar for at least five years before his election, and his duties are those of counselor and attorney for the city. The judge of the police court must have been

two years in practice of the law and three years a resident of the city prior to his election.

Under this charter the granting of franchises over the streets to public service companies is safeguarded: (1) By publication of the franchise for at least thirty days between its proposal in the council and its final passage; (2) by limitation of its period of existence, in no case for a longer period than fifty years; (3) by indemnification to the city for all damages caused by construction and operation under the franchise; (4) by provision for reasonable compensation to the city for the franchise; (5) by reserving to the city, at the expiration of the franchise, the privilege of purchasing the physical plant "at what it is then worth, independent of any value based upon the earning power thereof;" (6) and by forbidding the renewal of any franchise until within ten years of its expiration, and the annulment of any franchise, through non-use, one year from the date of its issue.

In the fire department and the water department, the charter provides for a system of civil service, under the direction of the board of control. The officers and employes of the two departments are divided into two classes, one the "official service" and the other the "labor service." Appointments to the official service are made by competitive examination and those qualified may be removed only after formal trial and conviction on charges of "official misconduct, incompetence, neglect of duty, or gross immorality." The "labor service" is expressly excluded from the civil service system.

The general review of Wheeling municipal government under the city charters since 1836 will now be followed by a somewhat detailed account of the various departments of municipal service. These subjects will be taken up in the following order:

I. Fire Department. II. Water Works. III. Streets. IV. Lighting, by Gas and Electricity. V. City Buildings.

The account of these subjects will be followed by a description of other forms of municipal service, not directly a function of the city nor under "municipal ownership," yet existing and performing their service through franchises granted by the city. These are:

VI. Street Railways. VII. Natural Gas Companies. VIII. Telephones.

I. Reference has been made to the early measures taken by the town to guard against fire, this being in fact one of the first objects of the town government. For a quarter of a century the town got along under the system which made every householder a fireman,

and probably at the early fires enough of these citizens responded, with their leathern buckets, to avert any general conflagration.

The first volunteer fire company of which there is any record was formed in 1830, being known as the Independence Company. As this was before the establishment of the water works, it is probable that the company at first was nothing more than a special "bucket brigade." The year following the opening of the water works, the Hope Fire Company was organized, March 16, 1835, in the old Lancasterian hall on Chapline street. This was considered a "silk stocking" organization. It comprised the names of many of the leading business and professional men of that day. They had distinctive uniforms and badges, and on parade they made a fine display. They paid for their own uniforms and probably for most of the other equipment. All of the old-time volunteer companies possessed the character of social organizations, and at a period when fraternal societies and clubs were rare the fire companies took their place in society. The firemen's receptions and balls were among the leading social events before the war. The first house of the Hope Company stood on Market street, about midway between Eleventh and Twelfth. It had a hose reel and one of the old-fashioned engines worked by twelve men on each side, and the engine could force a stream of water 120 feet from the nozzle. In 1837 the Hope Company moved to what is now 47 Eleventh street, where one of the city companies has its location. In 1853, a new engine was brought from Philadelphia. It, too, was worked by hand, fifteen men on a side, but on exhibition it threw a stream of water over the Cathedral steeple, so that its efficiency was remarkable.

In 1839 the Guards Company were organized, recruited chiefly from the iron workers and other mechanics. Its quarters were at the rear of the Second Presbyterian church, at Twenty-first and Market, where the present hook and ladder house is. The Rough and Ready Company was organized in 1846, taking its name from the popular general of the Mexican war. The house of this company was at Seventeenth and Eoff streets. The members of this company composed at the outbreak of the Civil war one of the companies in the First Regiment of Virginia Volunteers. A company was organized on the island in 1854. The United Company, organized in 1859, chiefly among the employes of the B. & O. railroad shops, had its headquarters on Twenty-fourth street, where the Niagara engine company is now located. During the war the United Company brought the first steam fire engine to Wheeling. The engine was pulled to fires by members of the company.

By ordinance of January 19, 1855, the council instituted an organization of the volunteer fire department. The council were to select a "principal engineer" with five assistant engineers, one from each ward, and these, with "the commanders of the fire companies" were to constitute the "fire department" of the city. "It shall be the duty of the fire department to take charge and custody of the engines, hose and all other fire apparatus belonging to the city, and of the houses in which they are kept. \* \* \* When a fire shall break out in the city, the principal engineer and assistant engineers shall immediately go to the place of such fire, and carry with them suitable badges of their offices. \* \* \*"

In June, 1867, the officers of the Independence, Hope, Rough and Ready, Guards and United Companies adopted a resolution to disband the volunteer fire department. The action was the result of delay in the council to provide what the volunteer companies considered a necessary co-operation for the efficiency of the entire department. The volunteer firemen claimed that they were not responsible for the various acts of vandalism which had been committed at recent fires, and which had been made the basis of a general criticism of the volunteer system. Out of this contention grew the paid fire department. Despite their dissatisfaction the volunteer companies maintained their organization for another year. In 1869 the council reorganized the department,<sup>10</sup> creating the office of chief and two assistants and such other men as they should appoint. Only one man was stationed permanently in each house, and in many of its features the new system was on the volunteer basis, the firemen responding for service only on the alarm. At the beginning there were three steam fire engines, each drawn by horses, but some of the hose reels were drawn by hand.

---

<sup>10</sup>"An ordinance establishing and regulating the fire department of the City of Wheeling," passed December 14, 1869. The principal provisions of this ordinance were: Division of the city into two fire districts, Wheeling creek being the dividing line. The election by the council each year of a "Chief Marshal of the Fire Department" and one assistant marshal from each fire district. The salary of the chief was fixed at \$500 a year, of each assistant chief at \$50, of each hostler \$420. The chief and his two assistants constituted the "Fire Department" and appointed the employees of the subordinate positions, consisting of one fireman, one engineer, one foreman, one hostler and four extra men for each engine; and, for the hooks and ladders, one foreman, one hostler, and five extra men.

In July, 1870, another ordinance provided for the organization of a hose company, of one foreman and four extra men. In 1872, by a new schedule of salaries, the pay was fixed as follows: Chief, \$500; assistant, \$50; foreman, \$50; hostler, \$720; engineman, \$150; extra man, \$50; fireman, \$50. From this schedule it is evident, that only a few of the firemen were required to be on duty all the time at their posts.

One of the disastrous fires of the city during the early years of the paid department was the burning of Washington hall in November, 1875. Though this occurred about nine o'clock in the morning, the fire had been in progress about fifteen minutes before the first steamer arrived. There was no water pressure for the first hose that was brought out, and from a modern viewpoint the description of the work of the firemen seems crude and ineffective. Much criticism was directed against the alleged inefficiency of the department and its equipment. There was no fire-alarm telegraph, though a company had proposed to install one, and the poverty of the city treasury delayed this improvement for several years. A few days after the fire the editor of the *Intelligencer* published the statistics of the department, which he had gathered: "There are three steamers and four hose companies in the city. Forty-eight men are employed in the department, and their salaries aggregate \$455 per month. Nine horses are attached to the department. The aggregate expense of running the department at present, including salaries, is \$9,000 per year."

The first chief of the department was William Winder, and his assistants were A. J. Sweeney and William H. Harrison. Since the establishment of the paid department, the changes have been as important in increasing protection from fire as those which marked the progress of this municipal service from the early ordinance of 1806 during the succeeding sixty years. The department now consists of about fifty officers and subordinates, distributed among ten companies, all paid by the city and giving all their time to the one duty of protecting the city from fire. Besides the increase in number of men and in disciplined efficiency of their work, similar changes have taken place in equipment. The hose reels are no longer drawn by men to the scene of fire, and the private citizen seldom presumes to volunteer his services, content to stand by in admiration of a service which exhibits discipline and effectiveness in the highest degree. One of the factors which has contributed to the successful work of the fire department has been the paving of the streets. The old combination of cobblestone and macadam streets which prevailed in the city previous to the decade of the '80s hampered the prompt working of the department, and the cardinal virtue of a modern fire system is promptness. In the last thirty years the telephone has been a great aid in forwarding alarms to the stations. Just a short time before the introduction of the first telephones into the city, the first telegraph alarms were installed. The Gamewell fire alarm system now used is one of the most valuable parts of the entire equipment. In 1878 the

Central District Telegraph Company erected about twenty-five fire alarm boxes in the city. The expense of this equipment was at first borne by the Wheeling insurance companies, but later the city took the expense and management of the system.

II. The history of the establishment of the water works has been told as part of the story of the municipality during the town government. The original plant was adapted to the town of the '30s, and more than that its equipment was of the crude character of all steam and mechanical construction of that date. Extensions and improvements were made from time to time, but for a period of fifty years the water works were seldom spoken of except to criticize the service. During the war the works broke down time and again, and many complaints were made on this score. And for nearly twenty years afterward similar conditions prevailed. A new pump was added during the late '70s, but the reservoirs were considered too small, and, through lack of proper apparatus or neglect in cleaning, the water frequently came from the taps dirty and unwholesome.

Probably the climax of the situation was reached early in the '80s, at least then, so far as known, the citizens began an organized protest for improvement. A mass meeting was held in Washington Hall in January, 1882, and a series of resolutions adopted. It was held that the water works and its mode of management were still of the primitive character suited to the time of their establishment, when Wheeling was a village. They complained of the service as "insufficient, unsafe, uncertain and inadequate"; of frequent breakages of machinery, of repeated failures to maintain the supply, of interruptions to the work of factories which depended on this service, the inconvenience and loss to citizens through the temporary shut-downs of mills and lack of water in homes, and finally of the menace of a general conflagration which the present conditions invited.

One of the direct results of this meeting was to hasten the amendment of the city charter providing for a board to superintend the water system. This change was made in the same year, as already mentioned in this chapter. With considerable repairs and extensions, however, the old water works remained in use throughout the decade. Finally, in 1891-92 contracts were made with the Holly Company for the construction of a completely new plant at a new location outside of the city, above the "Top Mill." In 1898 the city contracted with the same company to erect an additional pumping engine. In the reconstruction of the plant a new storage reservoir was built at a

position on Wheeling hill above the old reservoir. With the completion of these improvements the water works really became an entirely new plant, and the old system that had been used from before Wheeling's first city charter was practically abandoned. Recently an immense new pump has been installed, and improvements are under way to secure a modern water supply for the city.

III. The history of street improvement since 1836 cannot be told by consecutive statements of definite facts. To the average city dweller no public improvement is more important than the streets, yet in very few cities is the maximum standard of utility and beauty maintained in this department. At one extreme, the street is in the condition of nature, the original surface, rutted and disfigured by the passage of vehicles from the time the thoroughfare was first laid out. At the other extreme, the original surface is completely covered from curb to curb with solid, smooth, clean and enduring pavement. Few examples of either extreme condition now exist in Wheeling. It was more than a hundred years ago that the first complaints about the streets were made, and since that time three generations have used the streets and have spent millions of dollars for their maintenance and improvement. But streets are like all other property subject to depreciation, it is never possible to perfect them all at once to the highest standards. So in Wheeling there has never been a time when there were not bad streets, nor ever a time when all the streets were tolerably good.

As noted on previous pages, the early town and city government gave most of its attention to the grading of the streets, reducing the hills and filling in the level ground along the creek. Some old photographs of original buildings on Main street show that they stood ten or fifteen feet above street level. The Directory of 1839 states that the city authorities had been engaged in grading the streets.

The improvement of the streets by macadamizing or paving did not begin on any important scale until during the '40s. The *Daily Times* for February 26, 1848, states that "the first, second and third wards are nearly all paved" and the fourth ward graded, but not a foot of paving had yet been done in what was then South Wheeling or the fifth ward. It is important to consider what was meant by "paving" at that time. While a distinction was usually drawn between macadamizing and paving, the latter term hardly meant what it does now. The old-time paving in Wheeling, which was continued

in fact up to twenty-five or twenty years since, consisted of cobblestone, and was often referred to as "bouldering." Hence it is evident that even at their best, the "paved" streets of fifty years ago would not compare favorably with a modern brick-covered street.

Though in time the principal streets of the city were paved under these old methods, they never became smooth and sightly thoroughfares. During the war and for years afterward the newspapers called attention, especially during the winter seasons, to the breaks and holes in the streets, the accumulations of water and filth, the inconvenience to pedestrians and vehicles, so that with few exceptions one is led to believe that the streets of the time were in a condition of chronic disrepair. One quotation at a comparatively late date, and a few years before the beginning of a modern system of street improvement, is typical of many such editorial utterances through the years before. The *Intelligencer* of January 2, 1879, commenting on the introduction of a resolution in council for an amendment to the city charter permitting a portion of the expense of paving to be borne by property-owners, says: "The city of Wheeling has long left the need of the authority asked for in this resolution. Our system of paving has been simply disgraceful to the community. We have streets in the very heart of the city that are nothing more than country roads." Residents had previously objected to the improvement of these streets because they had been taxed for the paving of other streets and hoped that their own streets might also be paved out of the general fund. This editorial further says: "Our sewerage is disgraceful in the extreme," and pestilence is only averted by the hillside location and occasional heavy rains. "Even with these in our favor" stench sickens the entire neighborhood. In freezing weather the sidewalks and alleys "are covered with slush and ice and people take to the middle of the streets to avoid them." The reading of such editorials might, because of the editor's desire to emphasize the evils as strongly as possible, lead one to think that the conditions of that time were intolerable. Such was of course not the case. People so quickly adapt themselves to improved conditions that what existed and was put up with twenty years ago would now seem intolerable, and yet the same people even now endure things that will in the course of a few years be considered as relics of the unawakened past.

The decade of the '80s, which was marked by the establishment of the board of public works and a general progress in municipal enterprise, witnessed also the beginning of modern street paving. Much was done to improve the streets and city sewerage during the early

years of the decade. The first brick paving in the city was laid on Chapline street, between Twenty-second and Twenty-fourth, in 1883. Wheeling was the second city in the country to use brick for street paving, Charleston of this state having the first honors in this respect.<sup>11</sup> In 1887 a larger contract for paving with fire-brick was let, and by 1888 Main street had been paved with this material from south of the creek up to about Tenth street. This marked the beginning of permanent and adequate street improvement in the city. In January, 1912, Wheeling had 26.39 miles of brick-paved streets, 3.81 miles of cobblestone, and 1,484 feet of asphalt paving.

In the important matter of sewerage, the future writer on Wheeling municipality will no doubt be able to say much that cannot be said now. The city has as yet no "system" of sewerage. The topography of the city, while it has made surface and sub-drainage more adequate than in many towns, has delayed the necessity of a connected plan, so that the many sewers of the city have been constructed without special relation to a general plan, but only for the benefit of the localities immediately tributary thereto. Practically all the sewers empty direct into the Ohio river or into Wheeling creek and Caldwell's run. So far as can be learned, the first important sewer was that constructed from the McLure House down Market street to the Stamm alley, thence west to the river. In a similar manner, many others have been built and extended from time to time.

While on the subject of streets, something should also be added concerning the bridges in the city, which are really part of the streets. The history of the great bridges over the Ohio is told in other chapters, and needs only brief reference here. Before the era of bridges, the ferry played an important part. Ferries across the Ohio were established by some of the earliest acts of the Virginia legislature. By the act of December 16, 1791, it was ordained that a public ferry "shall be constantly kept" from the land of James Caldwell across the mouth of Wheeling creek to the land of Ebenezer Zane. This was the first means of communication between the settlements on the two sides of the creek. About 1815, or a little before, a wooden bridge was built over the creek at Main street. This served until 1832-33, when the first "stone bridge" was constructed, at a cost of over twenty thousand dollars. This was a solid structure and stood for nearly sixty years, until replaced by the present bridge, which was begun in 1891. The first bridge at Chapline street was a wooden structure

---

<sup>11</sup>From data furnished by the city engineering department.

which during the '60s became so weak that an ordinance was passed forbidding more than thirty persons to be on the bridge at one time. The present fine bridge belongs to a much later time. About 1860 a bridge was completed over the creek to East Wheeling, and the bridges and roadway across the peninsula belong to the period of the '70s.

IV. Throughout the period of the first half of the nineteenth century, the town and city of Wheeling made no provision to light its streets and public places during the hours of darkness. With the approach of dusk Wheeling city disappeared under the gloom of night, and the only lights that cast their dim rays into the general blackness came from the tallow candles and lard- or sperm-oil lamps in the homes and stores.

And this condition is not a proof that Wheeling was behind the times. Even in New York, during the years following the Revolution, the crude street-lamps were seldom kept burning on wet and stormy nights. Perhaps in no other way, is the contrast in superficial aspects of city life more striking than between the darkness that overshadowed the streets and homes during the early part of the century and the brilliant illumination of the modern city.

The several financial statements of the city government of Wheeling up to 1850 which have been examined, show no expenditures credited to public lighting, and from data to be mentioned presently there is quite positive evidence that up to the middle of the century the streets were never illuminated at night except by the moon. Occasional streams of light were thrown upon the foot-ways from the windows of the houses or stores, and probably the hotels and some other establishments kept lights burning before their doors. It has been mentioned that one of the customs throughout the country, in case of fires at night, was the placing of lighted candles in the windows. Many of the citizens who found it pleasant or necessary to be on the street after night-fall probably carried the old-fashioned lanterns to guide their steps.

The first quarter of the century had passed before any of the American cities made much progress in lighting streets by gas. An effort was made in Philadelphia about 1816 to introduce what was called "carbonated hydrogen" for illumination, but a natural prejudice to any innovation and the offensive odors arising from the manufacture prevented any popular approval. Boston began lighting its streets with gas in 1822, and New York in 1823, but Philadelphia had no gas lights on the streets until 1837.

The earliest reference which has been found to the proposed lighting of Wheeling streets and houses with gas appears in the Wheeling Directory of 1839, as follows: "Arrangements are in progress for lighting up the city with gas, [which improvement] though last, is by no means the least. As the onward march of city improvements seems to be of an energetic and efficient character, it may be fondly anticipated that the period is not far distant when she will have night turned into artificial day, by the brilliant and streaming luminaries of gas light."

More than ten years passed before these resolves resulted in practical action. The pioneer use of gas in this city was made by the United States Hotel,<sup>12</sup> which during the '40s was the leading hotel of Wheeling. In its advertisements early in 1849, the words "lighted with gas" are stated with such emphasis that it is evident that this feature was deemed to be all that need be said to convince the public of the modern character of the hotel. Somewhat later the hotel's gas-machine suffered some mishap that for a day or two caused an offensive odor throughout that part of town.

Early in 1849 Mr. F. G. Macey, a promoter of gas plants, was conferring with local capital in an effort to build a gas works for this city. The city council, March 24, appointed a committee of five to report terms on which a contract could be made for the erection of a plant,<sup>13</sup> and in the following month, after considerable debate, the council gave its assent by ordinance<sup>14</sup> to a proposed charter which was to be submitted to the legislature in the following session. Nothing more could be done until the legislature's action the next year.

In the issue of February 20, 1850, the *Daily Gazette* refers to the recent proposal in the city council for the establishment of a "night watch," and then comments as follows:

"Lighting the streets with gas, it appears to us, would be a much more efficacious plan of preventing 'deeds of darkness' and a more beneficial mode of spending the money of the city for the same purpose. \* \* \* We perceive that the enter-

---

<sup>12</sup>Now the Hotel Windsor, near the corner of Twelfth and Water streets.

<sup>13</sup>*Daily Gazette*, March 28, 1849.

<sup>14</sup>April 22, 1849. This original draft of the proposed charter had a provision far in advance of the public franchises of the time, in that it provided, at the expiration of the thirty-year grant of the exclusive privilege by the Wheeling Gas Company of using the streets and other public ways of the city for lighting by gas, that the entire property should revert to the city. This provision was eliminated by the legislature, and the attempt to insert it again in the council was unsuccessful.

prising corporation of Zanesville has adopted measures to light the streets of that place, thus making another town ahead of the city of Wheeling, in one very important regulation at least."

The Wheeling Gas Company was incorporated by the legislature March 18, 1850. The act provided that the city should have the privilege of purchasing the plant at the end of twenty years, or at the end of every five-year period thereafter.<sup>15</sup> In April the city council approved the charter, and subscriptions were opened for the capital stock of fifty thousand dollars the same month, the city subscribing fifteen thousand dollars of this amount. May 11th the company was organized, the first directors being J. W. Gill, R. H. Hubbell, Thomas Sweeney, J. C. Wiley and J. R. Baker. The laying of service pipes began late in the summer, in November the council ordered the erec-

---

<sup>15</sup>The act to incorporate the Wheeling Gas Company, passed March 18, 1850, contained the following provisions which are of interest in its history:

"That John W. Gill, James Baker, William T. Selby, John K. Botsford, Ephraim Pollock, William J. Bates, William Fleming, James R. Baker and Robert Crangle, shall be commissioners, who, or a majority of them, shall receive subscriptions to the stock of said company." "That each subscriber shall be entitled to at least one share \* \* \* there shall be elected from amongst said stockholders not less than five nor more than nine directors."

"That the city of Wheeling shall be authorized to subscribe for the stock of said company, to an amount not exceeding fifteen thousand dollars, to be paid for in the bonds of said city \* \* \* "

"That the said company shall have the exclusive privilege of using the streets, alleys and public ground of the city of Wheeling, for the purpose of laying down pipes for the conveyance of gas in and through said city, for the use of said city and inhabitants, for the term of years hereinafter specified \* \* \* The gas to be furnished by the said company shall be taken and consumed by the inhabitants of said city only upon contracts to be entered into between said company and said inhabitants, at a rate at no time to exceed the sum of three dollars and fifty cents for every thousand cubic feet of gas consumed or taken. \* \* \* The gas shall be furnished to the city of Wheeling as a corporation, for lighting the public buildings, streets, alleys and public grounds, at a rate not exceeding that charged to the city of Pittsburgh by the gas company of that city \* \* \* "

"That the said company shall have the sole and exclusive privilege of using the streets, alleys or public grounds of said city for the purpose of lighting said city with gas, for the full term and period of thirty years from the time said company shall commence the distribution and supply of gas. \* \* \* *Provided always*, that upon the expiration of twenty years from the commencement of said exclusive privilege hereby granted, and within six months thereafter, the said city of Wheeling shall have the right, at the discretion of the council thereof \* \* \* to purchase the said lots or grounds, works, apparatus, fixtures and property of said company, at the price and upon the terms to be agreed between the council of said city and the directors of said company, or to be fixed, ascertained and determined in the following manner: By the award, in writing, of three persons to be chosen, the first by the directors of said company, the second by the council of said city, and the third by the two thus chosen \* \* \* Upon said purchase being made as aforesaid this charter, together with all the franchises, rights and privileges granted or intended to be granted under it, shall be vested in the said city of Wheeling for the common benefit of the inhabitants thereof."

tion of seventy-five gas posts for street lighting, and early in 1851 streets and houses were for the first time regularly illuminated in this way.

Thereafter the public's interest in the gas works was chiefly concerned with the price of the product. For many years the company sold gas at three dollars and a half per thousand feet. That was still the rate in 1865, when in Pittsburgh the price was \$1.60. Indignation meetings had been held, the people had been advised to return to the tallow dip, but they had always preferred the better illuminant and the extortionate cost. The editor of the *Intelligencer*, at this time, advises municipal ownership of the plant as soon as the twenty-year term of the franchise expired.<sup>16</sup>

The company resisted the efforts of the city to take over the plant, and a long course of litigation ensued before the gas works became the property of the municipality. At the beginning of municipal ownership in 1871 the rate per thousand ranged from \$2.80 to \$2.30, and by 1878 had been reduced to \$1.80, with the customary ten per cent discount for prompt payment of bills. The earnings of the gas works in 1878 showed a profit to the city over operating expenses of nearly one hundred per cent. It was argued that everyone paying a hundred dollars a year for gas was contributing a bonus of fifty dollars to the city. In the spring of 1879 the rate was reduced to \$1.20, with the usual discount, and this rate was retained up to the time of the introduction of the natural gas.

For more than thirty years gas had only to compete with kerosene as an illuminant. Then, at about the same time, both electricity and natural gas appeared to contest this field which had so long been held by artificial gas. Electricity was left free to fight its way against the older illuminant, but the case of natural gas was different. When the natural gas companies sought entrance of Wheeling about 1885, offering to supply the product at fifteen cents a thousand feet or less, the city was confronted with the alternatives of either shutting down the gas works and practically losing the investment altogether, or of forbidding competition from the natural gas. The decision was made, and it seems at this time to have been made very wisely, that the natural gas should be admitted for use in heating, but not as an illuminant. The only exception to this rule was, with special permission from the trustees of the city gas works, that manufacturers might use the natural gas for lighting their factories. (Ordinance of March 8, 1887.) In

---

<sup>16</sup>*Intelligencer*, January 10, 1865.

accordance with the general rule, the city franchise, dated April 17, 1885, granting permission to the Natural Gas Company of West Virginia to lay its pipes in the city streets, was granted "upon condition that the gas conducted through such pipes shall not be sold by said company for lighting purposes so as to compete with the gas manufactured by said city." During the era of extravagance in natural gas, the maintenance of the city plant seemed a burden on the citizens, and the fight for the retention of the property was a lively controversy in the city until recently. The plant has now been reconstructed for the manufacture of what is known as water gas, which, it is claimed, can be produced at a cost only slightly in excess of the prevailing price of natural gas.

Barely thirty years have elapsed since electricity was first used in this city for lighting purposes. To many citizens the first knowledge of Edison's invention of the electric light came in reading the issue of the *Intelligencer* dated April 1, 1879, which tells of Edison using his lights in his workshop at Menlo Park. "It may happen," says the editor, "that even in Wheeling, while the city owns the works, that the consumers of gas will be obliged to wait for Edison's machine to come along and give them cheap light."

In the next two or three years electric lighting made rapid progress in many cities of the country. The first proposition to introduce the invention in Wheeling came from the Brush Electric Company of Cleveland, through a local concern. The council in March, 1882, passed the necessary ordinance for the erection of poles and conducting business. A little later the Wheeling Electric Light Company took up the project, using what was called the "Fuller patent." The dynamo was placed in the shop of A. J. Sweeney & Son on Twelfth street, and was first used to supply light to a few private customers, the first subscriber being J. W. Grubb, the jeweler, who had one light. The first practical demonstration was made on September 13, 1882. "Last night must mark an era in the history of the city as the night on which for the first time the electric light shone in actual service in our business houses." Many people gathered to witness this strange form of illumination, and some marveled and some ridiculed, while some accepted it with the indifference of the modern mind.

Mr. Sweeney and his associates organized the Wheeling Electrical Company, and under ordinance from the city extended the use of electric lighting among the business houses and private homes. In 1887 a new franchise was granted this company. However, this corporation did not supply electricity for lighting the streets of the city.

By act of the legislature, February 17, 1891, the city was authorized to erect or purchase a plant for the generation of electricity and distribute the same for the lighting of streets and stores and houses. But provision was made that, before the city could furnish electricity for private consumers, it must purchase the plant of the Wheeling Electrical Company. This act was again enacted with similar provisions in 1901. Thus the city was given permission to own and operate a municipal electric plant for lighting the streets and other public places. The purchase of the Wheeling Electrical Company's plant was not made, so that the city plant up to the present time has been restricted in its operation. The city electric light plant was first put in operation on April 17, 1892.

V.—The building of the old market house on Market square during the era of the town government, has been described earlier in this chapter. For nearly thirty years after the incorporation of the city, this was the chief municipal building of Wheeling. During the decade of the '30s the entire length between Tenth and Eleventh streets was occupied by the market house. The construction of the second story at the south end provided the first quarters for a town hall, and then later in the same decade the north end was reconstructed. This latter addition may be described by the writer of the *Directory* of 1839:

"Under the directions of the city authorities, a spacious hall has been lately erected upon a continuity of a new addition to the market house above spoken of. The length of it is 130 feet by 27 wide, and 14 high. This is divided into four apartments, one of them is 80 feet in length—and the other 50 feet is divided into three rooms, one of which is for the council chamber, and the other two are for committee rooms. This hall and the adjoining rooms are at present occupied for the county courts and offices, until the new court house, which is now being built, shall be completed."<sup>17</sup>

As the town government had used the upper story at the south end, this part was called the "Town Hall," while the hall at the north end was known as the "City Hall." And this was the seat of the city

---

<sup>17</sup>In the *Directory* of 1839, the market is thus described: "The Market house, located on Market street, which extends from Union to Madison street, is a handsome, cleanly and spacious brick building. The markets here are held on the afternoon of Tuesday and Friday in every week, and commence at the hour of 2 o'clock P. M., which is announced by the ringing of the bell—previous to which announcement none can sell in the Market house, without violating the law. The mornings of Wednesday and Saturdays are allowed to the market people to sell what may remain on hand, and to leave the Market house at 10 o'clock A. M., or as soon thereafter as conveniently possible. Here

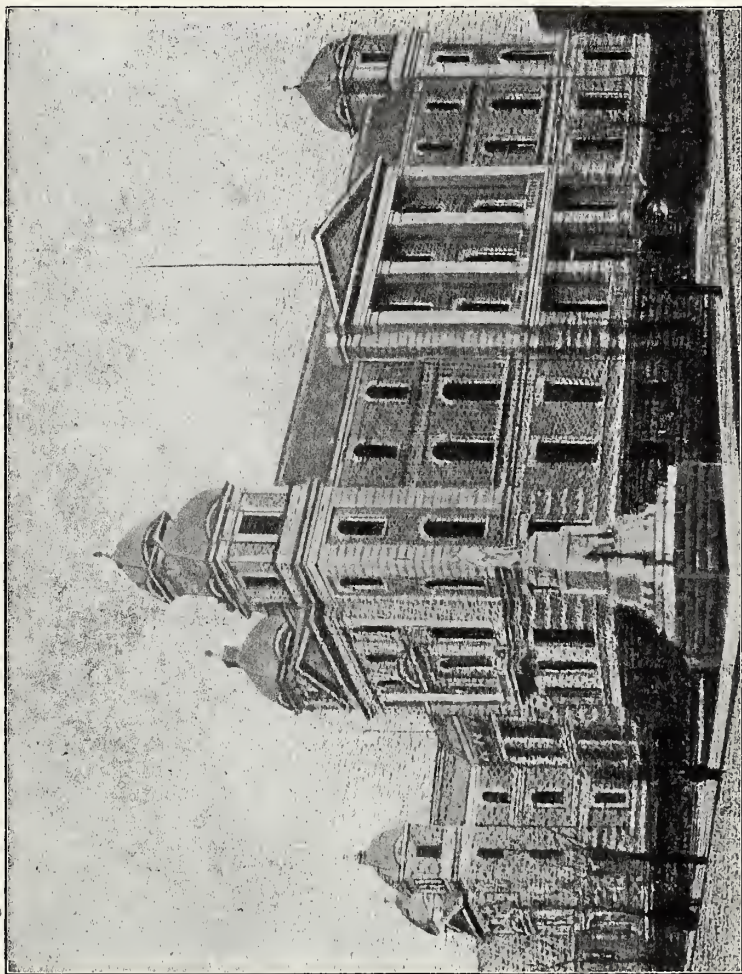
government until the period of the war. Early in April, 1863, a special committee of the council recommended the purchase of the lot occupied by the old Masonic Hall at the price of six thousand dollars, and the purchase was accordingly made. The following item from the *Intelligencer* of April 21st adds some information concerning an old landmark of the city now replaced by the lofty Schmullbach building: "The city council on Saturday evening last appropriated \$300 towards fixing up the building which has been lately purchased for the use of the city. The building is known as the old Masonic hall, and is situated on Market street above Washington hall." The council held its first meeting in this building August 11th, and it was the city headquarters until the summer of 1885, when all departments of the city were moved to the south end of the State house. The old city hall, which was built on part of the original grade at this portion of Market street, was never considered an adornment of the city, and until it was torn down was referred to by all old residents as "the ark."

At the present time (February, 1912), only the south end, the oldest portion, of the old building on Market square remains, and on the greater portion of the square is being erected the steel frame for the new "market house auditorium," a building which shall have stalls for market purposes in accordance with the terms of the will of the pioneer who donated the land, but the upper and principal structure will be a fine auditorium, to be used for conventions and other public purposes. The building of this auditorium is due to the public-spirited energy of the Wheeling Board of Trade, which has promoted the organization of a stock company to provide funds for its construction. The consent of the city for this enterprise was obtained by the ordinance of March 29, 1911.

What is known as the Centre Market, on Market street between Twenty-second and Twenty-third, had its origin during the period when this portion of the city was known as South Wheeling. In September, 1850, the council resolved to erect a market house in this part of the city.

---

the citizens, and the watermen, of every class upon the river, are supplied, sometimes to overflowing, with meats of all kinds, wild and domestic, vegetables, fruits, and all the substantials, in rich profusion, by the country people attending the markets, from an extensive and fertile country around the city." To which the author adds the following assertion: "Perhaps there is not a market upon the globe, which, according to population, is better supplied than this paragon. There is another market house, smaller than the above, it stands on 5th street [Eoff] near the creek."



The City Hall.

Though not a municipal building, the federal custom house and postoffice are so closely connected with city life that this seems an appropriate place to mention something of their history. One of the most historic structures in Wheeling is the building at the corner of Market and Sixteenth street, now used for general office purposes and often called the Prudential Life building. In 1855 the state of Virginia by formal law gave its consent to the purchase of this corner by the United States government, and the building was erected for the accommodation of the custom house, postoffice, United States courts and steamboat inspectors. Especially during the period of the Civil war the "Custom House," as it was generally called, rivaled the court house as a public center. It was in the rooms of the federal courts that practically all the sessions of the second Wheeling convention of 1861 were held, and the constitutional convention which framed the first organic law for the state of West Virginia also assembled in the same building. Here was stored a large quantity of the arms and ammunition during the early part of the war, and Judge Jackson held his court there at which so many of the citizens were compelled to take the oath of allegiance.

The construction of the handsome new federal building at Chapline and Twelfth streets, was begun in July, 1905, and its corner-stone was laid September 18th following, and was first occupied in 1909, just fifty years from the time the old Custom House was completed.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup>Following is the list of Wheeling postmasters:

John Finley, appointed Oct. 1, 1794.  
John McIntyer, appointed July 1, 1795.  
Andrew Woods, appointed Oct. 1, 1798.  
Richard McLure, appointed July 1, 1810, in office until Jan. 6, 1838.  
George W. Thompson, appointed Jan. 6, 1838.  
David Agnew, appointed May 8, 1841.  
Isaiah B. B. Hale, appointed July 24, 1845.  
Alexander Newman, appointed April 2, 1846.  
Geo. W. Clutter, appointed March 2, 1849.  
James E. Wharton, appointed March 17, 1849.  
Jacob S. Shriver, appointed March 28, 1850.  
George A. Cracraft, appointed March 23, 1853.  
Hugh Feeny, appointed July 9, 1857.  
A. W. Campbell, appointed March 23, 1861.  
Odell S. Long, appointed August 27, 1866.  
Charles J. Rawling, appointed March 18, 1867.  
Hugh Sterling, appointed 1879.  
Robert Simpson, appointed 1885.  
W. J. W. Cowden, appointed 1889.  
M. J. O'Kane, appointed 1893.  
George Wise, appointed 1897.  
James K. Hall, appointed 1905.  
Robert Hazlett, appointed 1911.

V.—In January, 1863, the legislature of the restored government of Virginia, then in session at Wheeling, passed an act to incorporate the Citizens Railway Company, for the purpose of constructing a street railroad from the Marshall county line through the city and to the Martin's Ferry landing.<sup>19</sup> Subscription books were opened in the following March, but the promoters did not succeed in getting satisfactory support until the close of the war. In 1867 actual construction began, and on the first day of July cars began running from the southern end of the line as far as the McLure House. The *Intelligencer* described the event as follows: "The appearance of the cars yesterday created quite a sensation. Both ways they had full complements of passengers, and small boys trooped along the track at the top of their speed as they glided by." Anyone who remembers the old horse-car railways or has ridden on one of the few still existing will find it difficult to believe that the cars "glided by." However, it was properly credited as being a great improvement in urban transportation, and marked the beginning of a great modern system of transportation. At the beginning and for twenty years afterward the rates of fare on this and also on the line

---

<sup>19</sup>An act to incorporate the Citizens Railway Company of the city of Wheeling, passed January 30, 1863:

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That John L. Hobbs, S. H. Woodward, Chester D. Hubbard, Joshua Bodley, John List, Robert Crangle, Andrew J. Sweeney, Robert Irwin, or a majority of them, be and they are hereby appointed commissioners to open books for the purpose of receiving subscriptions to the capital stock of the company hereby incorporated by the name and style of the 'Citizens Railway Company' with power to lay out and construct a railway of single track \* \* \* which may commence at any point not further south than the southern line of Ohio county, and may run through the town of South Wheeling of Fifth street to Denny street, along Denny street to Jacob street, along Jacob street into the city of Wheeling by said street to Chapline street, along Chapline street to First street, along First street to Main street, along Main street to John street, along John street to Market street, along Market street to Madison street, along Madison street to Main street, along Main street to the Martins Ferry landing, and from Main street along Madison street across the suspension bridge and along Zane street, and across the western bridge to the limits of the state of Virginia."

"7. That the said railway company shall be, and they are hereby required to lay the track of their said road of such a gauge as to be most convenient for the use of carriages and buggies passing over the said road, and in all cases the carriage or vehicle following the car shall have the right to the track, and the carriage or vehicle coming in the opposite direction shall be required to turn off the track."

"11. That no greater fare shall be charged upon the line of said road, east of the Ohio river, than ten cents per passenger, and no greater fare on the line of said road passing over the bridges and island, to the limit of the state of Virginia, than fifteen cents per passenger, and the said railway company are hereby authorized and empowered to transfer and carry to and from any and all points upon the line of said road, baggage, parcels and packages, at such rates as may be fixed by the board of directors of the company."

to Elm Grove were ten cents. By the end of July the line was completed and in operation to North Wheeling. It was afterwards extended south to about Forty-second street, and also across the suspension bridge and island to Bridgeport, so that by 1877 its total length was about five miles. Cars began running to the fair grounds on the island in September, 1867, and the following month to Bridgeport.

The first franchise from the city to the Citizens Railway Company was granted August 14, 1866, for a term of fifteen years, and the second by ordinance of September 12, 1882, for a term of thirty years. A comparison on certain points between these two ordinances indicates the changing attitude toward public franchises which was evident even in that brief period and which has become more marked in recent years. The first franchise gave the company "exclusive right and privilege of making and constructing street railway tracks on and over the streets of Wheeling." Moreover, the city, besides giving the franchise, agreed not to tax any of the company capital stock or railway property. The company was only required to replace and repair streets torn up by construction work and to "keep in good repair" that portion of the streets between the tracks.

In the second franchise the exclusive feature was eliminated; the cars must be "drawn by horses or mules, and not by steam;" the space between the tracks and for a foot on either side had to be paved or improved by the company in the same manner as the street; within five years the old rails had to be replaced with "flat rails, at least five inches broad;" and privilege was given to the city to tax each car in regular use twenty-five dollars per year, and furthermore to assess the property of the company in the same manner as other real and personal property of the city.

The Citizens Company furnished transportation from the north to south end of town and across the river. There was as yet nothing more than the National road or the highway across the Peninsula connecting the city with the town of Fulton and the country further along the creek. This valley was awaiting suburban transportation for its development as a residence section.

The Wheeling & Elm Grove Railway, by city ordinance of October 10, 1876, was given permission to construct a narrow-gauge single track from the corner of Sixteenth and Market streets out McCulloch and Baker streets, over the Peninsula bridge to the city limits.

Its franchise to Elm Grove was obtained from the county board.<sup>20</sup> The company had to pave between the tracks and two feet on each side with stone. For a term of five years the property of the company was exempted from city taxation. Animal power only could be used in drawing its cars. In 1877 the company was granted the use of Chapline street from Sixteenth to Eleventh and over to Market.

By 1877 four miles of the Wheeling & Elm Grove line was finished, running out to Hornbrook's Park and the Stamm House. It was extended several years later to Elm Grove. Horse-power was found inadequate to meet the demands of transportation up the creek valley, and after a year or so the railway company sought an amendment to its charter from the legislature allowing the substitution of "steam motors." During 1879 the entire county was aroused over this proposal, and the newspapers were filled with arguments of correspondents on both sides of the question. The farmers along the National road were said to be generally protesting against the use of steam. The "livery ring" at Wheeling, it was alleged, was opposed to it on the grounds of selfish interest. "As it is now," said one correspondent, "if a laborer or a merchant or mechanic, who is not able to pay four or five dollars an evening for a hack \* \* \* wants to take his family of little ones to the country for fresh air and recreation he takes the Elm Grove horse-car at 6 P. M." But on reaching the terminus of the road he finds that he must take the same car back if he wishes to reach the city by 10 o'clock. A later correspondent answered by saying that it took only an hour to make the trip one way, but under present conditions the laborer or mechanic could not afford to make such a trip frequently anyhow, since the fare was twenty-five cents and ten cents or more for children under ten years of age. The "dummy" engine, it was thought, would menace the welfare of the entire country tributary to the National road, which would have to be abandoned. "Suppose a locomotive meets a funeral," was one of the dire suppositions of the antagonists. Meetings at West Liberty and in other portions of the county passed resolutions against the use of steam for power. The company claimed that the proposed locomotives were "noiseless motors," a statement regarded with much skepticism by the press and people generally.

However, the steam motor finally won the day. At that time

---

<sup>20</sup>The company was organized in 1873 and incorporated in 1874, the incorporators being Bishop Whelan, J. D. DuBois, John Reed, M. Reilly, S. Laughlin, Thomas Hornbrook, R. A. McCabe, J. R. McCourtney, John K. Botsford, William Stamm, Hugh Clark, and George H. Parks.

interurban traction lines were rare. The experience of this road proved the inadequacy of animal power, and the only substitute was steam power, since the introduction of electricity in propelling vehicles did not become practical until five or ten years later. By ordinance passed September 7, 1883, the city allowed the company to lay a new gauge track over the route previously designated in the city, but instead of crossing the Peninsula the new right of way followed Bow street around to Fulton. At the time of the passage of this ordinance the company was already using its steam motors in the county east of the city, and this ordinance gave the company permission to employ steam in the city, with the following interesting regulations:— In the city proper the maximum speed was to be six miles an hour; every motor had to be run by a "competent engineer" and the burning of soft coal was forbidden; while in motion a bell was to be kept ringing constantly. The franchise was granted for a term of fifteen years.

Before the expiration of this franchise period, electric traction had made all other methods obsolete, and for nearly ten years the running of the steam motors had been regarded as an antique survival. In April, 1897, the railway company proposed to make the change from steam to electricity, and the ordinance of June 15, 1897, renewed the company's franchise for a period of thirty years, conditioned on the use of electric cars only. The changes in track and equipment were made, and early in the following January the first electric car ran from Wheeling out to Elm Grove.

Wheeling was one of the pioneer cities of the world to use electric power on street railways. At the New Orleans exposition of 1883 a small electrical road was installed as a feature. The first commercial electric road was built and operated at Appleton, Wisconsin, in 1886, followed in that and the succeeding year by roads at Port Huron, Michigan; Scranton, Pennsylvania; Montgomery, Alabama; Lima, Ohio; and Ansonia, Connecticut. All these used the Vanderpoel overhead trolley, and were the only ones that antedated the Wheeling enterprise. Mr. John M. Sweeney, who had been identified with the first establishment for the supplying of electric lighting in Wheeling, took the lead in organizing the electric railway company. Joseph Speidel was president of the company, which was incorporated as the **Wheeling Railway Company**.

The franchise was granted by the city council August 9, 1887, and gave a right of way, for the most part paralleling the route of the Citizens Railway, from the suspension bridge to the south limits

of the city, and also on the streets of the island. The company was exempted from city taxation for the term of fifteen years, and was restricted to the use of electrical power, "to be applied according to any system now in use in other places."

The operation of the first trolley car in Wheeling, on March 15, 1888, excited as much interest as a visit from a presidential candidate. The company started with an equipment of two cars, named "Fidelia" and "Geraldine." The latter was used for the trial trip, and started from the south end of the line at Twenty-seventh and Main, carrying a party of prominent citizens invited for the occasion. The representative of the *Intelligencer* who described the event said that some of the guests exhibited considerable nervousness at the start. "The running of street cars in this city by electricity is no longer a matter of doubt or experiment; it is a sure and successful thing. \* \* \* At 2:20 o'clock Mr. John M. Sweeney came from a telephone where he had been in communication with the electric station and announced that all was in readiness. Mr. Sheaff pulled the big alarm gong two or three times, the large crowd that had gathered about retreated, and those in the car held their breath. Mr. Sheaff slowly turned the crank of the motor. There was a slight whirring sound, and the car feeling the power of the invisible agent moved forward. \* \* \* The small boys yelled and then started on the run after the novelty. \* \* \* Men came out of the mills and stores, women came out of their houses and windows flew up on every side." At Twenty-second street "the crowd following was something enormous and seemed to frighten horses worse than the new car. \* \* \* In crossing Main street bridge the front wheels jumped the track, but a hundred hands soon had the car on again. Up through the business part of Main street the sidewalks were jammed. Arriving at Twelfth street the car was stopped." A few days later the cars proved their ability to climb the hill from Twelfth to Tenth street, and thereafter were operated on regular schedule from Twenty-seventh to Tenth.

By ordinance of August 18, 1887, the Citizens Company had been granted permission to use electric power, and after the practical success of the electric line the old horse-car was soon discontinued and the two lines operated jointly by electric power. The Wheeling Railway Company extended its lines south into Benwood and across the river to Martins Ferry. In 1892 the principal interests in both companies were purchased by capitalists of outside cities, but in later years the majority stock in the traction properties of which these

two old lines were the nucleus has again been acquired by local capitalists.

In 1900 the city and suburban lines were merged under the ownership of a new company, the Wheeling Traction Company, which now controls all the electric railways of this vicinity with the exception of the Wheeling & Elm Grove line.<sup>21</sup>

The original Bellaire street-car line was absorbed and became a part of the Bellaire, Bridgeport & Martins Ferry line, which was completed in 1893, and which in 1898 became a part of the Wheeling Railway system, later the Wheeling Traction.

The Moundsville, Benwood & Wheeling Company built its line in the early '90s, and was operated under receivership during the hard



Wheeling Island.

times of that decade. In 1899 this line also passed into the control of the interests composing the Wheeling Traction Company.

The Panhandle Traction Company was incorporated in 1901 by capitalists associated with the Wheeling Traction, and the line to Wellsburg was completed in 1902 at a cost of half a million dollars. The Panhandle Company was absorbed by the Wheeling Traction in 1905.

---

<sup>21</sup>Unofficial reports early in 1912 indicate the consolidation of this line with the Wheeling Traction in the near future.

In 1904 the Wheeling & Western from Brookside to Maynard was built, and in 1906 the Steubenville & Wheeling was completed, both lines being now a part of the Wheeling Traction system.

VII.—With the rapid exploitation of the natural gas fields of the Allegheny region during the early '80s, a new era began for Wheeling not only in the manufacturing industries, but also in the use of the new fuel for the heating of houses and office buildings. The competition of natural gas with the municipal gas plant has been referred to in a previous section of this chapter. A brief account should also be given of the principal companies which have brought natural gas into the city.

By ordinance of April 17, 1885, the Natural Gas Company of West Virginia was given permission to distribute gas in Wheeling to private consumers for heating purposes. This company was formed in February, 1885, to supply fuel and power in Wheeling and adjacent towns from the gas field of Washington county, Pennsylvania. Gas was first supplied by this company to the homes of Wheeling late in 1886, and in the past twenty-five years thousands of houses and offices have been equipped with pipes, and natural gas has practically supplanted coal for domestic heating. The maximum price per thousand feet fixed by the first franchise was fifteen cents. About ten years later this was raised to twenty cents, and the average price now prevailing is twenty-eight cents. The office building of this company at 1226 Chapline street was completed in 1901.

The first natural gas brought into Wheeling came through the mains of the Wheeling Natural Gas Company. In Wheeling this company operates under a franchise granted April 2, 1886, to the Manufacturers' Gas Company, an association of manufacturers, of which Mr. C. W. Brockunier was president. This franchise did not conflict with the rights granted to the other company, since the ordinance specified that the gas was to be used as fuel for the factories of the firms associated under this name, and was not to be supplied for home consumption. Outside of the city the Wheeling Natural Gas Company supplied fuel both for factories and home consumption to Benwood, Moundsville, Bellaire, Martins Ferry and other communities in this vicinity. The company won the race against its rival in reaching Wheeling, and the gas was first turned on in this city in August, 1886, the event being made the occasion of a great celebration. Both the Wheeling Natural Gas Company and the Natural Gas Company of West Virginia have their main offices in Pittsburgh, and their original promoters were Pittsburgh capitalists.

VIII.—On March 10, 1876, in Boston, Alexander Graham Bell, a Scotchman, and at the time a teacher of elocution in that city, after many months of patient experimentation, with a wire, a magnet and a clock-spring reed, produced a crude toy that would convey the words of human speech from one room to another. This was the birth of the telephone.<sup>22</sup>

A few weeks later the crude device was placed on exhibition at the Philadelphia Centennial. It attracted no notice. The judges were with difficulty prevailed upon to inspect it. Even then they were on the point of leaving without a demonstration, when the sudden arrival of no less a personage than an emperor, a friend of the inventor, turned all eyes upon the professor and his instrument. "It talked," and from that time on thousands of people talked about it and admired it as a new wonder of the age.

But, for all the advertisement at the Centennial, the telephone was "a scientific toy," and practical men would not consider the possibility of its use as a business necessity. October 9, 1876, the first sustained conversation by telephone was carried on over a wire two miles long. In May, 1877, the first crude "exchange" was set up in Boston, connecting half a dozen banks, and by the following August there were 778 telephones in use. As late as 1879 the telephone directory of New York was a small card showing two hundred and fifty names.

If there were telephones in Wheeling previous to 1879, they had been installed by individuals as a sort of novelty, and attracted no special attention. The first telephone company did not introduce its service here for more than a year after that. In the files of the *Daily Intelligencer* the first reference to the practical use of the invention is contained in the issue of May 2, 1879. Some enterprising citizens of the village of New Cumberland, up in Hancock county, had become tired of the practice of crossing the river to take the train at McCoy's station, and finding themselves obliged to wait when the train was not on schedule. So they had strung a wire connecting the two villages, and by the use of telephones could avoid much inconvenience and loss of time.

This use of the telephone, probably its first introduction into the Panhandle, inspired a long editorial in the *Intelligencer*. Considering the simplicity of the telephone and that no skill was required to use it, the editor believed that at no distant day every town and village in the country would be thus connected, a means of communication

---

<sup>22</sup>Casson's History of the Telephone.

which would be much cheaper than the telegraph, and also would afford service to hamlets isolated even from telegraph lines. In all the large cities where the telephone companies had been organized, its service had shown excellent results, "and there is no reason why a city like Wheeling should not be connected by telephone with every point with which it has business relations. \* \* \* There is no manipulation to be gone through with that is not of the simplest character, and that a child cannot learn in a minute." How valuable, continues the editorial, this telephone communication would be for the people along the river, who were sometimes cut off by bad weather for days at a time from the news centers.

"The day is not far distant when a paper like the *Intelligencer* will each morning furnish to its readers the local news of all the surrounding towns and villages within fifty miles, received by telephone up to the hour of going to press. In less than ten years we will probably have a telephone in our office," connecting with all river landings and interior points, "from which the local news will come to us as through a speaking trumpet at all hours of the night."

Probably the first business house in Wheeling to adopt the telephone in a practical way was the Behrens & Company grocery, whose main establishment was on Market near Fourteenth, with a branch house in the eighth ward at the corner of Thirty-sixth and Jacob. These two stores, in the summer of 1879,<sup>23</sup> were connected "by one of Tom Edison's improved telephones. The two stores are over a mile apart, yet the employes at either end of the wire converse as freely together as though in the same apartment." The introduction of the telephone by this company was instanced as a proof of their business enterprise.

Except in cases like the above, the telephone had a very limited field of use in Wheeling for some years. There is now hardly a shop or business of any consequence that does not have telephone connection, and in its advertisements usually states the telephone number as an essential direction for its patrons. As late as 1884 the business concerns advertising in the Wheeling city directory in only a few instances mention their telephone number.

The first telephone company that entered the city under permis-

---

<sup>23</sup>*Daily Intelligencer*, July 11, 1879. Soon after Bell, the inventor of the telephone, had secured financial backing to manufacture and introduce his instrument, a rival company sprang up who employed the services of Thomas Edison in improving and adding new inventions—hence the reference above.

sion of ordinance was the Central District and Printing Telegraph Company (now known as the Bell Company). An ordinance passed May 18, 1880, gave this company permission to erect its poles and wires for telephone purposes along such streets and alleys as its business required, this use of the streets being confirmed for a period of ten years from May 1, 1886. By the same ordinance, the company agreed to furnish telephone service for municipal use from the last date mentioned at a rate of fifteen dollars a year for each instrument.

#### WHEELING TOWN AND CITY OFFICIALS.<sup>24</sup>

##### *Mayors of the Town, 1806-1836.*

George Miller, March, 1806, to March, 1807.  
 Moses Chapline, March, 1807, to March, 1809.  
 William Irwin, March, 1809, to March, 1810.  
 Noah Linsly, March, 1810, to March, 1814.  
 William Irwin, March, 1814, resigned September 26.  
 George Knox, March, 1815, to March, 1816.  
 William Irwin, March, 1816, to March, 1817.  
 Peter Yarnell, March, 1817, to March, 1819.  
 Moses Chapline, March, 1819, to March, 1820.  
 Moses W. Chapline, March, 1820, to March, 1824.  
 Z. Jacob, March, 1824, to March, 1828.  
 Samuel Sprigg, March, 1828, resigned September 28.  
 John McLure, September, 1828, to March, 1830.  
 Moses W. Chapline, March, 1830, to March, 1834.  
 Z. Jacob, March, 1834, to May, 1836.

##### *Recorders of the Town, 1806-1836.*

Charles Hammond, March, 1806, to March, 1807.  
 Thomas Evans, March, 1807, to March, 1809.  
 Jacob Lewis, March, 1809, to March, 1810.  
 Samuel McClure, March, 1810, to March, 1811.  
 John Griffith, March, 1811, to March, 1812.  
 Richard McClure, March, 1812, to March, 1814.  
 John White, March, 1814, to March, 1815.  
 Thomas Tanner, March, 1815, to March, 1816.  
 John White, March, 1816, to March, 1817.

<sup>24</sup>The early town and city officials are copied from a list compiled by G. W. Jeffers, under authority of city council, in 1867.

Moses Chapline, March, 1817, to March, 1819.  
Thomas Tanner, March, 1819, resigned November 13 (Geo. Pan-  
nal, being the oldest alderman, elected to vacancy).  
Isaac Tiffler, March, 1820, to March, 1822.  
John List, March, 1822, to March, 1824.  
Jim O. Adams, March, 1824, to March, 1825.  
William Paxton, March, 1825, to March, 1826.  
John Truax, March, 1826, to March, 1827.  
John Laughlin, March, 1827, resigned April 7.  
Elijah Day, to March, 1828.  
Joseph W. Ray, March, 1828, to March, 1830.  
Samuel Wescott, March, 1830, to March, 1831.  
Elijah Day, March, 1831, to March, 1832.  
Samuel Wescott, March, 1832, to March, 1833.  
Z. Jacob and W. B. Tyson, March, 1833, to March, 1834.  
William B. Tyson, March, 1834, to May, 1836.

*Town Treasurers.*

There is no record of appointment of earliest treasurers. In September, 1817, Moses W. Chapline "was elected treasurer to supply the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Solomon King." Subsequent service in the office was as follows:

Solomon King, 1820 to 1822.  
George Dulty, 1822 to 1827.  
Joseph W. Ray, 1827 to 1829.  
Thomas Hughes, 1829 to 1836.

*Mayors of the City of Wheeling.*

Moses W. Chapline, from May, 1836, to January, 1840.  
George Dulty, from January, 1840, to January, 1846.  
Moses C. Good, from January, 1846, to January, 1847.  
William W. Shriver, from January, 1847, to June, 1848.  
S. Brady, from June, 1848, to January, 1850.  
Alfred Caldwell, from January, 1850, to January, 1852.  
Morgan Nelson, from January, 1852, to January, 1853.  
S. Brady, from January, 1853, to January, 1855.  
James Paull, from January, 1855, to January, 1856.  
Alfred Caldwell, from January, 1856, to January, 1858.  
James Tanner, from January, 1858, to January, 1859.  
Andrew Wilson, from January, 1859, to January, 1861.  
Andrew J. Sweeney, from January, 1861, to January, 1863.

George Baird, from January, 1863, to January, 1864.  
 Henry Crangle, from January, 1864, to January, 1865.  
 A. J. Sweeney, from January, 1865, to January, 1868.  
 S. Brady, from January, 1868, to January, 1869.  
 Samuel McClellan, from January, 1869, to January, 1871.  
 George W. Jeffers, from January, 1871, to January, 1875.  
 A. J. Sweeney, from January, 1875, to January, 1881.  
 Alfred Egërter, from January, 1881, to January, 1883.  
 Jeremiah A. Miller, from January, 1883, to January, 1885.  
 Jacob W. Grubb, from January, 1885, to January, 1887.  
 C. W. Seabright, from January, 1887, to January, 1893.  
 B. F. Caldwell, from January, 1893, to January, 1897.  
 J. R. Butts, from January, 1897, to January, 1899.  
 A. T. Sweeney, from January, 1899, to 1905.  
 Charles C. Schmidt, from 1905 to present time.

*Clerks of the City of Wheeling.*

Daniel Lamb, elected in May, 1836; resigned May 24, 1836.  
 James S. Wheat, from May, 1836, to January, 1853.  
 George W. Sights, from January, 1853, to January, 1857.  
 Frederick A. Brentlinger, from January, 1857, to January, 1858.  
 John C. Porter, from January, 1858, to January, 1861.  
 Jacob Burkle, from January, 1861, to January, 1863.  
 Hugh F. Feeny, from January, 1863, to January, 1864.  
 Isaac Irwin, from January, 1864, to January, 1865.  
 Hugh F. Feeny, from January, 1865, to his death, December, 1872.  
 George Q. Black, elected by council to fill unexpired term.  
 Francis A. Britt, from January, 1873, to January, 1877.  
 Alex. Updegraff, from January, 1877, to January, 1881.  
 Frank W. Bowers, from January, 1881, to January, 1889.  
 Thomas F. Thoner, from January, 1889, to January, 1895.  
 Charles E. Dannenberg, from January, 1895, to January, 1897.  
 C. H. Watkins, from January, 1897 (resigned May 9, 1899).  
 Thomas O'Brien, Jr., from May 9, 1899, to 1903.  
 Walter T. Worls, from 1903 to 1907.  
 Charles H. Geiger, from 1907 to present time.

*Treasurers of the City of Wheeling.*

Thomas Hughes, from May, 1836, to January, 1850.  
 Richard W. Harding, from January, 1850, to March, 1863, the time of his death.

J. M. Bickel, from January, 1864, to January, 1867.

Elijah Day, from January, 1867, to January, 1871.

When office of Treasurer was abolished (Act of West Virginia Legislature, March 3, 1870), and office of Receiver created.

*Receivers of the City of Wheeling.*

Elijah Day, from February 17, 1871, to February, 1879.

James M. Todd, from February, 1879, to February, 1881.

E. C. Dunaway, from February, 1881, to February, 1889.

Frank A. Woeber, from February, 1889, to February, 1893.

John Kindelberger, from February, 1893, to February, 1897.

A. H. Forgey, from February, 1897, to 1907.

*Sergeants of the City of Wheeling.*

Peter W. Kennedy, from 1836 to 1837.

George Carrothers, from 1837 to 1840.

Jefferson L. Sangston, from 1840 to 1845.

John Murry, from 1845 to 1846.

Thomas P. Shallcross, from 1846 to 1850.

James H. Roberts, from 1850 to 1851.

Jefferson L. Sangston, from 1851 to 1854.

Henry P. Chapline, from 1854 to 1855.

Jefferson L. Sangston, from 1855 to 1856.

Henry Conant, from 1856 to 1858.

Smith McDonald, from 1858 to 1864.

Andrew J. Britt, from 1864 to 1865.

Smith McDonald, from 1865 to 1867.

John Scarbrough, from 1867 to 1868.

Frank Shanley, from 1868 to 1869.

Henry Conant, from 1869 to 1873.

Ed. M. Davis, from 1873 to 1877.

Stephen Ripley, from 1877 till resignation.

Porter Smith, elected to fill unexpired term.

James W. Sweeney, from 1877 to 1881.

Thomas D. Bennett, from 1881 to 1885.

Porter Smith, from 1885 to 1889.

Louis Delbrugge, from 1889 to 1893.

Robert T. McNichol, from 1893 to 1895.

Thomas D. Bennett, from 1895 to 1899.

William M. Clemans, from 1899 to 1901.

John S. Ritz, from 1901 to 1905.

William M. Clemans, from 1905 to 1907.

Howard Hastings, from 1907 to present time.

The present city government consists of the following officials elected under the new city charter :

Mayor, Charles C. Schmidt.

Auditor, Charles H. Geiger.

Treasurer, Samuel K. Johnson.

Sergeant, Howard Hastings.

Board of Control, C. Hal Brues, Dr. Thomas M. Haskins and Charles C. Schmidt (ex officio).



## CHAPTER XIII.

## MANUFACTURING\*.

"Clang, clang! the massive anvils ring;  
Clang, clang! a hundred hammers swing;  
Like the thunder rattle of a tropic sky,  
The mighty blows still multiply,—  
Clang, clang!  
Say, brothers of the dusky brow,  
What are your strong arms forging now?"

Wheeling's history as a manufacturing city begins almost from the time that it developed from a frontier trading post and pioneer barrier against Indian invasion into an organized community. It was not long a county seat town, but from its earliest history turned its attention to manufacture. Many of the early inhabitants were men of energy and initiative, and had the industrial spirit which distinguished them from the Eastern Virginians, who, with broader fields and milder climate, were inclined toward agriculture, cultivated great plantations and became landed proprietors.

The native bent of Wheeling's pioneers towards industry was confirmed by the character of their surroundings. The hilly country and the lack of level acres did not conduce to agriculture. The cultivation of the land was not so inviting as in southeastern sections and so the early settlers found mill and factory the best outlet for their energies and the surest means of getting ahead in the world. Furthermore, coal was here in abundance and of the scant distributing facilities of those days Wheeling had a large share. There was scarcely any line of industry then established in America to which these early men of Wheeling did not turn their energy and intelligence and thus they laid firm and strong the foundations for Wheeling's present industrial position.

As far back as 1807, according to the *Repository*, our first newspaper, we find wool-carding machines in operation, near Wellsburg—then Charlestown—and the same veracious chronicle tells of the establishment in 1808 of a ship-building yard on the banks of the Ohio at this city. From there the good schooner, *Nancy* of 100 tons burden, was launched with great eclat on June 27th of that year. A little

---

\*By Roy B. Naylor, Secretary Wheeling Board of Trade.

later, following Fulton's great achievement, the Washington, one of the first steamboats on the Upper Ohio, was constructed in 1814.

In 1818 nail making, afterward destined to cut so large a figure in our industrial history, was begun on a small scale and in 1821 glass making, now one of our greatest industries, was started in a small factory located on North Chapline street, now the heart of the city. Then followed the establishment of rolling mills, foundries and machine shops turning out brass and iron castings, steam engines and ploughs; steam flour mills and cotton factories and even a silk factory which ran for a short time.

Wheeling grew apace with its aggressive spirit and cheap fuel at its furnace doors. The National Road came in 1818 to aid its



Board of Trade Building and Court Theatre.

forward march and for a long time the city was the terminus of that great highway. When the road was pushed westward to Columbus, Indianapolis and St. Louis, it was the scene of a constant stream of commerce. The road vastly increased the city's early advantage of being at the head of navigation on the Ohio and the river carried our products in great quantities to Southern markets. Industry continued to expand in these years and in a City Directory of 1839 we find some interesting figures. Wheeling had in 1839 an aggregate production, through the various manufacturing establishments, of a value calculated at \$1,150,000 each year. A million bushels of coal were consumed in the various industries. This fuel was produced in the vicinity and

cost the manufacturers only \$27,000. The number of employes was estimated at six hundred, so that approximately a third of the city's inhabitants depended on manufacturing industry for their support. The character of the city as a manufacturing center had already been established and it is surprising to know the extent and diversity of the industrial enterprise of that time.

Glass making was a leading industry. There were the flint-glass works of M. & R. H. Sweeney & Co., and of Plunket & Miller; the crown-glass factory of Ritchie & Wilson; the Clinton window glass works of Encell & Cuthbert; the South Wheeling window glass works of McNamee & Adams—these five firms employing over two hundred workers.

David Agnew's rolling mill at the north end of the city employed a hundred men and its output was worth \$300,000 a year. It was one of the institutions that later gave the title of "Nail City" to this locality. Another factory nearly as large was that of Arthur M. Phillips, for making steam engines and all kinds of brass and iron castings. Other foundries and iron working plants were those of Sweeney, Matthews & Gray, Helm & Richardson, and the Union foundry of R. & W. Miller in South Wheeling. It is stated that Wheeling at this date (1839) had five plough factories, turning out seven or eight thousand ploughs a year, most of which were sent to southern markets.

There were three paper mills—the Virginia paper mill of Wm. Lambodin & Sons, the Point mill of A. & R. Fisher, and the Fulton paper mill of A. Armstrong and Company. The head of the last named company had years before published the first newspaper in Wheeling, and among other difficulties he had to contend with was a scarcity of paper stock, which had to be brought over the mountains. These three firms made all grades of writing, print and coarser papers.

In the making of lumber and its products, the most considerable plant of the time was Dana Hubbard's steam sawmill and window-sash factory, where a million feet of lumber measured the average annual output. There was also a steam planing mill of J. L. Brown & Co., the planing machine being a comparatively new invention, so that what is now taken as a matter of course, was then regarded as rather remarkable. In the preparation of boards for flooring and wainscoting hitherto, the planing, grooving and "tongueing" for close joints, had been done by hand. The operation was expensive and of course only the best houses of the time had anything better than the rough board floors with gaping cracks between the boards. With the introduction of the machine for planing in the above-mentioned plant,

probably came a considerable improvement in the floors of the homes built in Wheeling after that date.

The Wheeling steam flour mill on Market street, owned by Joseph Junkin & Sons, was one of the few mills in this region then operated by anything but water power. The year 1838 had been one of great drouth, the mill races were generally empty, and the Wheeling mill had to run at full capacity to supply the demand. This capacity in a day or twenty-four hours was only thirty-two barrels. Compared with the average water-mill of the time that was a large output, but, from the point of view of modern times, it sinks into insignificance.

James Pemberton's steamboat yard was not among the least of Wheeling's industrial establishments of that time, where many of the well known boats on the river had been built.

The people were enterprising and even then appreciated the value of organization, for we find in the *Times* of January 25th, 1849, an item concerning the election of officers of the Board of Trade, which was an active factor in Wheeling's commercial life and endeavoring to aid its advancement as its successor is doing today. When the railroad came nearly fifteen years after this time, in 1852, new impetus was added to development. The B. & O. was our pioneer road, the first to conquer the Alleghenies, and for some years Wheeling was the western terminus of that great system. It outran the great National road, it distanced the majestic river, though both continued their invaluable service to commerce and industry as they do to this day. When the Civil war came on, Wheeling was loyal to the Union and though the storm center in the struggle for a new commonwealth, continued its progress commercially and industrially. We may find ample proof of this in Dodge's Reports for 1865 in which it is stated that the larger part of our wealth was invested in the manufacture of iron, glass and paper. The following extract from the Report will no doubt prove interesting:

"There are now in operation four mills, producing annually forty thousand tons of nails and spikes. \* \* \* Two railroad iron works claim an annual production of fifteen thousand tons. Three mills for making bar, sheet and plate-iron, produce annually twelve thousand tons. The total value of the annual products of these mills exceeds five million dollars. Seven foundries produce yearly one thousand tons of stoves, and one thousand five hundred tons of other castings. Four shops for the manufacture and repair of steam engines and machinery, in addition to the repair shops of the Baltimore & Ohio and Hempfield rail-

roads, turn out work amounting to \$350,000 annually. The product of five glass works amounts to \$500,000 yearly. Ten breweries annually produce 45,000 barrels of fermented liquors, of which thirty thousand are ale. Six tanneries produce the value of \$300,000. Three paper mills produce printing and wrapping paper and bonnet-boards, \$100,000 worth yearly. Two oil distilleries yield an annual product of ten thousand barrels of refined oil. Steam-boat building is a prominent branch of industry. Seven boats were built throughout the last year, and as many more were furnished with cabins and engines. It was formerly a great depot for wagon building, mainly for the southern market. The same manufacture is now diverted to the furnishing of ambulances and army wagons to the government. A very superior common cigar, known as the "Wheeling Stogy" is made here, the demand for which is so increased that seventeen shops are engaged in the manufacture. There were made fifteen million of these cigars last year, valued at \$150,000. The manufacture of candy has become an important item, amounting to one hundred thousand pounds per annum. In addition to this enumeration, there are four steam saw-mills, three planing mills, three sash and blind factories, one of cotton and one of woolen goods, with shops for the manufacture of copper ware, furniture, clothing, harness and trunks, lead pipe, and many other articles of general and local necessity."

In closing this interesting statement the Reporter adds the following, which reads very much like a booster article of today and which is as true now as it was then :

"For manufacturers requiring large motive power or large quantities of fuel, Wheeling will always be a desirable point. The vast beds of coal which underlie all the adjacent hills and which are often of such easy access that the coal may be wheeled from the mines to the furnace without intermediate handling, will always afford an inexhaustible supply of fuel at the very lowest price. At the same time the manufacturer has easy access by river and railroad to all the markets of the country."

After the war a still larger expansion of industry set in and Wheeling continued to prosper. No longer were its activities confined to the city itself as heretofore, but industry began to overflow south to Marshall county and west into our Ohio suburbs. We saw then the beginnings of the greater Wheeling district in industries springing up in Martins Ferry, Bridgeport, Bellaire and Benwood with Wheeling men and money behind them. Of course, the Wheeling spirit reached even farther than these towns, though here it began its magic sway and not a community within twenty-five miles but that has felt

the effect of our progressive policies and the audacity and courage that come with successful endeavor. Though boat building languished under railroad competition, New England seized cotton manufacture, a tremendous flour industry grew up near the vast wheat fields of the northwest and a few other enterprises disappeared from one cause or another, we made good these few losses a hundred fold by the tremendous increase in our iron and steel industries. Tin plate and other metal products were added to our list. The manufacture of cut nails became such an important industry that Wheeling factories turned out a large proportion of the country's supply and the city was known far and wide as the Nail City. The river carried great quantities of our nails to every market and every plant maintained a landing to take advantage of this cheap transportation. The industry flourished until 1882, when labor disagreements, due to improved machinery, and the introduction of the wire nail, combined to hamper it seriously. Even now, however, the Wheeling district has several large nail factories which are doing a flourishing business.

Glass manufacture expanded and spread in all directions making this one of the country's greatest centers. The Wheeling stogie forged ahead and other lines of tobacco manufacture were added. Pottery manufacture was begun and flourished for many years. Calico prints, made in Wheeling, achieved and still hold a country-wide fame. Tanneries were enlarged and new lines of manufacture grew up here and there. The mining of coal developed into a tremendous industry all over the district and not only did mines supply local demands, but sold their output in many markets throughout this section. Natural gas came in 1886 and this ideal fuel has greatly strengthened Wheeling's position.

The railroad development following the arrival of the B. & O. in 1852 added greatly to the city's progress. A few years after the first B. & O. train ran over the mountains into Wheeling, the Central Ohio division of the line was completed to Bellaire and the Bellaire-Benwood bridge brought the tracks practically into Wheeling. In 1859 the Cleveland and Pittsburg road, a part of the Pennsylvania system, was completed to Bridgeport and in 1878 the "Pewiky," also a part of the same great system, brought the first train from Steubenville to Wheeling. The project of the Wheeling Terminal Railway, leading to the entrance of the Wheeling & Lake Erie, was agitated in 1887 and franchises secured in 1888. Two years later work was begun and this important improvement was completed in 1892. All of these lines have been steadily improved as the city grew and the B. & O. Railroad has

within the last decade spent millions of dollars on betterments which are fully justified as Wheeling District is today the third largest revenue producer on that great system.

It may be interesting here to trace the growth of a few large representative industries with names and dates. Taking the Independents, the Wheeling Steel & Iron Company was founded in 1892 by a combination of the Wheeling Iron & Nail Company, Belmont Nail Co., Benwood Iron Works and the Wheeling Steel Works. It is capitalized at \$5,000,000. The Whitaker-Glessner Company in 1903 sprang from the Whitaker Iron Company established on the banks of Wheeling Creek in 1875; and the Wheeling Corrugating Company, formed in 1890 and closely allied, is an outgrowth of the same initiative and enterprise. The La Belle Iron Works, founded here in 1852, has become a \$15,000,000 corporation from small beginnings, and though its chief plant, secured through the purchase of the Jefferson Iron mills in 1899, is now in Steubenville, twenty-five miles north, it is essentially a Wheeling concern. The United States Steel Corporation has five plants in the district, acquired in 1900 and 1901, including the Aetna-Standard Sheet & Tinsplate mill at Bridgeport, which was a combination of the Aetna Iron & Steel Company organized in 1873 and the Standard Iron Company formed in 1883; the Riverside Tube Works at Benwood originally owned by Dewey, Vance and Company and founded in the early seventies; the Carnegie Steel Works at Bellaire, which was originally the Bellaire Nail Works established in 1866; the Laughlin Tin plant at Martins Ferry started in 1894 and the La Belle tin plant at Wheeling, part of the La Belle enterprise, begun in 1852. These large holdings of the greatest steel corporation in the world show the high estimation in which the district is held by the leading men in the industry.

Though glass making was well started before the war, as the early accounts quoted above show, a prominent place was not taken by Wheeling in the industry until after 1860. During the early sixties the firm of Hobbs, Brockunier and Company was established in what was then Ritchietown, now South Wheeling, and in a few years the product of the plant became famous. For over a quarter of a century the ware of this firm on account of its excellent quality and original designs was in great demand all over the United States and Canada and large export shipments were made.

The plant was the training school for glass manufacturers, and from its force there graduated no less than forty men who later became officers or managers of prosperous concerns in the Ohio valley.

Since 1880 the industry has made rapid growth in this district until today there are in operation something over twenty plants, making window glass, bottles, table ware, packers' goods, electrical ware, etc. These factories employ approximately six thousand people and produce wares valued at about \$8,000,000 annually. Natural gas was first used for glass manufacturing in the district, being installed in the Riverside glass works at Wellsburg. Soon Pittsburg manufacturers introduced it and its use became general.

The Wheeling Stogie, according to best tradition, made its appearance in 1840 from the little shop of Mifflin Marsh, who afterward became a large manufacturer and whose business, ever increasing, was later carried on by his son. From humble beginnings the industry grew until now the stogie, produced by scores of factories, runs up to 150,000,000 and employs 1,500 men in its manufacture. Aside from stogies, other lines of tobacco manufacture developed and today Wheeling boasts of the largest plant in the world turning out a single brand of chewing and smoking tobacco.

Besides these principal lines, many others have grown up and today we find the district turning out a long list of products and its plants include many prosperous concerns. We have, for instance, stamping works which make between sixty and seventy per cent of the lamp burners used in the United States; enameled ware factories turning out goods that go into every market; foundries that have large Panama Canal contracts; tool works that sell their output as far apart as Norway and South Africa; paper mills that supply great millers of the Northwest; tanneries whose leather is a staple article in the country's markets; packing plants which do a great inter-state business; a proprietary medicine concern which is the largest in the country; calico works whose product has been a leader in the dry goods markets for half a century, and other mills and factories on smaller scale which do our ever increasing business. Among those recently added are an auto truck plant and a machine shop for making auto engines. There is no good reason why Wheeling should not become a center in this industry.

The census of 1910 gives in a striking way the industrial situation in this city in the following figures:

Capital invested.....	\$19,297,000
Cost of materials used.....	16,025,000
Salaries and wages.....	5,503,000
Miscellaneous expenses.....	3,166,000
Value of products.....	27,077,000
Value added by manufacturer.....	11,052,000

These figures for the city represent about half of the industrial dimensions of the Wheeling district and in nearly every instance are larger than the aggregate of all cities over 10,000 in West Virginia. They show an average increase of a little more than 22% over 1900 and do not include the mining industry of the district, in which 14,000 men are employed, producing annually about 12,000,000 tons of coal and earning about \$9,000,000 a year. The value of this industry in itself is enormous and the fact that our coal beds are practically inexhaustible is assurance of its steady increase.

Naturally an industrial community of this size and importance has produced some men who have gone from their experience and training here into national fields of usefulness, and among them may be mentioned the late Col. Frank J. Hearne, president of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, who was a member of a prominent Wheeling family, pioneers in the iron business; Wm. T. Graham, president of the American Can Company, who was for a long time at the head of the Aetna-Standard Iron & Steel Company, and John A. Topping, president of the Republic Steel Company, who began his career with the Aetna-Standard; Michael J. Owens, the inventor of the Owens bottle-making machine, which has achieved tremendous success, was born in Wheeling and in his early days worked in Wheeling glass houses.

In conclusion, it is interesting to note that at no time has the growth of industry here been of the boom variety, and the city is to be congratulated on this fact. The foundations of our industrial prosperity were carefully laid and the continued expansion of the most important lines is ample proof of the statement. Few wild-cat ventures have even found foothold here and the temper of the people has ever been to make haste slowly. By this policy substantial achievements have been wrought which will be the making of many communities of larger population and pretensions.

We have here cheap fuel and splendid distribution, and these things united to long experience and the energy and the courage that comes with success, should make our place secure and every year push us farther to the front among cities which do things.

Since 1900 the Board of Trade has been a potent factor in Wheeling's advance industrially, commercially and civically, uniting as it does citizens in all walks for the city's upbuilding, and with broad-minded and public spirited men at its helm will continue the good work of spreading Wheeling's name and fame and adding to its well-being and prosperity.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## BANKING AND FINANCE.\*

"Surely use alone  
Makes money not a contemptible stone."

The history of Wheeling's banks reflects in an unmistakable way the solid and substantial character of the commerce and industry of the city, and the record of nearly one hundred years is one of which any community may well be proud. Through the stress and storm of panics and hard times there is no blot on our escutcheon and the successful way in which financial crises have always been met shows how ably and honestly the business of the banks has been conducted. Wheeling has produced a breed of bankers, well schooled in the correct methods and approved practices which make for permanent success, and they have been a mighty factor in the steady march of progress of all lines of business and manufacturing. It is no idle boast to say that our banking record is equalled by few and surpassed by none, and the brief account of the rise and growth of various institutions as set forth in this article will amply bear out this statement.

Banking in Northwestern Virginia began with the establishment at Wheeling of the Northwestern Bank of Virginia, in the year 1817, with branches at Clarksburg, Morgantown, Wellsburg, Parkersburg, Beverly and Middlebourne.

As was the custom at the time, until the passage of the National Bank Act in 1863 and prior to the establishment of banking departments in the several states, it was chartered under a special act of the legislature, or as it was then known, the general assembly of Virginia. The commissioners appointed to receive subscriptions to the stock were Archibald Woods, John White, George Knox, Noah Zane and Samuel Sprigg, men whose names have been familiar to the people of this vicinity for a century or more.

In the issue of the *Gazette* for May 23, 1818, we find the following editorial notice in regard to the Northwestern Bank:

"We have the pleasure this week of informing the public that the stock of the Northwestern Bank of Virginia has all been sub-

---

\*By W. B. Irvine, Vice President National Bank of West Virginia at Wheeling.

scribed by the inhabitants of this place and its vicinity; in consequence of which, our readers will perceive an advertisement in this day's paper, notifying the stockholders to meet at the office of the Ohio Company on the 27th of June next, for the purpose of electing proper officers to conduct the institution. It appears from the statement of the Commissioners that upwards of four thousand dollars more stock was taken than the minimum sum required by law."

The first president was Noah Zane; the first cashier, Thomas Woods, and the first clerk was John List, father of Daniel C. and Henry K. List. Mr. List became cashier after a few years, and at his death in 1846, was succeeded by Daniel Lamb. Gibson Lamb, son of the latter, became cashier in 1863 and was the active head of the institution when it was converted to the national system in 1863, as THE NATIONAL BANK OF WEST VIRGINIA AT WHEELING.

This bank was one of the very few throughout the nation that did not suspend specie payments during the panic of 1837 and the period of depression that followed, and closed a long and honorable career during the Civil war. An advertisement in the old Wheeling Directory in 1839, though possibly incorrect as to some of the names, is of interest, and reads as follows:

"Northwestern Bank of Virginia—225 Main Street.

Capital \$700,000—all paid in.

Directors—Archibald Woods, Thomas Paull, Wm. B. Atterbury, Thomas Johnston, Daniel Cruger, R. C. Woods, Samuel Sprigg, William Paxton, John Bane.

Officers—Archibald Woods, President; John List, Cashier; Hiram D. Brown, bookkeeper; J. Steen Browne, teller; Daniel C. List, clerk. Discount days—Thursdays. Bank opens at 9 o'clock A. M., and closes at 2 o'clock P. M."

At this time the bank was located in a small two-story building, at 225 Main street, upon the spot where the residence of George K. Wheat now stands (909 Main street), which house was afterwards built and occupied by it.

The National Bank of West Virginia at Wheeling therefore rightly claims the honor of being the oldest bank in Wheeling. In 1865 it was chartered under the national banking law, and under the present name succeeded to the building and business of the old Northwestern Bank. Its doors were opened to the public in October of that year, with James W. Paxton as president and Gibson Lamb,

cashier. In 1870 Crispin Oglebay was president and John Wagner had begun his long service in the place of cashier. For some years, until his death in 1881, the president was James Maxwell, the financier and business man whose career is commemorated in the present Y. M. C. A. building of Wheeling. Mr. Earl W. Oglebay then succeeded to the office of president, and is still connected with the bank in this position. Charles W. Brockunier was vice president for a number of years, and during the eighties Lawrence E. Sands was assistant cashier.

This bank, which has a capital stock of \$400,000, and surplus of \$150,000, has total resources of three and a half millions, and besides being the oldest, is also one of the solidest banking institutions of the city and vicinity. The present officials of the bank are: E. W. Oglebay, president; W. B. Irvine, vice president; J. F. Paull, vice president; Baird Mitchell, cashier.

In January, 1907, the National Bank of West Virginia at Wheeling and the Bank of Wheeling were consolidated, hence a brief history of the latter institution very properly follows here.

The BANK OF WHEELING was founded in 1853 by C. D. Hubbard and D. C. List, as a private institution. It was afterwards incorporated under the state laws of 1890. In 1870 its officials were; D. C. List, president; Gibson Lamb, cashier; and Joseph Seybold, assistant cashier. Mr. Hubbard had resigned from the bank in 1865. Gibson Lamb became president during the nineties. About 1900 Hannibal Forbes was president and J. A. Jefferson, cashier, and a later reorganization gave the direction of the bank to A. J. Clarke, president; J. F. Paull, vice president; and W. B. Irvine, cashier. On the consolidation with the National Bank of West Virginia at Wheeling, Mr. Irvine became vice president of the latter. Throughout its history the Bank of Wheeling was located at 1229 Main street.

The second bank established in Wheeling was the MERCHANTS & MECHANICS. Its history dates back to July, 1834, just three years prior to the great panic of 1837. Redick McKee was its first president. It maintained a branch at Morgantown, and perhaps had branches in other towns in the state. The early home of this bank was for long years a landmark of the business district, and some interesting information about the building of this banking house, and about the men associated with the enterprise, is contained in the old Wheeling Directory for 1839, from which the following is taken:

"Merchants and Mechanics Bank of Wheeling.

Capital \$500,000—all paid in.

Directors—Joseph Caldwell (President), John Ritchie, Moses W. Chapline, Samuel Neel, Israel Updegraff, Mark Douglass, Wm. T. Selby, David Agnew, C. D. Knox.

Officers—Sobieski Brady, Cashier; John Morgan, teller; Wm. B. Quarrier, bookkeeper; Beverly Smith, discount clerk; Josiah F. Updegraff, note clerk; J. P. Scroggins, watchman. Discount days—Tuesdays. Bank opens at 9 o'clock A. M., and closes at 2 o'clock P. M.

At present the Merchants and Mechanics Bank of Wheeling is in operation at 131 Main Street, and will there continue to do



The Old Exchange Bank.

business until the new banking house on the corner of Main and Monroe [now 12th] Streets, shall be completed.

The foundation is laid, and the work is otherwise in progress, on the northeast corner of Main and Monroe Streets, for a new banking house, 87 feet, 4 inches one way, by 40 feet the other, of Doric structure. The parapet is built of free stone, above which, to the height of 28 feet from its basis, it will be substantially composed of bricks and stuccoes with a stucco in fancy colors. The front will be displayed with six hexagon columns, and the whole of it will receive a finish characteristic of its importance.

This building is for the Merchants and Mechanics Bank of Wheeling, and will be numbered 88 on Main Street."

Sobieski Brady served as cashier of the bank from its beginning to March 31st, 1871, nearly forty years. The office of president was held for many years by Joseph Caldwell. Mr. J. Nelson Vance, now president of its successor, THE NATIONAL EXCHANGE BANK, has the distinction of having been chief officer under all four of the different titles of the bank. After the war the original institution was reorganized under a national charter, and took the title of the Merchants National Bank of West Virginia.

After voluntary liquidation in August, 1874, the bank reorganized as the EXCHANGE BANK OF WHEELING. A line from its advertisement stated that "this bank succeeds to the business of the Merchants National Bank." The officers then were: J. N. Vance, president; Samuel Laughlin, vice president; and John J. Jones, cashier. About 1890 L. S. Delaplaine became vice president, and then John Frew held that office till his death in September, 1901, when he was succeeded by William Ellingham. As stated, the veteran iron master, Mr. Vance, has been president through all these changes. Another old official was John J. Jones, now retired, who held the place of cashier until about 1894, when he was succeeded by Lawrence E. Sands.

On January 1, 1899, the Exchange Bank became the NATIONAL EXCHANGE BANK. Soon after the old building, with its Doric columns, was torn down; a new office structure was erected on the site, and this, now being remodeled, still serves as the home of the bank. The present officials are: J. N. Vance, president; Lawrence E. Sands and William Ellingham, vice presidents; C. W. Jeffers, cashier.

The COMMERCIAL BANK is descended from one of the financial institutions established in Wheeling a number of years before the war. Until 1865 it was the "Savings Bank of Wheeling," situated on Main street between Monroe and Quincy (Twelfth and Fourteenth). It was organized under the provisions of an act of the general assembly dated March 14, 1849, and its first board of directors, elected May 5, 1851, were: Thomas H. List, Samuel Gill, Jacob Hornbrook, Alexander Hadden, George Hardman, F. W. Bassett and W. F. Peterson. Thomas H. List was president for twenty-seven years. When first established the bank was located in Centre Wheeling, at Main and Twenty-first. In 1856 it was moved up Main street to the rear of the old Sprigg House, and about four years later to the location above

mentioned, where it has remained ever since. The building secured in 1860 had previously been occupied by what was known as the Manufacturers & Farmers Banking Company. In October, 1865, the associates organized under the national bank act as the National Savings Bank of Wheeling. T. H. List was elected president and S. P. Hildreth, cashier, while Augustus Pollack and J. L. Stifel were among the first directors. After a few years the national charter was given up, and on January 15, 1869, the bank was incorporated under the state laws, but the name "National Savings Bank" was retained. A few years later Congress prohibited the use of the word "National" by any banks except those chartered under the national law, and about 1874 the present title—Commercial Bank—was adopted. In 1878 J. L. Stifel succeeded Mr. List as president, and he was succeeded by Charles H. Booth in January, 1880; the latter serving until September, 1884, when William M. List took the office and was president for about twenty-five years. The first cashier of the old Savings Bank was William Rankin. In 1860 Samuel P. Hildreth was known as "Treasurer" of the bank, and he continued in that officer and as cashier with the exception of about two years, until 1890. F. C. Hildreth was cashier for two or three years, and since 1893 Mr. M. Jeffers has filled that position. Mr. W. A. Wilson is now president of the Commercial Bank.

The BANK OF THE OHIO VALLEY, though for many years a state bank, was the first financial institution of Wheeling to take advantage of the national bank act, and in consequence it was able to advertise for several years as "Designated Depository U. S." The old Citizens Deposit Bank, which had been organized in 1858, was really the predecessor of this bank. Alfred Caldwell and George K. Wheat had both held the office of president of the Citizens Deposit. When, in 1864, the First National Bank of Wheeling was incorporated, Mr. Wheat became its first president, and the cashier was George Adams. In 1870, when the same officers were in charge, the advertisement of this bank contains the following interesting note on the currency of the time:

"A constant supply of new fractional currency, and 1, 2, 3 and 5c coin kept for the accommodation of depositors and the public."

Both of the veteran bankers who first officered this institution are still living. Mr. Adams held the office of cashier from 1864 to 1880, with the exception of about two years, when M. A. Chandler was cashier. The president in 1875 was John K. Botsford, and about

that time the bank surrendered its national charter and was organized under its present charter and title. William A. Isett became president and held this office continuously until his retirement a few years ago. The successor of Mr. Adams as cashier was Frank P. Jepson, who had begun his career in the bank as a messenger, and who continued as cashier until the early nineties, when he was succeeded by Col. J. A. Miller, who has held the office of president since the retirement of Mr. Isett. William B. Simpson was one of the first stockholders in this bank; was vice president for a number of years, and that office is now held by his brother, Robert. The present cashier and executive manager of the Bank of the Ohio Valley is Mr. J. H. McDonald. The resources of this institution are over a million dollars. The building now occupied by the bank was erected in 1906.

The PEOPLES BANK of Wheeling has been a well known institution in the financial district for over half a century. Since 1876 it has occupied the building at the northwest corner of Twelfth and Main streets. It had first occupied quarters at 69 Main street, according to the old system of street numbering, about half a block south of Twelfth. The Peoples Bank was founded in 1860. John Reid was president up to the time of his death early in the eighties, and Josiah Updegraff was cashier during about the same period. The late Col. Thomas O'Brien succeeded Mr. Reid, he having been identified with the bank as director since 1874, and served as its president until his death a few years ago. Mr. T. T. Hutchisson, now president, held the office of vice president for over twenty years. Mr. George W. Eckhart has held the post of cashier for the past thirty years.

The CITY BANK OF WHEELING was established in 1870, and was conducted as a private banking firm for about sixteen years. Robert Crangle and J. Dalzell were the organizers and were respectively president and vice president. Henry Crangle was cashier until about 1885, when he was succeeded by Robert C. Dalzell. During this period the bank was located at 1316 Market street. Soon afterward, Henry K. and A. S. List became actively identified with the City Bank, and it has largely represented the financial ability associated with this name down to the present time. Henry K. List was president up till his death about ten years ago. The building now occupied by the bank, at 1300 Market, was erected through the enterprise of Mr. List, and for some years this six story structure, built

in 1891, was the finest office building in the city, and is still one of the substantial features of the business district. Ambrose S. List, who had been vice president for a number of years, succeeded to the office of president. The other officials at the present time are John K. List, vice president; Robert C. Dalzell, cashier, and D. C. List, Jr., assistant cashier. Mr. Dalzell has been identified with his present office for more than a quarter century.

The GERMAN BANK was founded in 1870, and its first officers were the late Augustus Pollack, president, and Oscar Gemmer, cashier. Its location at that time was at 1517 Market, opposite the old post-office, and it remained there until about 1898, since which date it has occupied the old Washington Hall building, at the northeast corner of Twelfth and Market. Mr. Louis J. Bayha took the post of cashier in 1875, and has served the institution in that capacity continuously for the past thirty-seven years, so that he is now one of the oldest active bankers of the city. The late Chester D. Hubbard was president from 1879 until in the nineties, and for the past fifteen years Henry Schmulbach has been president. C. W. Franzheim was vice president until recently, being succeeded by Mr. F. J. Park.

The DOLLAR SAVINGS & TRUST COMPANY, which has the newest and finest bank building in the state, continuing into the modern city the classic features of architecture which marked the old Exchange Bank and the old Court House, combines under its present title two former financial institutions. The Dollar Savings Bank was established in April, 1887, as the result of an organization perfected by N. B. Scott, P. B. Dobbins, W. J. W. Cowden and associates. The lower floor of the building at 1218 Market street, was remodeled for the uses of the bank, and it remained at this location, and at 1222 Market street, until moved to the present edifice across the street. The first officers were N. B. Scott, president; George Hook, vice president, and P. B. Dobbins, cashier. Mr. Scott was president of the bank until the reorganization about ten years ago, when Mr. B. W. Peterson succeeded him. Bernard Klieves was vice president for about five years previous to the reorganization. Mr. Dobbins, the first cashier, met his death in a railroad accident, and was succeeded by B. W. Peterson. Since the organization of the Dollar Savings & Trust Company the following officers have managed this large and prosperous institution: B. W. Peterson, president; N. B. Scott, first vice president; H. M. Russell, second vice president; L. F. Stifel, secretary.

The WHEELING TITLE & TRUST COMPANY, which was consolidated with the Dollar Savings Bank, was organized December 10, 1889, with the following officers: Henry M. Russell, president; Thomas O'Brien Sr., secretary; Alexander Updegraff, assistant secretary; George R. E. Gilchrist, examiner of titles. Mr. Russell and Mr. Gilchrist were continuously with the official direction of the company up to the time of the consolidation. Louis F. Stifel succeeded Mr. O'Brien as secretary in 1891, and holds the same office in the new company. In September, 1891, after the state law had been amended so as to permit title and trust companies to engage in regular banking, a banking department was opened.

The "only co-operative savings bank in West Virginia" is the MUTUAL SAVINGS BANK, at 1126 Market street. It was incorporated March 4, 1887, under the provisions of a state law enacted for this special purpose. Its fifteen trustees are selected by the judges of the circuit court, and in this manner and by other general provisions, the conduct of the bank is under rigid state control and supervision. The fundamental purpose of the organization was to provide a savings bank for the small depositors, and in the twenty-five years of its existence the bank has never paid less than four per cent on its deposits. Howard Hazlett has been president of this institution from the beginning, and Alexander Mitchell, the treasurer, has also been identified with the bank a similar length of time. W. B. Simpson and Richard Robertson were the first vice presidents, and W. G. Wilkinson the first secretary. In accordance with the provisions of an act of the legislature, requiring fifteen trustees to be selected by the circuit court, the bank was reorganized June 21, 1899, and the officers elected at that time were Howard Hazlett, president; D. L. Ratcliff, vice president; Alexander Mitchell, treasurer; W. G. Wilkinson, secretary; Baird Mitchell, assistant treasurer, and Caldwell & Caldwell, solicitors. After the death of Mr. Wilkinson in 1900, Baird Mitchell became secretary. At the present time, in addition to the two officials who have served continuously, Henry Serig is vice president, Katharine Mitchell, secretary, and Caldwell & Caldwell, solicitors. The bank was located for a time at 1315 Market, and then for about ten years at 1521 Market. The Peabody Building at 1126 Market, was purchased by the bank in 1900, and has been occupied by it since June, 1901. This five-story building, when erected in 1893, was one of the principal office structures of the city.

The GERMANIA HALF DOLLAR SAVINGS BANK was organized in 1897. Mr. George Hook, now president and cashier, and who was the first president came to this institution at the close of his eighteen years' service as clerk of the Ohio County court, and the bank's success has been largely due to his energetic management. Paul O. Reymann, the vice president, has also been identified with the bank from the first. Fred J. Fox was cashier for several years and was succeeded by Charles F. Ebeling, but for the last five years Mr. Hook has combined two offices under his management. This institution inaugurated the "home savings bank" system in Wheeling, by which small individual "banks" were distributed among the customers to encourage the putting away of spare coin until it could be taken and deposited. This system, in different forms, is now employed by savings banks in practically all the larger cities of the country. The home of the Germania Bank since its founding, has been at 1501 Market street.

The QUARTER SAVINGS BANK was incorporated July 1, 1901, by F. H. Frazier, R. H. McKee, J. C. Devine, J. W. Speidel and F. J. Ball. Its president throughout this period has been George J. Mathison, and W. C. Eberts has been vice president for a number of years. The present cashier is J. F. Ebeling. The Quarter Savings Bank was first located at 1521 Market, but is now at 1507 Market, near the Germania Bank.

The SOUTH SIDE BANK OF WHEELING, a savings and general bank, at Thirty-eighth and Jacob streets, was organized October 1, 1890. R. M. Gilleland and Charles A. Bowers have held the respective offices of president and cashier of this bank throughout its career. H. F. Behrens was vice president until recently; this office now being held by Charles Horstmann.

The CENTER WHEELING SAVINGS BANK at Twenty-second and Market, has passed the first decade of its existence, having been opened for business May 21, 1901. Mr. H. J. Scheuffler has been cashier from the start. T. M. Garvin was the first president, and that office is now filled by S. B. McKee, while Dr. Leonard Eskey is vice president.

The first savings bank in Wheeling was known as the "Wheeling Savings Institution," which in 1839 was located at 127 Main street (near Eleventh street). The Wheeling Directory for 1839 states that Thomas Hughes was president, Frederick H. Greer, treasurer, and

the directors were Morgan Nelson, Isaiah Cooper, John M. Clark, Joseph Morrison, Jonas Crumbacker, Joseph Pollock, John Goshorn, T. J. B. Pentony. Some time later, through the dishonesty of one of its officials, this institution was forced to suspend. And in the history of Wheeling's financial institutions, through a period of almost a century, this is the only sinister reflection that can be cast.

The SECURITY TRUST COMPANY, though primarily a trust company, also conducts a banking department. It was established about 1904, and its first officers were J. N. Vance, president; S. B. Elkins, vice president; L. E. Sands, secretary, and Fred J. Fox, cashier. With the exception of Mr. Elkins, who was succeeded about five or six years ago by F. C. Hoffman, the officers remain the same at the present time. The offices of the Security Trust are at 1145 Market.

The total strength of these institutions is shown in the following figures compiled from the last official statements:

Number .....	14
Capital .....	\$ 2,626,000.00
Surplus .....	2,888,000.00
Deposits .....	19,893,000.00
Loans .....	20,727,000.00
Total Resources .....	26,983,000.00

Of the several private banking firms now engaged in business in Wheeling, one of the best known is HOWARD HAZLETT & SON, formerly in the National Exchange Bank Building, now in the Schmulbach Building.

Within the last few years several banks have been organized to meet local needs in the suburbs, and these include the State Bank and First National Bank at Elm Grove, the Bank of Fulton and the Bank of Warwood, just north of Wheeling. These are all doing a growing business, and are all financed and officered by Wheeling men.

In February, 1901, the WHEELING CLEARING HOUSE ASSOCIATION was established, uniting our banks in one strong central organization. Up to 1907 only ten of the banks were members, but since that date all have affiliated with the Association. During the first year the bank clearings through this Association, were about thirty millions, while during the tenth year they rose to nearly one hundred millions. Mr. Alexander Mitchell has been manager of the Clearing House from its establishment, and the Association up to the fall of 1907 made its daily exchanges and settlements through the Mutual

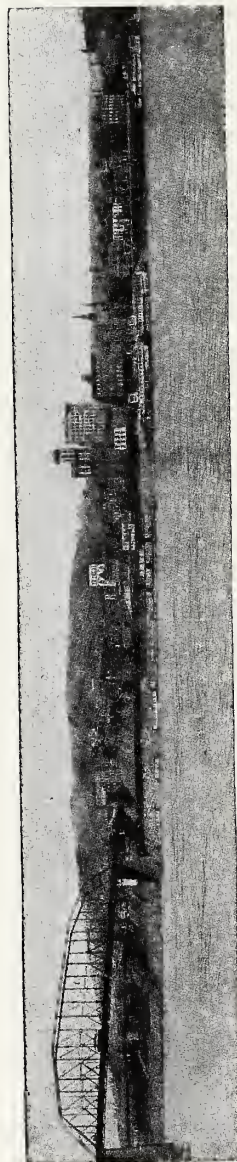
Savings Bank. It has an office in the Schmulbach Building. Robert C. Dalzell has been president of the Association for some years.

The Clearing House Association first gave an adequate and complete idea of the volume of our business, and the city is known far and wide for its high position in this respect. Our clearings are larger than any city of similar size in the country, and exceed those of many cities much greater in population. Among twenty larger cities taken at random from Sacramento, Cal., in the west, to Fall River, Mass., in the east, and from London, Ont., in the north, to Mobile, Ala., in the south, Wheeling leads. Last year's clearings reached \$90,579,790, which was greater than the cities named, and also exceeded the record of Akron, Canton, Lincoln, South Bend, Wilkesbarre, Youngstown, Reading, Ft. Wayne, Topeka, Davenport, Erie, Springfield, Ill., Springfield, O., Wilmington and York, Pa. The figures for this year are ahead of last, and 1912 promises to be the banner year.

The record since 1904 is as follows:

Exchanges for 1904.....	\$36,569,029.23
Exchanges for 1905.....	41,335,368.93
Exchanges for 1906.....	53,229,030.04
Exchanges for 1907.....	57,455,311.80
Exchanges for 1908.....	72,600,000.30
Exchanges for 1909.....	80,890,086.78
Exchanges for 1910.....	90,318,477.53
Exchanges for 1911.....	90,579,693.00

This briefly, is the history of banking in Wheeling, from the beginning in 1817 to the present time—1912—and if Wheeling's financial institutions shall continue to be as solid and substantial as they have been for nearly a hundred years, there can be no good reason for criticism; for with a single exception, no bank in this city has ever failed to pay its depositors in full upon legitimate demand.



By Permission of Nicoll's Art Store.

## CHAPTER XV.

THE PRINCIPAL TOWN CENTERS OF THE GREATER WHEELING  
DISTRICT.

"Order is Heaven's first law; and this confessed,  
Some are, and must be, greater than the rest."

In the chapter on the Era of Larger Growth have been described the chief factors in the process by which Wheeling city and the outlying town and commercial centers were knit together in one large population and industrial area, reaching from Moundsville on the south to Wellsburg on the north, and from Elm Grove on the east across the river to include the thriving industrial centers in the state of Ohio. Throughout this extensive area are situated perhaps half a hundred community centers, each with individual name and often with corporate organization. The larger of them are grouped about some industrial enterprise, but many others are residence centers, with their few stores, a church or two, a schoolhouse and a few representatives of the trades and professions. On the whole, however, the interests of all are identified with the unit which comprehends them collectively, and which has been described as the Greater Wheeling District. In this chapter it is proposed to treat of the larger towns and cities which, though independent civil corporations, are yet included in this District. Such places as Moundsville and Wellsburg existed almost as early as Wheeling itself, and only with the development of modern times have they become intimately associated with the welfare of the greater community.<sup>1</sup>

*Wellsburg.*

When the early settlers of western Pennsylvania and Maryland began to push westward, the great fertile bottoms of the Ohio river first attracted their attention. Wheeling and Moundsville attracted the Zanes and Tomlinsons, and they soon spread the fame of the great fertile valley throughout the older settlements, and encouraged among people there the spirit of seeking something new and better.

---

<sup>1</sup>The sketches of the larger towns have been prepared for this work by Mr. John W. Burchinal.

Inspired by the fireside stories of the great country to the west, three adventurers set out from Brownsville, Pennsylvania, on a crisp September morning in 1772. The men determined to explore the western wilderness were brothers named Cox—Jonathan, Israel and Friend—and armed with rifle and axe and other articles usually taken on frontier expeditions, they plunged into the wilderness and worked their way tediously along, at times becoming discouraged. They were eager to reach the "Big River" about which they had heard so much, and were almost on the point of turning back to Brownsville when they came out on the big hill overlooking the present site of Wellsburg. The alluring panorama spread out before them seemed ample recompense for all the privations and hardships which they had undergone, for it was surely "Fair as a garden of the Lord," and all thought of returning to Brownsville was abandoned.

The party descended the hill, and about two hundred rods above the mouth of the creek on the river bank, erected a log cabin, the first structure ever reared by white men on the site of the present city of Wellsburg. It was, of course, built of round logs and served as protection from wild animals and the elements. They then extended their examination of the locality and found their first impressions more than justified. After a night's rest they proceeded to tomahawk their claims. Starting at the mouth of the creek they blazed the trees up the river as far as desirable, thence eastwardly to the hills and south to the creek; thus making the creek the south line, the hills the east line and the river the west line, while the north line was blazed from river to hills along what is now Queens street. Thus was the first claim made to the land on which Wellsburg stands.

The brothers returned to Brownsville, but in the spring of 1773 came back to the Ohio valley and made improvements to their cabin and more definitely fixed the boundaries of their claim. The "tomahawk right" entitled each settler to four hundred acres, so the claims of the Cox brothers would aggregate twelve hundred acres, which is now Wellsburg.

When the brothers returned to Brownsville, they created great interest in regard to the wonderful region which they had visited, and a cousin, George Cox, came out and located a claim north of that of the brothers, extending almost to Cross Creek. The war of the Revolution then came on and the loyal citizens of the Monongahela Valley enlisted in the Continental Army, so that all thought of extending exploration and development westward was abandoned for the time being. During this time the Ohio Valley was ablaze with

Indian and renegade depredations and outrages, so that even the bravest pioneer hesitated to face the dangers of the wilderness.

When the Revolution closed and peace once more reigned, many adventuresome settlers began to find their way into the new promised land. A Captain Van Swearingen came and acquired a part of one of the Cox interests in exchange for a rifle. From this time on settlers multiplied and interests divided.

One of the Cox brothers was surprised and killed by Indians in his camp while on a hunting expedition in Ohio, and another was killed in a fight with Indians on the Ohio side of the river some distance below Wellsburg. Only one was permitted to die peacefully in his cabin.

Van Swearingen had commanded a company in Morgan's celebrated rifle corps during the Revolution. He was a man of powerful build and led many scouting parties in the border warfare. He resided in a large double cabin, one of the pretentious mansions of that day. It was razed in 1808 to make way for the modern frame dwelling of General Connell, and this in turn succumbed in the march of progress to make way for the still more modern home, built by William Tarr in 1848, which is still standing. A spring, quite celebrated in its time, flowed from the bluff near this residence and was shaded by a great beech tree. This was a famous rendezvous in its day for hunters and frontiersmen, who met there to regale themselves and talk over the exciting border affairs, past, present and future. In the bark of this beech tree were carved the names of many famous characters in frontier life, such as Cox, Brady, Van Swearingen, Buskirk and McCulloch. The earliest date recognizable in the old tree was 1792. The famous Wetzels often visited Van Swearingen, but their names do not appear among the carvings. This memorable giant of the frontier forest, with its priceless records, succumbed to the decay of age in 1840 and nothing but a memory remains.

Wellsburg, like all frontier settlements, had its blockhouse. It stood on the river bank west of the Van Swearingen mansion. At that time, parallel with the river, there was a pond about six hundred feet in length and about 180 feet in width, and at the lower end of this, next to the river, stood the blockhouse, surrounded by palisades. It was not a regularly garrisoned fort, but was built as a place of shelter for the settlers in case of a raid by the Indians. It became useless and was abandoned to the march of progress in 1802.

Many are the stories told of the early settlers. George Cox

brought his slaves from Maryland and maintained quite an estate, as did many others, but their only recorded history now obtainable is on the mossy stones in obscure, almost forgotten burial grounds. But these pioneers left a monument more enduring than those moss-covered stones. The great, prosperous, enlightened community which they founded in the wilderness, the fifty riflemen which they sent to the front in 1812, and the honorable, patriotic and progressive history of the community since its settlement is a monument more enduring and more creditable than shaft of marble or palace of steel.

Several incidents of local note occurred in the early period of the neighborhood, which might well be recorded here. The murder of Samuel McCulloch, while doing picket duty near "Court House



Brooke County Court House.

Fort" in 1782; the capture of Mrs. Glass and child in 1789 and recovery by her husband and companions after a chase of two days and a fight; the capture of Mrs. Buskirk and her murder when the savages found they were pursued, the effort of the husband to get revenge and his death in the attempt, are all worthy of mention. The place where Mrs. Buskirk was murdered is known as "Town Rock," and the place where her husband fell has always been known as "Battle Run," and is about a mile west of Mingo. John Decker was murdered near Holliday's Cove in 1793 and this was the last Indian murder recorded in Brooke county.

Wellsburg was a formidable rival of Wheeling for the Ohio river

terminus of the National Road, but the latter won out, largely through the influence of Henry Clay. When Clay was a candidate for the presidency Ohio county was solidly for him, while Brooke county was solidly against him, and the two counties were long divided on this question, practically solid between Democratic and Whig lines. The defeat of Wellsburg on the National Road question led to the construction of the Wellsburg and Washington and the Wellsburg and Bethany turnpikes.

This was quite an important point in early days, not only in river shipping but in the building of river craft, which was an extensive industry here. Its importance in this line may be noted by the fact that it was considered only second to Pittsburgh on the whole river. The town retained this commanding position for long years, and the launching of river craft was quite an interesting and picturesque feature of local life.

In 1795 a small concern began the smelting of iron near Holli-day's Cove. It was owned by Peter Tarr and others. About the same time Isaac Duval and others started a small flint glass factory and it struggled along with varying fortunes until 1842, when it went out of business. It was revived again in 1855, but after a brief run again closed down. The buildings were finally razed and the materials used for other buildings. The manufacture of green glass was also undertaken at an early period, but the undertaking was not a success. Leather making and a cotton factory were also early ventures that did not prove highly successful. The cotton factory was dismantled in 1873 and the machinery taken to Cincinnati and installed in a plant there. The buildings were later destroyed by fire and the site passed to the Samuel George Paper Company, one of Wellsburg's successful modern industries. A machine shop and foundry was installed in 1835; also a powder mill and a pottery. A female seminary does not exactly fall under the head of factories, but an effort was made to establish one, and finances running short, it was converted into an agricultural machinery works, and finally became the Acme Mower and Reaper Machine Works.

Coal mining has been carried on in the vicinity of Wellsburg from an early date, but the first commercial mine of importance was opened in 1863, and the business has grown steadily ever since. Among the prosperous and growing coal operations at present are those conducted by the Finley Coal Company, the LaBelle Coal Company and the Beech Bottom Coal Company, besides a number of smaller

operations. The prospects are exceedingly good for extensive new development in this line of industry.

Wellsburg failed to get the National Road, but not discouraged, she set out to get a steam road and the energy and enterprise displayed by her people had much to do with finally getting the Pittsburgh, Wheeling & Kentucky railroad (now the Pennsylvania line to Wheeling) constructed. Wheeling, and most of the state, as well as the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, opposed its construction and prevented it from obtaining a charter for a number of years. The road was opened to Wellsburg late in 1877 and to Wheeling early in 1878. The telegraph line was opened for business about May 1, 1878.

The first bank was a branch of the Northwestern Bank of Virginia, opened in 1832, though a private banking concern known as the Charlestown Manufacturing and Exporting Company began operations in 1813 and went out of existence in 1815. The first president of the branch bank was John C. Campbell, and S. Jacob was cashier. The Northwestern Bank and its branches stood the great financial crash of 1837 remarkably well, considering the crude financial system of those times. The bank erected and moved into a new building in 1836. It was considered quite a structure then, though its cost was but \$6,000. After the National Banking Law went into effect, it became the First National Bank of Wellsburg, and in 1871, for purely business reasons, it went into liquidation, and without friction, loss or serious inconvenience to anybody concerned, became the Wellsburg National Bank. The Wellsburg Bank known as the S. George Bank, was organized in 1871. The Commercial Bank was organized by John S. Beall in 1890, and, with Wylie W. Beall at its head, is now one of the prosperous banks of the city. Colonel Beall is a big factor in the business life of Wellsburg and takes the lead in all progressive moves. Too much cannot be said of him in this respect, as all Wellsburg people will testify. The fourth banking institution is the Wellsburg Banking & Trust Company, a very prosperous and conservatively managed institution. Wellsburg has been particularly fortunate in the history of its financial institutions, and they have a well-deserved reputation for safety and solidity. At the present time preparations are under way to organize a fifth bank and it will probably be opened for business shortly.

The Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist Episcopal denominations were early in this field. On account of the large North of Ireland element, the Presbyterians were particularly strong. The first building

erected exclusively for church purposes was built by the Methodist Episcopal congregation in 1815 and it was used until 1853, when it was torn down and a new building erected. At a very early date the denomination known as "Regular Baptist" built a house of worship. Alexander Campbell and others were active in this work. The building was used until 1848, when it was razed and the material was used in constructing an edifice for the Christian denomination, which had then been founded, but which was then very generally denominated Campbellites or Disciples. The first Presbyterian house was erected in 1838. A congregation known as St. John's Protestant Episcopal church was organized about nine miles north of Wellsburg in 1848, and a house of worship erected. Later a congregation was organized in Wellsburg and an edifice built. A Catholic congregation was organized in 1854 and a Methodist' Protestant organization was made in 1864. All these churches have commodious edifices and are growing in membership and influence. Since that time a Free Methodist and an African M. E. church have been organized.

Wellsburg and Brooke county were strongholds of Union sentiment when the War of Secession came. In the enumeration of 1863 there were eighteen slaves in Brooke county. The sentiment against secession was practically unanimous and the town and county were well represented in the ranks of the Union army. One of the Wellsburg "boys in blue" who, by loyalty and bravery attained high rank and honor in the service was General I. H. Duval, who answered the last roll-call but a few years ago. He was not only a brave soldier, but a model citizen, and by his useful, upright Christian life, after the dark clouds of war had rolled away, again demonstrated that

"Peace hath her victories  
No less renowned than war."

The school system of the city is one of which she may well be proud. It consists of a High School and four ward schools, besides a colored school. New buildings are now being erected and everything will be brought up to the latest in all that pertains to educational matters.

The prosperous industries in the city at this time, in addition to the coal operations, are the S. George Paper Company, the George Sherrard Paper Company, and the Harvey Paper Company; the Eagle Glass and Manufacturing Company, operated by the Paull brothers, which deserves special mention in many respects. It is not only the greatest enterprise in the town, but extends its business and special-

ties to all markets. It is not only a prosperous enterprise now, but its prospects for future extensions and developments are indeed promising. The Crescent Glass Company, the Glass Bottle Company and the McClair and McGuinness Foundry and Machine Works are other prosperous industries.

The city is well improved in a general way. Good paved streets, electric lights, water works, and all that goes to make up the comfortable life of a modern city, are found in Wellsburg. The Panhandle Traction Company was built from Wheeling to Wellsburg in the late nineties, and later extended to Steubenville, and an electric line was lately built from Wellsburg to Bethany, and this gives the city adequate rapid transit facilities.

Brooke county was formed in 1796, and the first court was held at Wellsburg (then Charlestown) on May 23, 1797. It was composed of the following justices: John Henderson, John Beck, William Griffith, Alexander Stephenson, John Connell, Richard Elson, Francis McGuire, Isaac Meek, George Hammond, Josiah Gamble, Robert Caldwell and James Griffith. William Griffith was made presiding judge by reason of seniority. Phillip Doddridge and John Relfe were admitted to the bar and the latter was made attorney for the commonwealth. He had a long and successful career at the bar. Doddridge became the most eminent lawyer in Western Virginia, if not in the state. He served with great distinction in the legislature and in the constitutional convention and also in Congress.

The first Circuit Court of law and chancery held in Brooke county was in 1831, and Judge Joseph L. Fry presided. Dr. John C. Campbell, who had abandoned medicine for law, was made attorney for the commonwealth.

Some early members of the Brooke county bar deserve more than a passing notice. Phillip Doddridge was one of the remarkable men of his time and distinguished himself not only at the bar but in the state legislature and in congress. Daniel Webster once remarked that "Phillip Doddridge was the only man I ever feared to meet in debate." He was elected to Congress in 1829 and died at Washington in November, 1832. He was a charming conversationalist, and possessed of a kindly heart and generous, noble disposition. When Daniel Webster visited this section in 1833 he stopped at Wellsburg to pay his respects to Mrs. Doddridge. While in Wheeling, Mr. Webster said he would willingly give all he possessed if it would secure to him the command of language, the power to use it concisely and appropriately that was possessed by Mr. Doddridge.

Charles Hammond is generally conceded to have been the most profound lawyer that ever practiced in the Panhandle. He read law in the office of Phillip Doddridge and began the practice of his profession at Wellsburg in 1803. He afterward removed to Wheeling and finally to Ohio, dying in Cincinnati at the age of sixty-one. He became a lawyer of national reputation and in practice met such legal gladiators as Webster, Clay and Sergeant. As a constitutional lawyer he ranked with Marshall and Story. His review of Marshall's opinion in the case of the Bank of the United States vs. Osborne et al., is one of the most masterly arguments on record. Before delivery, this argument was submitted to Thomas Jefferson, who read it carefully and said: "The position is impregnable and your arguments cannot be answered."

Other leaders at the Wellsburg bar were O. W. Langfitt, James Hervey, Dr. George W. Caldwell, J. C. Palmer, Jesse Edgington and Daniel M. Edgington.

The first paper was the *Charlestown Gazette*, published in 1814 and was afterwards changed to *Wellsburg Gazette*. In 1833 the *Brooke Republican* made its appearance, but suspended in 1835, and the *Western Transcript* took its place. Later the *True Republican* and the *Jeffersonian Democrat* were published. The *Wellsburg Herald* was established in 1846 and was bought by John G. Jacob in 1848. He ably conducted it for more than a half century. A daily sheet known as the *Leader* was established a few years ago, but has not met with financial success. The plant was lately sold and the paper will be issued under new management. The *Wellsburg Democrat* was started in 1866 and later changed to the *Times*, and again changed to the *Panhandle News*. It is still published, J. E. Curtis being the present publisher. The *Wellsburg Local* was launched in 1883, but was discontinued in 1889.

The first medical practitioner at Wellsburg was Joseph Doddridge (1800), who was also a minister, first of the Methodist and later of the Episcopal denomination. Dr. J. C. Campbell, a native of Ireland, located here in 1818 and was quite successful, especially in surgical work, but he also practiced law successfully and gave most of his time and talents to that profession. Other early practitioners were Edward Smith, Robert Richardson, A. W. Campbell, Dr. Cook, W. C. Kirker and Albert Wheeler.

Since those times the medical profession has been represented by able practitioners and the Wellsburg physicians rank well up with the profession in the state in general.

The lawyers of Wellsburg at present are J. F. Cree, who began the practice in 1882; G. W. McCleary, F. A. Chapman, E. E. Carter, William Workman, R. L. Ramsay, J. C. Palmer, Jr., J. R. Gist, Carl K. Jacobs and W. P. Campbell. Judge Hervey, now on the circuit bench, is an honored member of the bar. He ranks as one of the ablest circuit judges of the state, and before his election to the bench was a very successful practitioner.

Thus we have traced the history of Wellsburg from its first rude beginning in the primeval forest until it has become a busy, prosperous modern city, with splendid prospects of becoming greater and more prosperous as the years go by.

#### *Moundsville.*

It was in 1770 that two enterprising Marylanders, Joseph and Samuel Tomlinson, pushing westward to explore the wilderness came upon the beautiful stretch of country now occupied by the city of Moundsville. Enchanted by the beauty of the locality, but attracted principally by the promise of future wealth they decided to make it their home.

Samuel soon returned to Maryland where he died but Joseph remained to become the founder of "Grave Creek" which he later named Elizabethtown in honor of his wife, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Harkness. She came with him from Maryland and was the first white woman to settle in what is now Marshall county.

One of Tomlinson's first discoveries was the Great Prehistoric Mound and some smaller ones of which latter little is left but memories. By reason of which proximity to these mysterious tombs the three creeks which flow through the great bottoms were named Big, Middle and Little Grave Creeks and the settlement naturally became known as the "flats of Grave Creek" or "Grave Creek."

The Great Mound, from which the city takes its name, occupies a space about equal to a city square. A writer who visited it in 1807 described it as follows: "It is a circular mound like the frustrum of a cone, about 180 yards in circumference at the base, 60 yards around the flat at the top and about 70 feet perpendicular height. The whole seems to be formed of clay, and from its regularity is evidently a work of art, though I am not of the opinion that it has been a public or general cemetery, but either a mausoleum raised over and in memory of some great Indian chief, a temple for religious worship or the site

of a fortification or citadel to serve as a place of retreat from a superior foe. The antiquity of the formation is shown by the size of the trees and plants which cover it. About three years ago neighbors perforated the north side at about half the elevation, digging in horizontally about twelve feet without any other satisfaction to their curiosity than the finding of part of a human jaw-bone, the teeth entire but the bone honeycombed and the surrounding clay of white chalky consistence."

This description is approximately accurate. About forty years ago a well or shaft was driven from the center of the area on top to



Moundsville Mound.

the ground line and a tunnel driven from the base on the north side to connect with this well; resulting in the finding of many objects of interest; including skeletons, stones containing inscriptions and trinkets of various kinds. The openings were walled substantially with brick and a room in the tunnel arranged for displaying the relics for public inspection but a portion of the wall gave way and it was deemed advisable to send these tokens of a Prehistoric age to a place of greater security. Part of these were taken to a museum in Cincinnati and the rest to the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. Until very recently this interesting monument of a bygone age was neglected and its condition became so deplorable that its utter destruction was

threatened but in response to a very general demand by the people it was purchased by the State about four years ago and it is to be sincerely hoped that everything necessary may now be done to protect and preserve it.

Other settlers soon joined Tomlinson at Grave Creek, among them being the Parrs, Bakers, Wetzels, Shepherds, McCleans, Bonars and Roberts. For a time following the French and Indian war the savages were comparatively peaceful but with the opening of the Revolution came strenuous times. The settlements suffered at the hands of the Indians who were often led by renegade whites. At times the danger became so great that the Grave Creek settlers sought shelter and safety with their neighbors in Fort Henry where their assistance in repelling attacks was heartily welcomed.

The hardy settlers at Grave Creek shared with the people throughout the Ohio Valley in common loyalty to the cause of the Colonies and this patriotism and loyalty have been distinguishing characteristics of the community in all its history. In the Revolution, the war of 1812, the Mexican war, the war of secession and the war with Spain, the people of Grave Creek, Elizabethtown, Moundsville have stood ready to offer their lives if necessary, a sacrifice upon their country's altar. It is nearly a half century since the war for the preservation of the Union closed yet the roster of the Moundsville Grand Army post contains the names of one hundred members while the list of those who sleep on southern battle fields or who have answered final roll call since the war closed is a long one.

One Revolutionary incident which touches the life and history of Moundsville is the massacre of Captain Foreman and his men in September, 1777. The Indians and their white allies were causing much trouble and Captain Foreman with a company of men from Fort Henry had gone as far south as Grave Creek to look after the welfare of the settlers and lend them protection and assistance if necessary. They remained over night at Grave Creek and were returning next day, when at a point near the north end of the Grave Creek narrows they walked into a clever ambush which had been prepared for them by the Indians who had been watching their movements. Foreman and twenty-one of his men, including his two sons, were killed. Only the presence of mind of experienced fighters saved the remnant from annihilation. The slain were buried near where they fell and a plain sandstone monument was erected to mark the

spot. In 1875 the Marshall county authorities in order to preserve it, had this stone removed to Mount Rose cemetery in Moundsville, and much to the regret of all there is nothing left to mark the last resting place of these unfortunate men. This stone bears the following inscription:

"This  
Humble Stone  
is erected  
to the memory  
of  
Captain Foreman  
and  
Twenty-one of his men  
who were slain by a band of  
Ruthless Savages, the allies of a  
civilized Nation of Europe.  
On the 20th day of September, 1777."  
  
"So sleep the brave who sink to rest  
By all their country's wishes blest."

In its present resting place in Mount Rose cemetery this monument sleeps in the shade of some great trees that were no doubt there when Foreman and his men were slain and they stand like giant sentinels preserved from Revolutionary days to guard the memory of those martyr patriots.

After the stirring scenes of the Revolution had passed Grave Creek settled down to the routine common to frontier communities. Clearing the forests, tilling the soil with occasional clashes with the Indians made up the routine of life day by day.

Land was taken up under the "Tomahawk right." The early settlers were people of superior character and intelligence and Moundsville has always ranked high in religious devotion, education and refinement but as is so usual in new settlements the people were too busy to leave behind them any record of even the more important events in their history. It is remarkable how quickly people of a community change; how families disappear leaving no connections and are entirely forgotten in the neighborhood. A striking illustration of this was furnished in Moundsville twenty years ago when in opening a new street an effort was made to remove an old cemetery. It was pathetic to know that so many of those sleeping there had no relations to claim them—how many were utter strangers in the neighborhood in which they had so lately lived and wrought. All of which reminds us how fleeting is life and even the memory thereof.

The physician is usually the pioneer of the professional class in following new settlements in the wilderness. The first Grave Creek

physician of whom any record is left was Dr. Zadoc Masters, who located there in 1805. He was a well equipped physician for that time and quite popular with the people, as is evidenced by the fact that he was elected sheriff of Ohio county.

The next physician mentioned is Dr. Thomas McCormick, who located at Grave Creek in 1820 to share the practice with Dr. Masters. He was followed in 1830 by Dr. George Stidger. These pioneer doctors were hardy men and their work was not easy by any means. Horseback rides of forty to fifty miles night or day in all kinds of weather, often obliged to swim their horses across the swollen streams, and many other hardships and trials were common to these men. One of the remarkable men in the medical history of Moundsville is Dr. George W. Bruce, who located there in 1849 and is still in active practice (1911) at the age of 85. He is truly Moundsville's "grand old man," though no one ever thinks of him as being old.

The school and church followed closely after the physician, though early data regarding them is very meager. The early school was "kept" usually by some traveling pedagogue paid by subscription and "boarding around" with his patrons. The first school of record was taught by an Irish teacher named William Ransom in a small cabin near what is now Second street. The first building devoted solely to school purposes was erected in 1833. Marshall was one of the first counties to take advantage of the public free schools and the progress since that time has been both steady and rapid. Moundsville has splendid school buildings and equipment and a system that is not surpassed by any other city in the state.

The settlers at Grave Creek were God loving people and divine worship had a prominent place in their daily life from the beginning. The Presbyterian denomination appears to have been the most prominent at the beginning and as early as 1796 a request was made to the synod of Ohio for supplies. In 1802 Grave Creek was reported to synod as one of the vacant congregations, so considerable strength must have been shown at that time. The first Presbyterian house of worship was erected in 1835. About five years ago the congregation erected a splendid new edifice in which they now worship.

The Methodist Episcopal people formed a society here at an early date and the charge was attached to the Grave Creek circuit until 1842 when it was made a station with Rev. R. J. White as pastor. The congregation grew very rapidly and a commodious house was erected on Tomlinson avenue, almost in the shadow of the great Mound. After the industrial development began in 1891 the increase was so

rapid that a new congregation was organized and a commodious house erected in the populous East End section. It is known as Calvary Methodist Episcopal Church and has a large membership. Since that time the parent congregation has erected a new house, one of the finest and most costly in the Ohio Valley between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati. The name Simpson was dropped and it is now known as The First Methodist Episcopal Church.

A Protestant Episcopal Church society was organized in the year 1850 and it has become one of the prominent congregations of the city. Its present house of worship was erected in 1888. A parish of the Catholic Church was formed and the church building erected in 1854. In membership this congregation ranks with other leading denominations except the Methodist. The Christian denomination entered this field in 1874 and it has had a steady, substantial increase and about twelve years ago erected their own house of worship. The Church of God congregation has its own house of worship but not an extensive membership. The Baptists organized a church about twenty years ago and the congregation has grown rapidly; now occupying its own house of worship. A congregation of the United Presbyterian Church was organized about ten years ago and has had a steady growth. It occupies its own house on Third street. The Lutheran denomination is the latest to enter this field and has as earnest working membership with its own house of worship.

"The groves were God's first temples" and in early days when houses of worship were few "camp meetings" were very popular. A favorite meeting place was established at Moundsville and great meetings are still held there each year. This "camp," comprising about fifty acres, was permanently dedicated to religious purposes and has become the property of the Wheeling (Methodist Episcopal) District Camp Grounds Association. A great auditorium, seating four thousand, has been erected and about two hundred cottages nestle in the cool shade of the great trees. From May until September these cottages are occupied and the grounds present an animated scene. Meetings lasting ten days are held in August of each year when eminent ministers from all parts of the country conduct the services. A Chautauqua association has been formed and a splendid ten days' course is given each season immediately before the camp meeting.

Grave Creek and Elizabethtown had resident lawyers long before Marshall county was established with that town as her county seat. The earliest of these practitioners of whom any mention is made were William McConnell, Isaac Hoge and E. H. Caldwell. The act of the

legislature establishing the new county went into effect May first, 1835. It provided that a court composed of the eight justices of the peace to be commissioned for the county should meet the Thursday after the third Monday of each month. The county seat had already been established at Elizabethtown by commissioners appointed in 1832 and the court met for the first time on June 8, 1835. No court house had been provided so the court was held in the brick school house. The justices composing the first court were Zadoc Masters, Jacob Burley, Jacob Parriott, Benjamin McMechen, and Samuel Howard, and the oath was administered by Justice A. Wood, of Ohio county. The first business transacted was the election of E. H. Caldwell, as states attorney, and James D. Morris, as clerk and the judicial system of Marshall county was ready for operation.

The residence of Mrs. Susan Parriott was secured as a temporary place for holding court. The first grand jury was convened the same afternoon and was composed of Walter Gray, gentleman, foreman; Jesse Burch, John Criswell, John Riggs, Samuel Burris, John Barto, John Huggans, James Dunlap, Reuben Roberts, Edward Gregg, James Riggs, John Taylor, Zacharias Wayman, John Anderson, William McFarland, Benjamin Cockayne, Samuel Venus, William Woodburn and John Brown. The following were licensed to practice law in the county: Moses C. Good, William McConnell, Zachariah Jacob, John W. McFerren, E. H. Caldwell, F. C. Campbell, Louis Steenrod, Morgan Nelson, Isaac Hoge, James Clark and J. Y. Armstrong. Of these, Caldwell, Hoge and McConnell were residents of Elizabethtown. A little later Wiley H. Oldham was admitted and became the leading jury lawyer of the county.

The first Marshall county court house was erected in 1836. Elisha Lindsay was the contractor and it cost \$4,200. The present court house was built in 1876 but the commodious porch which now adjoins it was added in 1906.

When the new State of West Virginia was formed and her institutions established the penitentiary was located at Moundsville. The older inhabitants claim that, had the proper effort been put forth, the university could have been secured instead of the penitentiary, but this is most likely problematical. That the university would have been preferable goes without saying. The penitentiary buildings are of stone and imposing in architectural design. In late years it has been necessary to make extensive improvements and additions to the original buildings. The convicts now number about twelve hundred, including about 250 Federal convicts who are kept there on boarding contract,

and they are employed under its contract system in manufacturing brooms, whips and clothing. The great shops inside the walls present a busy scene, saddened by the reflection that crime is the basis for it all. The institution has its own farm, which is tilled by convicts.

For nearly a hundred years after the Tomlinsons settled at Grave Creek industrial development was very backward. The first great event in this line was the opening of the Baltimore & Ohio railway's main line from Baltimore to Wheeling in 1852. In the early centuries a rolling mill was built in which a number of Pittsburgh ironmakers and many local people were interested but after being operated for a time more or less successfully it closed down and was never revived. After standing silent and neglected for a number of years, an eyesore



Street Scene in Moundsville.

to the community and an advertisement of disaster and decay, the machinery was shipped to another point and the buildings removed. About the same time an agricultural machinery works was launched but after a few years it shared the fate of the rolling mill. The building was long used as a foundry and machine shop but the march of progress claimed the location and it is now covered with substantial and attractive homes. After these disheartening efforts there was no substantial movement along industrial lines until the organization of the Moundsville Coal Company in 1883. This company opened the mine at First street, which has been in successful operation ever since.

The movement which resulted in the industrial awakening of

Moundsville was inaugurated in 1891 by the organization of the Moundsville Mining & Manufacturing Company. This company was composed of Moundsville and Wheeling people with a few representatives from other points and was formed for the purpose of securing new industries, laying out new additions to the city and in the general development and building up of the community. It acquired about 700 acres of splendid land immediately adjoining the city on the East and including the property of the Moundsville Coal Company. The company continued to operate the mine and subdivided a large portion of its land, placing the lots on the market for the purpose of raising development funds. Free building sites and other inducements were offered to secure new industries. There were fine deposits of clay on the property and a brick manufacturing plant was established, which became very successful and is now one of the valuable properties of the Suburban Brick Company, with headquarters at Wheeling.

The greatest service rendered Moundsville by the Mining & Manufacturing Company was the bringing of the Fostoria Glass Company's plant. It manufactures tableware and is one of the largest factories in that line in the whole world; employing about one thousand people and its product is shipped to all parts of the world. When the company located in Moundsville L. B. Martin was its president and W. S. Brady, secretary. At this time A. B. Dalzell is president, C. B. Roe, vice-president, and A. C. Scroggins, secretary and treasurer. This industry has been the backbone of Moundsville's prosperity during the twenty years that it has been located there.

After securing the Fostoria plant several smaller concerns, including a shoe factory, a cotton mill and a mineral wool plant were secured but they were not successful and after a short existence all closed down. These failures were not only disastrous for the town but for the company, and local people who invested in them suffered loss. Closely following these failures came the terrible financial panic and industrial depression of 1893-4 and -5 and Moundsville suffered in common with the whole country. The Mining & Manufacturing Company closed up its affairs and its valuable holdings were taken over by a syndicate of its larger stockholders and creditors known as the Moundsville Land Company. The great impetus or "boom" given the city by its work of the Mining & Manufacturing Company could not be checked by a panic and improvement and increase in population went steadily on. This natural growth enabled the Moundsville

Land Company to dispose of its holdings, which proved to be a very profitable investment.

Other developments at this time were great factors in the progress and upbuilding of the city.

During 1890-91 a mile of street paving was completed and in the former year the Moundsville Electric Company completed its plant, giving the city modern lighting for streets and houses. These splendid improvements were quickly followed by the installation of the Moundsville water works and the construction and operation of the Moundsville, Benwood & Wheeling Railway Company's electric line. These four great improvements were the real factors in the making of Moundsville. The great episode-making period in the history of the city, which lifted her from the rank of a country town with mud streets, poor sidewalks, oil lamps for street and home and other disadvantages, and made her a modern municipality dates from the completion of the electric lighting plant in 1890 to the opening of the electric car line to Wheeling in 1896. During the year 1891 when the Mining & Manufacturing Company began operations nearly one hundred buildings were erected.

The Marshall County Bank, established at Moundsville, in 1881, was Marshall county's first banking institution. It had the field to itself until 1893, when the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank was organized. Other banks have been added to the list as follows: The First National in 1901; the Mercantile Banking & Trust Company in 1904 and the Mound City Bank in 1905. Since that time the Farmers' & Mechanics' Bank has been absorbed by the Mercantile Banking & Trust Company and it is now operated as a branch of the latter, still occupying its old quarters in the building erected for it in 1894. All the banks now occupying their own buildings except the First National, which at its organization secured a long-term lease on its present commodious quarters.

All of Marshall county is underlaid with the famous Pittsburgh vein of coal. Since the first mine was opened at Moundsville by the Moundsville Coal Company in 1883 the following additional mines have been opened in that vicinity: Glendale, in 1891, Glen Easton, in 1904, Parr's Run, in 1909. Practically all the coal lands in the county have passed from the hands of the original owners to outside interests, much of it being owned by capitalists at Uniontown, Waynesburg and other points.

When business and industries revived after the panic and depression of 1893-6, Moundsville shared in the revival and secured some

good industries. The United States Stamping Company, manufacturing enameled ware, has an extensive plant and employs more people than any other concern there except the Fostoria glass factory. The Spears & Riddle Company, manufacturing auto engines and other lines, the Wheeling Metal Manufacturing Company are important additions to the industries of the city and give employment to a large number of people; besides there are a number of minor industries.

Secret orders are well represented in Moundsville by splendid organizations of Masons, Odd Fellows, Elks, Knights of Pythias, Eagles, Jr. O. U. A. M., and A. O. U. W. and Woodmen.

Thus briefly we sketched the history of Moundsville. A new city has been reared about the old almost wiping it off the map. New Moundsville would now be an appropriate name for Tomlinson's Grave Creek or Elizabethtown and the Moundsville of twenty years ago.

The first newspaper was established in 1831 by Dennis Parriott and was called *The West Virginian*. It was afterwards acquired by David McClean and called the *Sentinel* and afterwards by R. C. Holliday was changed to *Herald*, which, under a later ownership was changed to *The Reporter*, and under that name it was published until 1884, when it was burned out and was never revived. The *New State Gazette* was established by George A. Creel in 1874; later changed hands and was called *The Marshall Herald* until 1886, when under a new ownership it was changed to *The Moundsville Herald*. A daily edition was landed in 1898. About ten years ago the paper passed into new hands and the name was changed to *Journal* and daily and weekly editions are published. *The Sickle* was established in 1886, was afterwards changed to the *Sun*, but after a few years suspended publication. The *Echo* was established in 1891 as a weekly, and a daily edition was afterward launched, the first daily paper regularly published in Marshall county. The *Herald*, as early as 1886, published a daily edition for ten days during camp meeting.

Elizabethtown was laid out by Joseph Tomlinson in 1798. The first lot sale recorded was in 1799 to Andrew Rogers. The lot was 120 feet square and the price paid was eight dollars. The town was not incorporated until 1830. Moundsville, or what is now known as lower town, was laid out by Simeon Purdy and incorporated in 1832. It is highly probable that in early days there was much rivalry between Elizabethtown and Moundsville; in fact to this day there is a certain amount of rivalry of a friendly nature between "upper" and "lower" town; between the towns of Tomlinson and Purdy. It is

interesting to note that an early wedding, which is recorded in the *Wheeling Repository* of July 30, 1807, may have been instrumental in establishing more friendly relations between the two settlements. It reads as follows:

"Married—On Monday evening, the 27th inst., at Elizabethtown (Flats of Grave Creek) by the Rev. Thos. Steel Cavender, Mr. Samuel Tomlinson to Miss Lovisee Purdy, eldest daughter of Captain Jonathan Purdy."

The two towns were finally consolidated as Moundsville in 1866 and incorporated in that name.

The first election held by the new city resulted in the selection of the following officials:

Robert McConnell, mayor; H. W. Hunter, clerk and treasurer; Wm. L. Roberts, Wm. Allum, W. K. Wade, Morris Rulong, Richard Chadduck and J. P. Shimp, councilmen; David Branteur, sergeant.

H. W. Hunter, who was the first clerk and treasurer, is at present cashier of the Mound City Bank, which he organized in 1905, after having served as cashier of the Marshall County Bank for about thirty years.

#### *Cameron.*

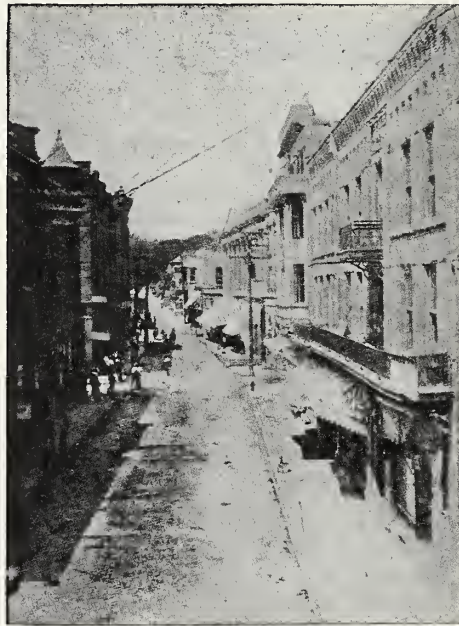
The building of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad gave birth to Cameron. While it was settled prior to that time, it was a point of no importance, and without a name until the coming of the railroad. The Irish have been a great factor in the development and upbuilding of America, and it was an Irishman that discovered the site of Cameron and settled there. David McConaughy, who was born in Ireland, who had been connected with the Exchange Bank in Wheeling and was a merchant at Haneytown, bought a tract of land upon which the principal part of Cameron is now located. He erected the first building on Grave creek east of the Moundsville locality. He married Anna Davidson, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Davidson, of Ohio, in 1846, and they at once took up their residence at the new home on Grave creek, the first white residence in that locality.

There was no development of importance until the building of the railroad, however, and in 1855 there were but four good buildings in the place. McConaughy did not lay out streets and alleys, but sold land promiscuously just as a market offered.

In 1858 Oliver and Marshall Jackson and Dr. S. B. Stidger laid out a hundred and eleven acres south of the railroad, calling it Jackson and Stidger addition. Later William McConaughy laid out an

addition north of the railroad, having built a house there in 1857. Part of this building was later the Corcoran Hotel. The third building erected was by Dr. S. B. Stidger for an office.

The town was named by David McConaughey in honor of Samuel Cameron, an official who was prominent in the construction of the railroad. For years Cameron was conceded to be the best business point between Wheeling and Grafton, enjoying not only all the trade from a large part of Marshall county, but an enormous business from Wetzell county and from Greene county, Pennsylvania. It is still a prominent business point.



Main Street, Cameron.

After David McConaughey, the next merchant to locate in Cameron was Andrew Clark. William Woodburn embarked in business in 1869, and Hicks & McDonald in 1872. Jacob Rit and John Marshall started the first blacksmith shop in 1855.

In Cameron, as in so many of the early settlements, the school and church entered hand in hand. A building twenty by twenty-two feet was erected in 1854 to be used for both educational and religious purposes. That sounds odd when compared with the size of present school and church buildings. The early teachers were Samuel Patter-

son, John Pipes, Lloyd Parkinson and Eli Brant. A new school building was erected in 1865 at a cost of two thousand dollars, and in 1878 a church edifice was purchased by the school board, and the schools were graded with John Lorain, the first county superintendent, as principal.

Among the old settlers were David McConaughey, Reason B. Howard, John Ryan, William Gosney, Isaac Hubs, Isaac Coe, Philip Coe, John Welling, John Chambers and George Kerr. In 1851 all the land south of the railroad was covered with dense forest.

The first postmaster was David McConaughey, appointed by President Pierce. J. R. Bell was appointed by President Buchanan in 1857; E. Whitmire by Lincoln in 1861; then M. C. Todd, and then John Davis, who was incumbent for many years. The subsequent postmasters have been J. C. Crawford, J. G. Crawford, E. P. Richardson, Ed W. Fitzgerald, and R. B. Watson, who is the present incumbent.

A steam flouring mill was started in 1857 by Oliver and Marshall Jackson. They were succeeded by Reese, Dunlevy & Company, later by J. W. Dunlevy, and the mill is now successfully operated by his son-in-law, Walter H. Hogans.

A stave mill was established in 1869 and was very successfully operated for many years, but the passing of the timber carried with it the stave business for all time.

A fair was an annual event of the town for many years, but it has since passed out of existence.

Cameron was incorporated under the laws of Virginia about the time of the breaking out of the rebellion, but the charter was permitted to lapse and the town was not again incorporated until 1878.

The Cameron Methodist Episcopal church was organized in 1854, with Rev. A. A. Reagan, of Grave Creek circuit, in charge. It was made a station in 1868 with a hundred and forty members, and J. P. Farmer as pastor. The officers were Dr. S. B. Stidger, William Clouston, John Marshall and John Burley, stewards, and the two former with Dr. John Pipes as trustees. A chapel costing thirty-three hundred dollars was erected in 1868.

The Presbyterian church was organized in 1867 by a committee from the presbytery of Washington composed of the Rev. J. S. Pomeroy, Jonathan Cross and Samuel Graham. The first elders were William Hosack, Gustavus Bowers, and George W. McCluskey. A brick house of worship was erected in 1868 at a cost of three thousand

dollars. The first pastor was Rev. G. H. Laverty, who served the church until 1874.

The Christian church has a flourishing organization and is steadily growing in strength.

The Catholic church also has a substantial organization with its own house of worship, and the congregation is growing rapidly.

The fraternal organizations of Cameron are the Masonic, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Woodmen of the World, Modern Woodmen of America and the National Union. Cameron Lodge No. 17, A. F. & A. M., was organized February 22, 1858, and is still a strong and prosperous organization. Cameron Lodge No. 36, I. O. O. F., was instituted October 18, 1867, and has always continued in a flourishing condition. A lodge of Knights of Pythias was organized September 1, 1873.

In the '90s natural gas was found in great quantities near the town and a new era was inaugurated. A glass factory and a pottery, both prosperous enterprises, were added to the industrial life of the town, and with gas-lighted streets, water works, paved streets and all modern improvements, the town has really become a modern city. The original glass factory has ceased operations and is being converted into a machine shop, but a new glass factory is being constructed, so the town is a gainer and not the loser, and its progress is assured.

With business prosperity came necessity for banking facilities, and three banks were at one time in operation. But one, the First Citizens, went out of business several years ago. The First National and the Bank of Cameron are prosperous and substantial institutions and a credit to the town, ranking above banks in cities of far greater population.

School facilities have grown as the city has grown, and a splendid modern school building, finely equipped in every way, houses the schools of the city, which are graded and taken care of by a well-equipped corps of teachers.

There are two cemeteries to provide resting places for the dead; one Catholic and one Protestant. They are well kept and furnish ample proof of the character and intelligence and progressiveness of the town.

It is questionable if there is a town in the state with Cameron's population and business rank that is as clean morally as it is. The town is to a large degree clear of that element which usually lowers the moral tone and character of a community of its size, and it is par-

ticularly a desirable residence for people who are seeking a clean, moral, healthy locality.

*Martins Ferry.*

It is now reliably established that Martins Ferry is the oldest settlement in Ohio, though Marietta was long given that honor by historians. Until recently it was supposed that the first settlement there was established about 1780 and was called Norristown, but research made by the Hon. Joseph A. Howell has established the fact that a settlement was made and a civil government established long before that date. That Martins Ferry for so long a time was not given credit for the early date of settlement to which she is entitled was no doubt due to the fact that about the year 1785, when it was known as Norristown, the government forced its abandonment and moved the settlers over to Fort Henry on the Virginia side to prevent their utter annihilation by the Indians. It was at that time the extreme outpost of civilization, with the river between it and the nearest neighbors, who were at Wheeling, and it was considered certain destruction to leave the people there exposed to the fury of the savages. The action proved to be wise indeed, for with all the combined strength that could be mustered from this part of the Valley at Fort Henry it was sometimes barely possible to withstand the terrible attacks by the savages. Had the settlers remained at Norristown they would undoubtedly have all perished.

When peace was established settlers again crossed the river to take advantage of the splendid opportunities offered. In the year 1788 Absolom Martin entered a section in what is now Martins Ferry and lived upon it until 1795, when he conceived the idea of laying out a town with the intention of having it made the county seat. He gave his town the name of Jefferson, but after failing to secure the county seat he concluded that it was too near Wheeling ever to become a town of any importance. Later his son Ebenezer Martin was given the property and he proceeded to establish a town and named it Martinsville. Although the founder of Jefferson concluded that the location was too near Wheeling, Martinsville prospered and the name was changed to Martins Ferry for the reason that Ebenezer Martin operated a ferry at this point. For a long period the growth of Martins Ferry was not at a rapid rate. Bridgeport being made the eastern terminus of the extension of the National Road west of the Ohio river became the important business point on the river front and the rush of immigration, development and business westward left

Martins Ferry to one side for the time being. But her day was to come.

The house of Elizabeth Zane, the heroine of Fort Henry, was for a number of years in a suburb of Martinsville or Martins Ferry. One very well authenticated account of the change in the name of the town is that it was necessitated by the fact that there was another town in the state named Martinsville, which had a prior right to that name. The population of Martins Ferry in 1880 was 3,810. The incorporation of the town took place in 1865.

The silk industry was the first to be launched in Martins Ferry of which any note is left. The Misses McGargle cultivated a large grove of *Multicaulis* trees, upon whose leaves the silk worm fed and



Martin's Ferry.

furnished material for this infant industry, but the silk business long since passed away and silk making is a lost art in so far as Martins Ferry is concerned.

The manufacture of threshing machines was the next undertaking in the town and it proved very successful from the beginning. Encouraged by this first success others followed in the same line and the threshing machine business became a prominent feature of the industrial growth of the town. This business was successfully carried on until about fifteen years ago, when H. Spence, one of the veteran manufacturers of the city, retired from business. A foundry was also established at an early date and the business has been continued ever

since. The Novelty Mold Works and the James H. Beans foundry are successful and prosperous concerns.

At one time the cut nail industry was the leading industry of the city and continued to be so until the wire nail drove it out of business. The Laughlin Nail Company of Martins Ferry was the largest of its kind in the world and gave employment to a large number of employes at good wages. The manufacture of cut nails was abandoned about thirty years ago. The old Laughlin property is now owned and utilized by the great Whitaker-Glessner Company, which operated big mills and factories in Wheeling and at other points in Ohio and West Virginia.

Glass manufacturing was one of the early industries and has been one of the important factors in the prosperity of the community. At present the Haskins Glass Company is one of the prosperous concerns of the community, and is rapidly extending its business and facilities.

At the present time the leading industries are the Laughlin tin plant and the Aetna Standard plant of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company. These plants each employ about two thousand men and operate twenty-three hot mills each, as well as their own coal mines. The Whitaker-Glessner Company operates a six-mill sheet plant, the product of which is taken by the company's corrugating plant in Wheeling, the two concerns employing about fifteen hundred men. The Riverside Bridge Company, one of the largest independent bridge concerns in this country, has an extensive plant, modernly equipped, and is rapidly increasing its capacity to meet the demands of its growing business. The Stanton Heater Company is a prosperous and growing concern. The Wheeling Steel and Iron Company blast furnace operates steadily and is a substantial factor of prosperity. The Spence, Baggs Company is famous for its make of high grade stoves and also makes castings of all kinds. The McDermott Tool Works manufactures oil well supplies, heavy machinery and forgings. The Martins Ferry Box and Barrel Company, Grafton Manufacturing Company, Sheet Metal Works, Acme Sheet Metal Works, La Belle Box Company are all substantial and prosperous concerns in the lines indicated; besides there are a number of smaller concerns whose aggregate investment of capital and employment of labor is a very substantial factor in the city's prosperity. In all Martins Ferry boasts of about two dozens of substantial, progressive manufacturing industries which furnish steady, remunerative employment for six thousand people.

The real veins of coal underlying the territory surrounding the

city have been a steady source of prosperity. Mining on a small scale was engaged in at an early day but with the growth of manufacturing and the building of railroads this industry has developed into one of the most important and prosperous in the whole valley. Adjoining the city are the Gaylord mines of the Pittsburgh and Cleveland Coal Company and the Florence mine of the Youghiogheny and Ohio Coal Company. These mines operate steadily and furnish employment to more than six hundred men and with other mines north of the city the annual payroll amounts to almost a million dollars.

In addition to its splendid natural location and advantages the city has abundant shipping facilities in its three railroads and the connections for reaching others. The Cleveland & Pittsburg was built to Martins Ferry in 1856, being her first railroad; and it was followed by the Cleveland, Lorain & Wheeling, now owned by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, and the Wheeling & Lake Erie. The last named road also handles traffic for the Wabash system. The Wheeling Bridge & Terminal system, owned by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, connects shippers with all the lines of that great system. The Lake Erie, Alliance & Wheeling Company owns a right of way into the city, which may mean, at no distant day, a fourth railroad for the city, whose aggressive slogan is: "Pull for Martins Ferry." Then we must not overlook that great natural avenue of transportation, the Ohio river. The improvements now being made will convert it into one of the greatest shipping highways in the world.

The city has a complete modern sewerage system and owns its electric lighting plant; furnishing arc lights for its streets and incandescent lighting for homes and business houses. Its water system is one of the finest in the country, supplying the people with abundance of pure well water. About twenty miles of the streets are paved, practically all of the streets in the city, and they are kept clean and in good condition. The fire department is noted for its splendid equipment, thorough training and general efficiency.

One of the troubles experienced in settling the Ohio side of the river was the lack of understanding with the Indians. The river was the line to which the Indians still claimed title to the country and they complained to the government that white people were crossing the Ohio river and settling upon their lands. So insistent were they that the government sent agents to notify all whites found west of the river that the Indians' title had not been extinguished and for them to vacate the territory at once. Not only were the settlers notified to

vacate but they were dispossessed, when necessary, and their houses broken up. Colonel Harmer headed one of these government expeditions in 1785 and several settlements were broken up and others agreed to vacate within a few days. The settlement at Martins Ferry was among the number and the settlers crossed over to Wheeling. Matters were amicably arranged by 1788, however, and it was there that Absolom Martin took up his abode at Norristown. James Monroe, then a congressman, and afterward president of the United States, was with Colonel Harmer on the voyage to dispossess the settlers. Had the government not taken drastic action serious trouble would have resulted.

After Absolom Martin failed to secure the location of the county seat at his new town of Jefferson, he bought back the property which he had sold and his son Ebenezer laid out the town again in 1835. It was incorporated as Martins Ferry in 1865 and the first mayor was A. D. Rice; first treasurer, James A. Gray. The population in 1860 was 1,220; in 1870, 1,876; in 1880, 3,812.

The first Presbyterian church was organized in 1841. A Baptist church was organized in 1836 and a house of worship was erected in 1841. When this church was organized there were only six members. A society of the United Presbyterian Church was organized in 1851 with sixteen members and a house erected. A Catholic congregation was organized in 1875 and its membership increased very rapidly.

The first physician to practice in Martins Ferry was S. B. West, who located there in 1837. Later he was followed by Dr. John Schooley and Dr. I. Warrick, who were prominent practitioners and long had the main practice in the town and vicinity, and old citizens still relate stories of their skill and of the wonderful cures which they effected. Now more than a dozen skilled practitioners are required to serve this community.

The first lawyers to practice in Martins Ferry were Samuel Black and L. J. C. Drennen, and they were men who attained eminence in their profession. Had the early dream of Absolom Martin to make Jefferson or Martins Ferry the county seat of Belmont county been realized of course the legal history of the city would read quite differently. The leading practitioners at present are W. B. Francis, George Cooke, Harry Brokaw, W. T. Dixon, D. H. Jones, E. E. McCombs, H. G. Pratt and Sedgwick Bros.

The city once boasted of two substantial reminders of prehistoric times in the shape of mounds. The larger has been entirely removed

and its site is covered by residences which, though not so suggestive of historic association, have a very attractive and modern appearance. The other has been partly removed by the march of progress and the balance is doomed to disappear soon. Thus do the monuments of the strange races who have preceded us succumb to the needs of modern life and who knows but the present must in turn surrender its most cherished edifices and monuments to the whims or greed of a future age.

Financial matters are taken care of by three substantial and prosperous institutions: The Peoples Savings Bank Company, The Commercial Bank Company, and the German Savings Bank Company.

The oldest building of any importance is the old woolen mill building, which was erected in early times and was long a prosperous enterprise. It is now used as a dwelling. An old warehouse was long a relict of early times, but like the mounds it was removed to make way for one of the city's substantial enterprises and is now but a memory to the old citizens.

Martins Ferry is now served by the lines of the Wheeling Traction Company. The electric line was first extended to the city over the highway bridge from Wheeling Island in 1891. It is related that the power was so weak that mules were used to assist in hauling the cars up the grade at the south end of town. The line to Bridgeport and Bellaire was completed in 1894 as an independent company, but is now part of the Wheeling Traction Company system.

The American Sheet and Tin Plate Company and the Whitaker-Glessner Company have made extensive improvements to their plants within the last year. The Cleveland & Pittsburgh and Wheeling & Lake Erie railroads will double track their lines, but have been held back by trouble in securing rights of way. The demand for these increased facilities is substantial evidence of the rapidly growing importance of the community.

One of the features of this community in which the people take great interest and to which they call the attention of strangers with pride is the splendid system of public instruction. The city has four graded schools and a fine modern high school. The high school building is considered one of the best in the state. Forty-six teachers are employed and the high school course attracts students from many neighboring points. Its graduates are admitted without examination to all the leading colleges and universities in the country. Her schools have done more to attract attention to the city than any of her other advan-

tages. In addition to those named is a splendid parochial school, ranking with the best in the country.

The Martins Ferry *Times*, daily and weekly, is one of the substantial newspaper properties in the valley and *The Ohio Valley News* is also one of the live journals of Greater Wheeling.

In addition to the churches already named are the following: First Christian, World's Congregational, First Methodist Episcopal, St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal, German Lutheran, English Lutheran, Free Methodist, Church of God and two colored congregations, the African Methodist Episcopal and the Second Methodist Episcopal. All the congregations have houses of their own, and a number of them have splendid edifices. In this respect Martins Ferry is probably not surpassed by any city of its size in the country and her pulpits are served by pastors of the very highest character and ability.

Martins Ferry is truly a city of homes; the great majority of the people owning their own homes. There are many splendid residences and good substantial business houses, and the city generally gives every appearance of progress and prosperity.

The city has passed through bad times. Great strikes have paralyzed her industries, depressing business, causing hardship to her workmen, but those shadows seem to have passed and prosperity in all lines again is in evidence.

The future of the city is bright with promise. With her great industries, her enterprising citizens, her splendid schools and public improvements; with her unlimited advantages of resources, location and shipping facilities, she is destined to be one of the substantial, populous, prosperous cities of the Ohio Valley. Martins Ferry, Bridgeport and Bellaire are now practically one community, and with the rapid growth now in progress they are bound to become more compactly welded into one solid city with common interests, common impulses and common ambitions.

### *Bridgeport.*

The history of Bridgeport is most intimately associated with that of Wheeling, not only by reason of its proximity but because it was founded by Ebenezer Zane, the pioneer of Wheeling. It was first called Canton by Zane, when he laid out the town in 1806, and it bore that name until after the bridge across the back river was completed by Zane Brothers in 1837, when it became the "bridgeport," hence its name Bridgeport.

The first settlement in the vicinity of Bridgeport was at Kirk-

wood, which still goes by that name and is now the first ward of Bridgeport. Captain Joseph Kirkwood, who had been a valiant officer in the Continental army during the Revolution, entered a section there in 1789 and called it Kirkwood, or Fort Kirkwood, as his first improvement was a blockhouse for protection from the attacks of savages. Kirkwood deeded this section to his son, Joseph, who laid it out in lots, still retaining the name Kirkwood.

When Zane laid out Canton and made a plat of it he deeded it to his two sons, Daniel and Noah. This plat, dated 1806, is still in existence, being now in the possession of Mr. William Alexander of Bridgeport. It was acknowledged by Thomas Thompson and parcels deeded to Daniel were marked D and those to Noah were marked N.

Bridgeport or Canton attracted but little attention until after the completion of the National Road. This great improvement was completed to Wheeling in 1817, and here it stopped for seven years. The first stakes for construction work west of the Ohio river were driven in 1824. The milling business was first to develop and attracted much business to the town. Andrew Patterson had a mill on what is now the Clemens farm and John Kinsey founded one at what is now known as Blaine. These men were prominent pioneer citizens of that section. The business which these mills attracted is indicated by the fact that nearly all the wheat grown as far west as Cambridge, parts of Noble, Monroe and Harrison counties, in addition to that of Belmont county, was hauled to these mills and to the mill of Moses Rhodes, who had also embarked in the business at this point.

The completion of the National Road naturally made Bridgeport a distributing point for the vast section west of the river. Retail stores were early established and the lines of wagons that brought grain to the mills carried back cargoes of merchandise for the frontier homes. As the stores were established at points west a demand for stocks of merchandise to supply them developed, and this led to the establishment of wholesale houses in Bridgeport. So great was this demand that in a short time there were five wholesale houses in Bridgeport. These firms were Gray, Jenkins & Co., Rhodes & Oglebay (Oglebay was the father of E. W. Oglebay of Wheeling), Holloway & Warfield, Bell & Hardin and D. B. Atkinson & Co. In addition to these William Stewart had an extension lumber yard and there were two warehouses, one owned by Orloff Zane. Bridgeport became the shipping point for most all of the grain, stock, tobacco and other products of Belmont, Noble, Guernsey and Monroe counties. Much of this freight was sent over the mountains to Baltimore until the railroad

was finished to Cumberland, when it was transferred at that point. Much freight was also sent by river to points as far south as New Orleans and exchanged for cargoes of sugar and other products of the southland. The wholesale houses of Bridgeport had a practical monopoly of the business of five or six counties, shipping as far west as Zanesville. Later the wholesale house of A. C. Barnum entered the field and the R. J. Boggs Lumber Company was organized. Much of the lumber used in the counties named above was shipped from Bridgeport. The building of the National Road from Bridgeport west gave that town a great advantage over other points on the river front, and it held that advantage until the coming of the railroads. The population of Bridgeport in 1840 was 329 and in 1880 it was 2,390.

The railroad was the factor that deprived Bridgeport of its prestige as a wholesale center. When the Central Ohio road was completed to Bellaire in 1854 the wholesale merchants of Bridgeport at once felt the effect, as it furnished a quicker and better means of reaching the territory west of the river than was afforded by the National Road. Then in 1856 came the Cleveland & Pittsburg road, which made Bellaire its terminus and still further weakened its hold as a wholesale point. Though injured in a business sense by the coming of the railroads the people of the town had joined heartily in having Belmont county subscribe one hundred thousand dollars to the stock of the Central Ohio Railway Company. Later the Cleveland, Lorain & Wheeling road, now the C. H. & W. division of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway Company, entered the field and the death knell of the wholesale business in Bridgeport was sounded. The last wholesale business there was discontinued about ten years ago. But for this loss, there were ample compensations. The railroads merely shifted the advantages and opportunities of the town into new and more profitable lines. The opening of great coal mines, and the building of great mills and factories have brought a population and prosperity that could never have sprung from the mere wholesaling of merchandise.

The backbone of Bridgeport's prosperity ever since the advent of the railroads has been the mining of coal. The Lorain Coal and Dock Company, with headquarters in Columbus, is the largest operator in this vicinity, and employs about two thousand people. The first operation by this company was the Wheeling Creek mine, opened just after the completion of the Cleveland, Lorain & Wheeling road. It was one of the first mines opened in Belmont county and is still profitably operated. Then it opened the Lansing and Blaine mines and later one at Crescent, ten miles west of town. The Hutchison

Coal Company operates the Moore's Run mine, employing three hundred miners.

The Johnson Coal Company operates a mine at West Wheeling and the mines at Barton, having a payroll of a million dollars annually, bring much business to Bridgeport. The development of the coal business is rapidly increasing and it is sure to bring future wealth and greatness to this city.

In these days Bridgeport is never thought of as a river port, but in its early days when it was a prosperous wholesale point, it enjoyed quite a heavy river shipping business. Its wharf facilities at the mouth of Wheeling Creek were ample enough to provide for the loading of two steamboats at a time. The usefulness of the back river declined after the building of the dam below the town, but when the river is improved with a nine-foot stage from Pittsburgh to Cairo Bridgeport may regain her prestige as a river shipping port.

The first bank established here was a branch of the Ohio State Bank and its officers were John Warfield, president; J. C. Tallman, cashier; W. W. Holloway, Christian Oglebay, Ebenezer Rhodes and D. Atkinson, of Bridgeport, and L. Spence of Martins Ferry, directors. After the establishment of the National banking system it was changed to a national bank and now as the Bridgeport National Bank is one of the strong financial institutions of Greater Wheeling district. The other banks are The Dollar Savings Banking Company and the Bridgeport Bank & Trust Company, both well managed and flourishing institutions.

Another early industry in Bridgeport was boat building, which was carried on by Moses Rhodes, who built keel and flat boats for the river trade. Moses Rhodes was also the first postmaster of Bridgeport, being appointed in 1815 by President Madison. As there were but thirteen houses there in 1807 the work of the postmaster even in 1815 was not very burdensome.

The town grew very rapidly after the building of the National Road west, and in 1836 it was duly incorporated as a municipality. Peter Cusie was the first mayor of the new town. Kirkwood township was the first township organized in the State of Ohio, and it included Kirkwood and Canton in its boundaries.

In 1791 a fierce battle with the Indians occurred at Fort Kirkwood. This is said to have been the only important battle with the Indians that occurred in Belmont county. There was no regular settlement of Indians there, though it was a favorite hunting ground. Lewis Wetzel is said to have made his home at Fort Kirkwood much

of the time and to have been quite a factor in the battle mentioned. We do not give this as historical record, but as neighborhood tradition generally accepted.

The Methodist and Presbyterian denominations were active in this locality at an early day. The territory was organized by the Methodists in 1787 and was known as the Ohio Circuit. Jesse Stoneman and Thomas Haymond were first placed in charge and from this humble beginning the great Methodist Church of Ohio has developed. Joseph McConaughey and David House were the active spirits in bringing about the organization of the first Methodist Episcopal church. They were active in the organization and the main factors in bringing about the erection of the church edifice on Howard street, which is now owned and occupied by the colored Baptist congregation. Joseph McConaughey lived in West Bridgeport and after the Methodists grew strong he brought about the organization of the West End Methodist Episcopal church, which is now one of the strong congregations of the city. When the first Methodist Episcopal church was organized Rev. Brockunier Drummond was placed in charge. The First Presbyterian church was built in 1851 and Rev. James Alexander was the pastor. While the Methodists have two church organizations the Presbyterians, though with but one church, occupy a commanding position in the religious work of the town. The congregation is now occupying its third place of worship. The Cleveland & Pittsburg Railway Company appropriated the first location in its right-of-way and a new location was secured near by, but a conflagration occurring soon afterward made it necessary to move again when the present commodious edifice was built at the corner of Lincoln avenue and Bennett street. The Catholics have a fine church, St. Anthony's, and a splendid school. These six churches: Two Methodist Episcopal, one Presbyterian, one Catholic and two colored, one Baptist and one Methodist, constitute the religious organizations of the city. This does not mean that other denominations are not represented in the population. Large numbers of Christians, Baptists, Catholics and other denominations reside here, but hold membership and worship in Bellaire, Martins Ferry and Wheeling.

One of the early industries of Bridgeport was the machine shop of Thaker, Mitchell & Company. As an evidence of the prominence of the firm it is only necessary to mention the fact that Thomas Thaker was elected to Congress. Harris & Company afterwards occupied

this same site with a sawmill and still later by the William Stewart lumber yard.

When Kirkwood was first laid out by Joseph Kirkwood the streets running east and west were named after Revolutionary generals and those running north and south were named after colonels. It is not now recalled that any other town or city in the United States adopted this method. The old fort or blockhouse stood a short distance from the river in south Bridgeport and was quite a prominent factor in the rough life of developing the frontier.

The oldest building in the city is the old brick house across the street from the Cleveland & Pittsburgh railway station. It was formerly occupied as a saloon. It was erected in 1817 and is still in a good state of preservation. Another very old building stood where the Cleveland & Pittsburgh railway station now stands, but like most of the old landmarks it was sacrificed to the march of progress and development. But no destruction of old buildings can rob Bridgeport of its historic interest. The memories of its old blockhouse, the Indian battle, its association with the name of Lewis Wetzel, its old "Pike" associations, will forever make it a place of general interest. A local tradition is handed down describing a mixup which Lewis Wetzel had with savages a short distance west of town in which the veteran frontiersman was shot in the head, making a very painful wound, but with his rugged constitution and indomitable will it did not long keep him from the trail and the forests whose life he so dearly loved.

Joseph Kirkwood lived at the corner of Lucas avenue and Whitely street. The property is still owned by his heirs. The second oldest house in the town was built by Moses Rhodes and is now owned by E. W. Oglebay. The old blockhouse, or Fort Kirkwood, was located at the corner of Howard and Lee streets. When the National Road was constructed Zane bought a lot and donated it for the purpose of straightening its right of way.

The first schools were subscription schools held in rented rooms and some splendid teachers were employed. When the State school law was adopted the present school building was erected. The third floor was intended as a public hall, but the rapid increase in school population necessitated its use for additional classrooms. The West End and Aetna schools have since been added to accommodate the rapidly growing population. The first building erected for school purposes exclusively was a small frame building in the West End and from this humble beginning the present splendid system has developed.

The old Kirkwood burying ground is a point of interest. It is located at the corner of Lee and Whitely streets and is quite small in area. Here Joseph Kirkwood and members of his family are sleeping their last sleep unmindful of the great prosperous community which they founded and whose noise and stir and tumult sweep by in strange contrast with the silence and solitude which formerly reigned supreme. It is interesting to reflect what stirring scenes must have been enacted in the stage-coach days when, as the veteran William Alexander relates, as many as five National road coaches have come rolling into the local station at once all loaded with passengers of every degree, and nationality, from the eminent statesman to the humblest home hunter from Europe. With all this bustle and stir, with its wholesale houses, its river traffic and its flour-mills Bridgeport was surely a consummation calculated to stir the Kirkwood pride but even then this greatness of today was not anticipated.

The history of the old back-river bridge is full of interest. When the National Road was completed west of the river there was quite a demand for some quicker and more modern way of moving freight and passengers across than the ancient craft in use. A move was made as early as 1816 and a company secured a Virginia Charter but restrictions respecting river traffic blocked the enterprise. Many of the original promoters dropped out but the Zane brothers stuck to it and as the restrictions were not so drastic regarding the back river they completed the construction of a bridge in 1837 at a cost of \$65,000. The horse-cars were first run over the bridge to Bridgeport in 1868; a turntable being used near the present site of the Cleveland & Pittsburgh railway station. This was used until the introduction of electricity and the building of the back-river bridge in the early nineties. Then came the building of the electric line from Martins Ferry to Bellaire and later to Blaine and Rayland, all of which is now included in the Wheeling Traction Company system. One can hardly realize that so short a time has elapsed since the stage coach and the ferry-boat operated by Martin were the only means of transportation at the service of the community. The roar of the locomotive and the whir of the electric cars and the clang of the automobile convinces the old citizen who lived in those days that he is not dreaming but that we are living in a fast age indeed.

The first physicians were Dr. E. Barnes and Dr. Henry West, both of whom were practicing there in 1837 and for many years afterward. They were followed by Drs. James W. McConaughy, W. S. Fisher, James Todd and J. W. Dyas.

Not being a county seat the legal fraternity has not been extensively represented, but some very prominent and influential attorneys have located there in recent years and Bridgeport has reason to be proud of her representatives in the legal field. It is only necessary to mention Heinlein & Armstrong, J. B. Driggs, W. V. Campbell and George C. McKee.

The source of Bridgeport's wealth and importance at present comes from her coal mines and her other industries, which include the Scott Lumber Company's plant, the Aetna Standard Iron Works and a number of smaller industries. Much space could be devoted to the general business situation in Bridgeport. It is only necessary to say that all her industries are prosperous and her future is secure. While she is located between Bellaire and Martins Ferry and both of those cities are growing, it does not seem to be to the disadvantage of Bridgeport. A superficial glance might incline one to think that Bridgeport might be absorbed by her big neighbors, but more careful study of its situation would lead to the conclusion that Bridgeport is likely to become the business heart of a great commercial center which will embrace all the prosperous communities from Martins Ferry to Shadyside.

Every community has its "grand old man," and Bridgeport is not lacking in this respect. His name is William Alexander and he is truly the Bridgeport encyclopedia of all that is historical. He knew the stage-coach days and all since. He was several times mayor and also county commissioner and has always labored for the best interests of the town and community. To him Daniel Zane gave the original plat of the town, saying: "Some day I'll not be here and I want it to be in responsible hands." Mr. Alexander is a son of Rev. James Alexander, who was the first Presbyterian pastor in Bridgeport. To him we are indebted for much of the information herein given.

### *Bellaire.*

The rapid growth of Wheeling hastened the settlement of the adjacent territory in Ohio. Following the settlement of Martins Ferry and Bridgeport a pioneer located on the site of what is now Bellaire. That section was covered by a dense forest and a powerful tribe of Indians made it their abode and did all in its power to fight back the advance of the white race. A lasting reminder of the red race at Bellaire is Indian run. The dangers which first settlers west of the river faced were made greater by the fact that both retreat and the

security of reinforcements were made more difficult with the river at their backs.

In view of all these things it required more than ordinary bravery on the part of John Duer when he located there in 1795, having secured a grant of land from the government land office in Steubenville. Whether it was the great danger of the situation or not that led Duer to dispose of his grant history does not disclose, but on July 3, 1795, he sold his land to John Buchanan. The latter disposed of the property by will to his three sons.

In 1802 an emigrant from Harford county, Maryland, named Jacob Davis, purchased the interest of two of the heirs of John Buchanan. At a later date another pioneer named John Rodefer purchased the interest of the third Buchanan heir which lay on the south side of Indian run. The growth of the settlement was very backward and it was not until 1832 that Jacob Davis conceived the idea that this location was an advantageous one for the establishment of a town.

He laid out six acres in lots and in honor of his old home in Maryland named it Bell Air. At this time there were not over a half dozen buildings in what is now the city of Bellaire and these were merely log cabins.

The original town was located between Twenty-seventh street and McMahon's creek and extended west from the Ohio river to a line west of what is now Belmont street. The principal thoroughfare and line of communication with the outside world was the "Indian Trail," the Zane road. Within the boundaries named above in what was "Old Bellaire," were the first grocery, shoemaker shop, blacksmith shop and carpenter shop, which constituted the industrial developments at that time; the forerunner of the busy industrial community of today.

The first building of importance erected in Bell Air was a warehouse built by Archer & Long in 1837. It furnished a shipping point for all that locality. Flour from the mills at Glencoe and the product of the distilleries of the neighborhood were brought here for shipment. The flour went to points down the river, but the product of the still went to foreign markets, and this latter was about the only article of production for which the farmer received cash. It frequently occurred in pioneer settlements that the same building was made to do duty for both school and church and sometimes for court, but in Bell Air was introduced the innovation of using the same building for a cooper shop and a church. The coopers made barrels on week days and the adherents of Alexander Campbell (now the Chris-

tian church) labored to make converts on Sunday. This was before there was any organized church in Bellaire.

Prior to 1841 all postal business was located at Pultney, a mile south of Bellaire, which was the first county seat of Belmont county. This is now grown to be a populous suburb of Bellaire and is known as Shadyside. In 1841 the citizens of Bell Air succeeded in having a postoffice established there with John Archer, Sr., as postmaster. At that time only a weekly mail was received, the carrier riding horseback between Wheeling and Woodsfield. Later when steamboats began to navigate the Ohio between Wheeling and Parkersburg a mail was received every other day. When the Central Ohio reached Bellaire in 1854 and the Baltimore & Ohio was already running into Wheeling mail facilities improved.

The school and the church may truly be said to have entered Bell Air hand in hand and this is indeed a proper association of these two great forces of civilization and progress. Instruction of the young and religious worship were instituted at the settlement of the town, but the first building exclusively for school purposes was erected in 1839 near what is at present Twenty-seventh and Union streets; and the first church edifice was erected the same year and in close proximity to the school building. This was built by the Methodist Episcopal denomination. A congregation of the Disciples or Christian church was organized in 1840 and a few years later it erected its own brick house of worship, occupying it for services the first time on the second Sunday of December, 1846. This house occupied the site on which the Union street school building now stands. The first Presbyterian church was organized here in 1860. The Catholic church parish was organized in 1855 by Rev. Michael Kennedy and a house of worship was erected in 1857. The congregation grew very rapidly and the present edifice was erected in 1890-91. The First Presbyterian church was erected in 1859; the United Presbyterian house in 1873; the First Reformed in 1874, and Trinity Episcopal in 1878. The growth of the church organizations has kept fully up to the growth and progress of the city and new, modern edifices have been erected to accommodate the growing congregations. In this respect no city in Ohio has made a better record than has Bellaire.

From a very early day coal mining has been a prominent feature of the industrial life of Bellaire and much of its prosperity today is based on the coal mines in Belmont county. The first mine was opened by John Fink in 1830 south of Bell Air and it was operated very successfully. He created a genuine sensation by shipping a cargo of coal

as far as Maysville, Kentucky, the first shipment of coal made on the Ohio river for any considerable distance. This humble performance was the forerunner of the enormous coal traffic which now sweeps down the majestic waterway from Pittsburgh to New Orleans. But John Fink did not stop with shipments to Maysville. He pushed his trade down the Ohio and Mississippi until he reached New Orleans, thus establishing his record as the pioneer river coal man in the matter of long-distance shipment. Soon after embarking in the coal business Fink was joined by the Heatheringtons, whose name was destined to become most prominently identified with the coal business of Bellaire. The name Heatherington and the coal business league are synonymous terms.

The great factor in the development of Bell Air was the coming



Bellaire Railroad Bridge.

of the railroads and these great modern highways made it the most important point west of the Ohio river in the Greater Wheeling district. In 1852 the Baltimore & Ohio railroad was completed to Wheeling. It had no western connection until 1854 when the Central Ohio was built to Bell Air and is now a part of the Baltimore & Ohio system, but it was many years after 1856 before the river was bridged and the two lines connected. John Sullivan, a pioneer business man and promoter, deserved and is given credit for bringing the Central Ohio to Bell Air and this is only one of the many good things which he did for the city. The building of the big railroad bridge over the

Ohio river from Benwood Junction and welding the Baltimore & Ohio and Central Ohio into one road was begun in 1865 and completed in 1870. It is three-fourths of a mile long and cost \$1,250,000. It contains 30,000 yards of masonry and is one of the substantial railroad bridges of the country. The steel superstructure was renewed and made modern about fifteen years ago; the change being made without any change or delay in the running of trains. For fifteen years prior to the building of this bridge all freight and passenger traffic was transferred to or from the Baltimore & Ohio and Central Ohio by ferry boats. The great inconvenience and congestion that must have resulted from this primitive method of transfer may easily be imagined. Think for a moment what confusion would be created by an effort to transfer in that manner the tremendous traffic which sweeps over that bridge today. The Cleveland & Pittsburgh railroad was extended to Bell Air in 1856, adding to the importance and progress of the city.

John Sullivan had not closed his career of usefulness in the railroad development of Bell Air when he caused it to be made the eastern terminus of the Central Ohio. Later he promoted the Bellaire, Zanesville & Cincinnati railroad, a narrow gauge line from Bellaire to Woodsfield, where connection is made to Zanesville. This line is unique in many ways. It cost but \$11,500 a mile to build and its trestles and grades and curves are marvels even in this age of remarkable railway construction. But it is the only rail outlet for a great scope of territory and is a great feeder for Bellaire business. The "B. Z. & C." has been made the subject of innumerable jokes, and is commonly referred to as the "Bent, Zigzag & Crooked."

After the completion of the Central Ohio railroad to the town in 1854 the name was changed to the form Bellaire instead of Bell Air. The change was made at the suggestion of John Sullivan and Moses Sarchett, who were held in the highest esteem by the citizens. The former had been the strong factor in making Bellaire the eastern terminus of the road and the latter was a director in the company and a warm friend of the town. A move to have the town incorporated was made in 1857 when a petition was presented to the county commissioners and by them favorably acted upon. But like all other communities Bellaire possessed an element that was at enmity with progress and the incorporation proceedings were attacked in court. Unfortunately owing to some technical irregularity a decision was obtained declaring the incorporation null and void. Similar opposition was encountered in 1860 when another effort for incorporation was made,

but abler and more determined forces were at work and the incorporation carried through. At the election which quickly followed John Kelley was elected Mayor. He was the father of James T. Kelley, cashier of the First National bank. In the first election the question of license or no license was warmly contested and resulted in a victory for the anti-license people.

From this time a splendid future was assured and manufacturing and all lines of business increased at a rapid rate. The twenty-five years following incorporation were prosperous ones and Bellaire's enthusiastic citizens had notions of becoming a real rival of Wheeling for commercial supremacy. Then came darker days in which commercial and industrial gloom settled over her. The discovery of natural gas in northwestern Ohio and in Indiana and its utilization for manufacturing purposes attracted many industries from the Ohio Valley. In addition to abundance of this new cheap fuel the "gas towns" offered free sites and other alluring inducements and a number of Bellaire's best industries, especially in the glass manufacturing lines, were induced to move. The effect of this loss upon all lines of business may be easily understood and for a few years the town suffered from what might be termed commercial paralysis. But the spirit of the people was not broken and they were not disheartened. The descendants of the people who had risked their lives among ruthless savages, felled the forests and amid hardships and privation made a city possible were not to be so easily discouraged. If they could not keep their old industries they must get new ones and they went bravely to work. The result shows not only the soundness of their judgment but the earnestness and success of their efforts. Gradually the city has recovered from its losses. Great new industries have multiplied and today it is in better condition and its business on a sounder basis than ever before.

In the glass industry alone, which received the hardest blow from the removals to the gas belt, there is now more capital invested, more men employed and fifty per cent more product turned out than ever before in her history, though the number of factories had been greatly reduced.

In the manufacturing and mining industries of Bellaire and vicinity six thousand people find employment and the annual payroll is approximately five millions of dollars.

The boundaries of Bellaire were extended by charter amendments in 1870 and again in 1873 when it was designated "City of Bellaire." The first glass works was the Belmont, started in 1861, and from

that time the glass business prospered. The National Company began operations in 1869; the Goblet works in 1876; Ohio Glass works in 1878; Bellaire Bottle works and the Aetna Glass works in 1880. The first window glass factory began operations in 1872 and was called the Bellaire Window Glass Works; the Union Window Glass Company was next in 1880; then Crystal Window Glass Works in 1882, and the Enterprise Window Glass factory in 1884. It can easily be seen why Bellaire was then called the "glass city." It was just at this flourishing period that the "call of the gas fields" began to take from her various glass industries.

The Bellaire nail works began operations in 1866 and the company afterwards built blast furnaces and steel works which is now the great subsidiary of the United States Steel Company. The Bellaire stamping works was organized in 1871 as "The Baron Manufacturing Company," Barnhill & Company, boiler makers, the Aetna Machine works, the Buckeye Lantern works, Gill Bros. Glass Bottle works and numerous smaller industries added to the prosperity of Bellaire in her first prosperous period.

The Bellaire water works was established in 1874. The Bellaire Gas Light & Coke Company was organized in 1873 and reorganized as the Bellaire Electric Light & Gas Company in 1889. The Bellaire Street Railway Company was organized in 1875, but was reorganized by new owners and rebuilt in 1887. In 1894 the electric line to Bridgeport and Martin's Ferry was built and the Bellaire line absorbed. This opened a new era in the history of the city. The electric system is now a part of the Wheeling Traction Company's property.

The first newspaper was *The Times*, published by Robert Duncan in 1853. *The Intelligencer*, *Democratic Era*, *Advertiser* and *Phonograph* were other newspaper ventures which were short-lived. In 1876 *The Independent* was started by J. B. Longley, who was its editor. It was purchased by J. F. Anderson in 1877 and in 1881 the publication of a daily issue was begun and it is still a prosperous and popular institution. *The Tribune* was founded by Colonel C. H. Poorman in 1879 and is now the *Herald-Tribune*. These papers, with *The Democrat*, make up the press of the city at present. The notable figures in the newspaper field have been C. H. Poorman and J. F. Anderson.

As noted heretofore Pultney, which is now a suburb of Bellaire, was the first county seat of Belmont county and it is deemed wholly appropriate in a history of Bellaire to include the following data: The first court of quarter sessions of Belmont county convened at Pult-

ney November 24, 1801. David Lockwood, Daniel McElherren and Jacob Repolier composed this first court, which was really one of great importance. It exercised judicial as well as civil administrative power. It divided the county into townships and election districts, licensed taverns, located and authorized the opening of roads, appointed constables, tax appraisers, a treasurer and a prosecuting attorney. The county seat was removed to St. Clairville in 1804 and has ever since remained there.

In this connection an interesting story is told and vouched for by reputable citizens. St. Clairsville was known as Newellton and was not a place of much importance. Governor Arthur St. Clair had occasion to stop there during a tour of the State and was royally entertained by the people. Among other suggestions made while good fellowship ruled supreme was the removal of the county seat from Pultney and it was proposed to the governor that if he would bring about the removal the town would be named in his honor, St. Clair or St. Clairsville. The suggestion caught his fancy and the change followed. Old citizens claim that the quality of the applejack served by the enterprising citizens of Newellton had much to do with Governor St. Clair's decision, but this may be mere gossip started by those who were envious on account of Newellton landing the county seat.

The town has recovered from the blow given it by the gas field development and while industries are not so great in number they are greater in capital, production and payroll. For several years the movement to the gas fields was severely felt, but gradually the tide has turned. It could not be overcome at once and the recession was long in evidence but slowly, surely the persistence of the people prevailed and Bellaire recovered from the shock and began to fight for reanimation. Today her people may point with pride to the great things which have been accomplished. And they are great accomplishments. Few towns could have recovered from such a severe reverse; but Bellaire did. Today she deserves the greatest commendation that can be given. Only the persistent, unceasing and indomitable will of her people could have brought about such results. Proudly may her people point to her great industries; to her great prosperity and progress. These things have not come by accident for they never come in that way. The great industries which today give employment to thousands of people and pay out in wages millions of dollars each year did not locate in Bellaire by accident or because there was no place else to go; no place else seeking them. They are there because of the interest, enterprise and energy of her people. Enterprises like the

Bellaire Bottle Company, the Imperial Glass Company and the National Glass Works do not come to a city by chance. Industries like the Novelty Stamping Company, the Enterprise Enamel Company and the Strong Manufacturing Company must be secured by enterprise and energy, but Bellaire has them. Then it has the Dover Foundry Company, the William Weizer & Company and the great Carnegie steel plant, a subsidiary of the United States Steel Company, which has grown up to its present splendid proportions from the old Bellaire nail works established in 1860. The history of this great plant is interesting indeed. Started on a small scale in 1866 as a nail factory it afterward added a blast furnace and then a steel plant and finally became one of the important branches of the United States Steel Company.

The first lawyer to locate in Bellaire was J. B. Smith, who came there in 1857. J. F. Anderson, another veteran of the bar, came in 1869.

The First National Bank is Bellaire's oldest financial institution. It was followed by the Dollar Savings Bank and then by the Farmers' and Merchants' Bank. The Buckeye Building and Loan Association is also one of the big institutions of the city and has had a phenomenal growth. Its active spirit has been Mr. John Parks, who deserves a prominent place in the ranks of Bellaire's enterprising citizens.

The schools of the city are a good index to her enterprise and intelligence. She has nine buildings, an enrollment of twenty-five hundred and a corps of forty teachers with a modern system throughout. The Catholics have a splendid parochial school.

In closing these notes it is only necessary to add that Bellaire has stood the test, has weathered the storm of adversity and has triumphed. Today she is experiencing the greatest period of progress in her history and the future is full of promise. Her splendid public improvements, her city hall, all testify to the public spirit of her citizens.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## THE WHEELING CONVENTION AND THE BIRTH OF WEST VIRGINIA.

"Montani semper liberi."

Wheeling was the birthplace of the state of West Virginia. The fame of this event is greater than the prestige which attaches to the city as the seat of the state government for several years. Hence, a history of Wheeling justifies an account of the proceedings which were staged in this city during 1861, and which were more significant and important in their bearing on the history of the state and nation than in their relation to Wheeling. As Runnymede will always be associated with the Magna Charta of English liberty, so Wheeling has the historic fame of being the scene of action which produced the thirty-fifth state of the Union.

The formation of the state of West Virginia was one of the most remarkable events in the history of the federal union. Occurring in the midst of the great Civil war, it was considered one of the incidents of that struggle, and its significance was overshadowed in the circumstances of a mighty contest. "What was done in the mountains of West Virginia during the Civil war left the only trace on the map of the United States that is to be found now at the end of fifty years after that conflict was ended. Not a foot of the territory of the United States was disturbed; not a line of the national boundaries was interfered with; the map went back exactly as it was, with this exception—that in a corner of Virginia there was written, now nearly fifty years ago, the name of a new state, and that state itself is more permanent than all our monuments."<sup>1</sup>

The formation of the state of West Virginia was not a sudden agitation. Practically from the beginning of settlement the western or mountain districts of Virginia were without any intimate integration with the old colonial portion of the state. As late as the beginning of the nineteenth century, that part of Virginia beyond the Blue Ridge was "the west," in the same sense that, half a century later, the region beyond the Rocky Mountains was the wild west. As the trans-Allegheny region was geographically separate, so the tendency was toward a difference in political and economic organization. The

---

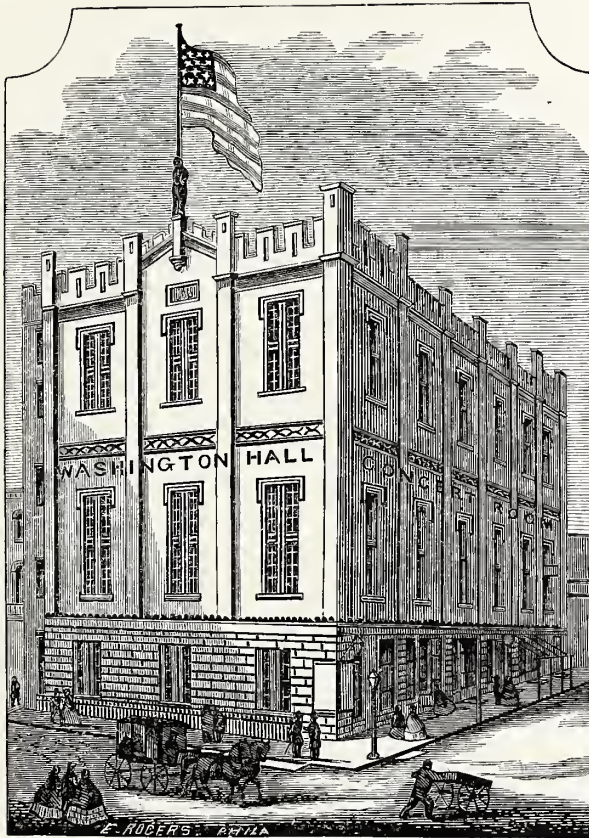
<sup>1</sup>Address of Senator Dolliver, April, 1910, at the placing of the Pierpont statue in Statuary Hall.

people of the Ohio valley quickly showed themselves impatient of any interference from the east. The "whiskey insurrection" was a revolt against federal exercise of authority in this country. The attempt to form a new republic in the Ohio valley, which for a time assumed dangerous proportions, also proved the independent attitude of the western settlers and how feeble were the bonds which held them to the east.

With the exception of the country included within the present limits of West Virginia, all of the trans-Allegheny region was detached from the thirteen original colonies and became the territorial basis for new states. Nearly all of the old colonies claimed territory beyond the mountains, and all of them surrendered their claims except Virginia. The western domains of Virginia were the most extensive of all. By virtue of conquest during the Revolution the Old Dominion held jurisdiction north of the Ohio river over more than half of the territory now in the states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. By charter, discovery and conquest, its territorial claims covered all the country west to the Mississippi, including Kentucky. However, in the adjustment of the many problems preceding the federation of the colonies under the Constitution, Virginia yielded to the demands of the other states and conceded all the lands north of the Ohio river to the national government in 1781. South of the Ohio the great district of Kentucky continued under Virginia jurisdiction until, after seven years of murmurings and petitionings of the Kentucky inhabitants, Virginia consented to the formation of a new state and Kentucky was admitted to the Union in 1792.

These early cessions by Virginia are referred to here because, so far as situation and political and economic interests were concerned, that portion of old Virginia now known as West Virginia should also have been detached; it was of the west, and its settlement and development were similar in character and time to these western states. Previous to the adoption of the Constitution in 1787, a number of plans had been proposed looking to the organization of new states west of the Alleghenies, and some of the movements had taken definite form and names had been proposed for the states—such as Vandalia, Westsylvania, etc. The noteworthy fact is that not less than five of these plans proposed states with boundaries including the whole or part of what is now West Virginia.

Through all the years that followed, the interests of Western Virginia continued to be as distinct from those of tidewater Virginia as the interests of Kentucky were different. Commercially and social-



Old Washington Hall.  
Cut furnished by courtesy of Alfred Caldwell.

ly the capital at Richmond was further from the counties of the Ohio valley than was New York City. No railroads yet cut through the mountain barriers, and all commercial routes of the earlier times, and even the first railroad over the mountains, led away from the centers of the Old Dominion.

In the discussions of the reasons for the alienation of western from eastern Virginia, much emphasis has been placed upon the differing stocks of people settled in the mountain counties as compared with those in the old colony. It is true, the early settlers of what is West Virginia were composed of more varied elements than the population in the east. The entire western slope of the Alleghenies was largely populated by the Scotch-Irish. However, the majority of this class of settlers had come from Maryland and old Virginia, though many came from New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The previous residence of the settlers, and their racial stock, would appear to have had less significance as factors in the antagonism between the two sections of the state, than the differences of geography and the development of distinctive economic and social conditions in the western counties.

These facts have been recited to show the fundamental cleavage between the two parts of the state. During the first half of the century other causes contributed to the friction. Naturally enough, the general trend of state legislation had favored the older and more settled portion. The geography of the state made it impossible that laws and administration could operate equitably over the entire territory. Expenditures for general public improvements were with few exceptions concentrated on institutions and undertakings in the east. A tendency early became manifest toward exploiting the west for the benefit of the east, and in the early days the Virginia government disposed of large land grants to speculators, the revenues from this source being applied for the benefit of the older part of the state. An examination of the newspapers published at Wheeling during the '40s shows that the foremost public question of the day concerned the "tax law." Mass meetings were held and protests and petitions went over the mountains against the inequity of the taxation system. This had been a fruitful source of contention since the early years of the century. The slave property of the planter in the lowlands was taxed on a basis proportionately much less than the cattle and personal property of the mountaineers, and at the same time the slaves were counted in figuring the population for representation in the government, so that one planter with his slaves had more political power than a western citizen with his cattle. Thus it became a question of unequal repre-

sentation and taxation—the same theme that had inspired the revolution against England, and therefore both on sentimental and economic grounds a powerful incentive to discontent.

“For a generation,” to quote again from Senator Dolliver’s address, “the mountaineers had been trying to get away from Richmond. They complained that the wealth of the state and the power of the state was on the east side of the mountains. They complained that they could not reach the capital except on horseback. They complained that their commerce was with the Ohio river and with Pittsburgh rather than with the James and with Norfolk. For a generation there had been unrest and uncertainty of the future in the minds of these mountaineers. Besides that, there was little or no slavery in the mountains; not that these people were better than other people in Virginia, but because slavery was not profitable in the mountains, and so it had made no foothold there; and seeing the institution of slavery afar off, those mountaineers had not lost the prejudice against it which Washington and Jefferson had, and which was universal in the states in still later times.

“And so they claimed, on account of unequal tax levies, that they were not getting as much out of Virginia as they were putting in. They had one-third of the territory and one-third of the population, but they did not have any canals or public works. The only visible evidence of the bounty of Virginia on the west side of the mountains was the insane asylum at Weston, since developed into a very great institution. But with that exception, the century of taxpaying into the treasury at Richmond produced no tangible evidences of their connection with the public funds of the state of Virginia.

“And so those mountaineers were grumbling, and occasional public meetings had been held for twenty-five or thirty years looking toward a partition of the state, in order that that portion of it which was commercially connected with the Ohio river might not be under bondage to a state government the influence and bounty of which seldom extended beyond the Allegheny mountains. And so, in a certain sense, they were ripe for the new agitation.”

The election, in November, 1860, of Abraham Lincoln, the candidate of the new Republican party, brought the issues between the north and the south to a crisis. For a long time the southern people had discussed the right of a state to secede from the Union, and there was a general agreement in most of the southern states that such a course was justified in case the federal government was exercised to injure and oppress the individual state.

In Virginia the people were divided on the question of secession, and it appears that the majority were opposed to a withdrawal from

the Union until the pressure of outside events forced them into the Confederate alliance. In western Virginia the sentiment against secession was specially strong. November 12, 1860, a meeting in Preston county passed resolutions disapproving any attempt at secession. About two weeks later a meeting in Harrison county declared that all constitutional remedies should be exhausted before resorting to violent measures. Two days later citizens of Monongalia county resolved that the welfare of the nation was not endangered by the election of a Republican president. December 3d, citizens of Taylor county expressed themselves opposed to a dissolution of the Union for any existing causes. Similar resolutions were passed at a meeting in the old Athenæum at Wheeling on December 14th.<sup>2</sup>

December 17th, South Carolina passed an ordinance of secession. This example was followed by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas, and on February 4, 1861, these states were organized as the Confederate States of America. In the meantime an extra session of the Virginia legislature had met at Richmond, January 7, 1861. A week later it passed a bill calling together a convention of the people of Virginia through delegates to be elected on February 4th. This convention assembled at Richmond on February 13th, and for two months was occupied in debate on the relations of Virginia to the Union, and discussion of the imminent crisis. Finally, when the separation of the south had been accomplished beyond all hope of reconciliation, and war had been precipitated at Fort Sumter, the convention on April 16th went into secret session and on the day following passed the ordinance repealing "the ratification of the constitution of the United States." The fourth Thursday of May was set as the date for submission of this ordinance to the people, for approval or rejection. However, without waiting for this popular approval, the government at Richmond had begun co-operation with the Confederacy, and to all practical intents the state of Virginia was seceded and a member of the new confederation.

The secession ordinance had been passed by a vote of 88 to 55,

---

<sup>2</sup>Anti-secession meetings were also held at Bethany, December 21st; at Wheeling, on January 5, 1861, a "Workingmen's Union Meeting," an assemblage of about three thousand people in the Athenæum, resolved that they would "not be bound by the acts of any convention, no matter how called or organized, the purpose of which is to alter or in any manner change the relation which Virginia bears to the government of the Union"; on the same day eighty voters at Sand Hill in Marshall county resolved "to stand by the Union"; also meetings were held at West Liberty, Triadelphia, Cameron, and in Brooke county about the first of February the citizens declared that the people of the Panhandle were "the most to be affected by the secession of the state."

showing that there was a strong minority opposed to this action. Many of the strongest opponents were from the western counties, and their protests and their withdrawal from Richmond were so offensive to the secession majority that several months later a resolution was adopted declaring the expulsion from the convention of the following members: William G. Brown, James Burley, John S. Burdett, John S. Carlisle, Marshall M. Dent, Ephraim B. Hall, Chester D. Hubbard, John J. Jackson, James C. McGrew, George McM. Porter, Chapman J. Stuart, Campbell Tarr and Waitman T. Willey. Some of these were the most active leaders in the movements for the reorganization of the Virginia government.

The sentiment of the western counties was now quickly resolved into determined resistance to the secession movement. On April 17th a mass meeting of Monongalia citizens at Morgantown entered a solemn protest against the secession of Virginia, and declared that western Virginia had patiently submitted to the oppressive policy of eastern Virginia for half a century, that now the measure of eastern oppression was full, and that, if, as was claimed by the east, secession was the only remedy offered by it for all the wrongs of the west, the day was near at hand when the west would rise in the majesty of its strength and, repudiating its oppressors, would dissolve all its civil and political connection with the east, and remain firmly under the stars and stripes.

Taylor, Wetzel, Brooke and other counties were scenes of similar meetings. At Clarksburg, on April 22d, twelve hundred people, among whom John S. Carlisle was the moving spirit, recommended that the counties of northwestern Virginia should choose delegates to meet in convention at Wheeling on the 13th day of May, and there consult upon the measures required by the emergency. This was the definite step toward positive and concerted action by the western group of counties. The suggestion of the Clarksburg meeting was adopted in most of the counties. Delegates were selected, either in public meeting or by consultation among those interested in the plan. In a legal sense the delegates were without authority, as they had not been chosen by the regular methods of representative government. In a crisis the people express their will none the less effectively because it is expressed by extra-legal means.

The Wheeling convention was a union meeting. Its members were called for the expressed object of deliberating on the affairs of the northwestern counties and the relation of Virginia to the federal government. However, the delegates who assembled at this call rep-

resented only the Union element in this portion of the state, and the minority element who favored secession had no representation. Hence, the convention did not represent all shades of opinion in this portion of the state; its members were practically unanimous in their opposition to secession, though they disagreed as to the measures to be taken in this opposition. These facts as to the composition of the convention are noteworthy, and are borne out by the record of the convention's proceedings.<sup>3</sup>

The assembling of the convention of May 13th at Wheeling is described by John Marshall Hagans.<sup>4</sup>

"To the meeting of that convention all looked forward with hope. That was thought to be the rallying point from which all succeeding movements would take their origin. No objections could be taken to the holding of such a convention either by the state or federal government, as it was only called for determining what course the people of the northwest should pursue; still it is quite probable that had it been in the power of the state troops, already assembled, in some force, to have prevented it, no such body had ever met in Wheeling or elsewhere. In fact, the undertaking was a perilous one. No federal troops had penetrated into Virginia, or, indeed, crossed the Ohio river. A regiment of Union troops was hastily forming on Wheeling island, under Col. B. F. Kelly, an ardent and active Unionist of the times, but it was so freshly organized as to be almost unavailable for the purposes of military defense or protection.

"Yet the morning of the 13th of May beheld the city swarming with an excited multitude of its own inhabitants, and the delegates to the convention. All were enthusiastic and eager for the beginning of the work, yet none were fully assured of the direction matters would take. By arrangement, the delegates met at Washington Hall at 11 o'clock A. M. The large building was filled to overflowing with an eager throng, whose anxious countenances depicted the depth of their feelings. It was a remarkable spectacle; the faces of the delegates were not familiar to those who had attended the political meetings for several years previous. They were a new set of men whom the people had thrust forward in the peril of the emergency, whose recommendations were: an entire sympathy with the masses in the struggle before them and a hearty confidence in their fidelity. They were plain, unassuming men, too, but as plain men always do, they

---

<sup>3</sup>On the first day the committee on credentials reported a resolution extending admission to the floor of the convention "to such citizens from other parts of the state now in attendance, as sympathize with the objects of this convention, and are good and true friends of the Union."

<sup>4</sup>In the first volume of Reports of the Supreme Court of Appeals of West Virginia, published in 1866.

possessed those traits of character which make honesty the accompaniment of simplicity. Above all, they were filled with a noble spirit caught from their constituents, an undying attachment to the government of their fathers, and a holy hope of relief from the task-masters of the east. \* \* \* The meeting was called to order by Chester D. Hubbard of Ohio county, on whose motion William B. Zinn of Preston county was called to preside. George R. Latham of Taylor county was appointed temporary secretary."

In the afternoon session, John W. Moss of Wood county, who had been made permanent president, addressed the convention stating that the object of the body was to consider the unhappy condition of the country, and particularly to deliberate calmly upon the position northwestern Virginia should assume in the momentous crisis of the country's history. On the second day the discussions of a plan of action showed there were two distinct classes among the delegates. One class were ready to vote for an immediate and unqualified division of the state, however violent or revolutionary it might appear. Some delegations, indeed, came to the city with a banner flying at their head, endorsed, "New Virginia, Now or Never." This party had a powerful leader in the Hon. John S. Carlisle, who, smarting from the injustice and contumely that he had experienced in the convention at Richmond, raised his deep resonant voice to the highest pitch of revolutionary fervor. His plan was to immediately adopt a constitution and form of government for the counties represented, and proceed to fill the offices by temporary appointment. This was a popular idea with the mass of the convention, and it became almost perilous to oppose it; those who ventured to do so subjected themselves for the time to the liability of having imputations cast upon their loyalty.

A minority of the delegates, under the leadership of Waitman T. Willey of Monongalia were opposed to any precipitate action, and foresaw the ultimate failure of any movement that should exceed the limits of constitutional authority. It was argued that the convention was merely an informal meeting of the people, that its actions could not legally bind the people, and that the federal government could not recognize a state created in such an unprecedented and unconstitutional manner.

A blending of the contrasting opinions of the delegates was wrought in the report of the committee on state and federal relations, adopted late in the third day's session. The spirit of this report condemned the actions taken by the secession convention and reviewed in detail the grievances of western Virginia, but the definite recommen-

dations of the report were contained in the following declarations: That in the event of the ordinance of secession being ratified by the people, the counties there represented, and all others disposed to co-operate, were recommended to appoint, on the 4th of June, 1861, delegates to a general convention, to meet on the 11th of the same month, to devise such measures as the safety and welfare of the people they represented should demand. Also, that it being a conceded political axiom that government is founded on the consent of the governed and instituted for their good, and that the course of the ruling power of the state was utterly subversive and destructive to the interests of northwestern Virginia, that the people of the same could rightfully and successfully appeal to the proper authorities of Virginia, to permit them to peacefully and lawfully separate from the residue of the state, and form a government that would give effect to their wishes, views and interests. This report was adopted with only two votes in dissent.

In order to continue the effectiveness of the convention after adjournment, a central committee was appointed comprising the following well-known names: John S. Carlisle, James S. Wheat, Chester D. Hubbard, Francis H. Pierpont, Campbell Tarr, George R. Latham, Andrew Wilson, S. H. Woodward and James W. Paxton. "A vote of thanks was tendered to the citizens of Wheeling for their hospitality. \* \* \* Several eloquent speeches were made. A prayer was then offered, invoking the blessings of Heaven upon the labors of the meeting. The 'Star-Spangled Banner' was sung by the united voices of over a thousand people; three cheers were given for the Union, and amid a blaze of enthusiasm the convention adjourned *sine die*."<sup>5</sup>

The decision reached by the Union people of northwest Virginia, at the first Wheeling convention, was to conduct a vigorous campaign to endeavor to defeat the secession ordinance when submitted to the voters on the following 23d of May. In the event that the secession of the state was ratified, then delegates were to be chosen for a new convention, which should take such measures for the protection of the northwestern counties as the circumstances demanded.

As already mentioned, the ordinance of secession was ratified. So, on June 4th, delegates were elected, and they, together with the members of the state assembly regularly chosen by the western, or Union, counties, assembled at Wheeling on June 11th, for the "second convention." Thirty-five counties were represented at the beginning

---

<sup>5</sup>Hagans' sketch.

of this convention, which, like the first, met in Washington Hall.<sup>6</sup> With the third day, however, the convention assembled in the federal court room of the Custom House.

In May, 1861, the Richmond government sent Henry A. Wise with a military force into the Kanawha valley to hold that section of the state for the Confederacy. The secessionists also took possession of Grafton, as the strategic point on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad. In the meantime the federal forces were preparing to occupy the western district of Virginia, and at the end of May General Morris advanced from Parkersburg to Grafton. On the 3d of June the opposing armies met in their first general engagement in western Virginia, and by the Union victory at Philippi the fear of military coercion among the loyal westerners was largely removed. Soon afterward General McClellan took command in this region, and by the close of the summer practically all of western Virginia was controlled by the Union forces. Hence the work of the second Wheeling convention was not interrupted by alarms of Confederate aggression, and the protection afforded by the federal armies no doubt gave confidence to the members in their deliberations.

One of the first resolutions offered to the convention was one providing for the separation of the western counties to form a new state. Many of the delegates felt that this was the primary purpose of the convention, and to fail to bring it about would disappoint the people who sent them to the convention. To satisfy their constituencies, some of the members insisted that the convention should declare itself by formal resolution in favor of a new state, at least as the "ultimate" object of all their proceedings, and on this question a lively debate was carried on for several days.

The thorough study which had been applied to this big problem during the last weeks, and the course of events, had wrought almost a complete change in the judgment of the majority as to the best measures to be adopted in this crisis. Even the impetuous and fiery John S. Carlisle, who in the first convention had been the most ardent advocate of the new state proposition, now used all his eloquence in leading the

---

<sup>6</sup>The members of this convention from Wheeling and vicinity were: Ohio county—Thomas H. Logan, Andrew Wilson, Daniel Lamb, James W. Paxton, George Harrison, Chester D. Hubbard; Brooke county—Joseph Gist, H. W. Crothers, John D. Nicholls, Campbell Tarr; Marshall county—James Burley, Remembrance Swan, E. H. Caldwell, Robert Morris. Gibson L. Cranmer, of Wheeling, was secretary, and Thomas Hornbrook, of Wheeling, was sergeant at arms.

delegates away from that idea and directing their attention to the plan of reorganizing the loyal government of the whole state.

The published reports of the proceedings of this convention do not indicate clearly to whom the credit is due for the reorganization plan which became the basis for the convention's work. Mr. Carlisle was chairman of the committee which reported the declaration for reorganizing the state government, and took the leading part in the debates that followed. Waitman T. Willey also exerted great power in the counsels. In later years persons who were familiar with the proceedings of the conventions or had an intimate acquaintance with its members ascribe to Francis H. Pierpont the credit for discovering the way out of the difficulties and for suggesting the practical plan which was worked out in the second convention.<sup>7</sup>

The first important work of the second convention was the adoption of the "declaration of rights," which was reported on June 13th, was debated and amended for three days, and on the 17th was adopted by the unanimous vote of the fifty-six members then present. Other members later recorded their votes, so that the document was signed in all by eighty-three names. It began with the assertions that the secession convention at Richmond in February, having been assembled without the previous consent of the citizens, was illegal and a usurpation, and all its acts treasonable both to the state and the federal government. Therefore, the delegates solemnly declared that "the preservation of their dearest rights and liberties and their security in person and property imperatively demand the reorganization of the government of the commonwealth, and that all the acts of said convention and executive, tending to separate this commonwealth from the United States, or to levy and carry on war against them, are without authority and void; and that the offices of all who adhere to the said con-

---

<sup>7</sup>Addresses at the unveiling of the Pierpont statue in the Statuary Hall, 1910. A. W. Campbell, editor of the *Wheeling Intelligencer* at the time and one of ablest workers for the Union-cause and for the reorganized government, is quoted by one of the speakers as follows: "When the evil day at last came and Virginia threw off her allegiance to the Union, he (Pierpont) grasped, among the very first, the idea of the loyal people assuming and taking on and carrying forward her indestructible stateship, and of organizing a provisional government under which and around which all the loyal people of Virginia, of which state we were then a part, could rally. It was the first case of the kind in American history and forms a precedent fully confirmed and ratified by the United States. It was all regular and simply based upon the theory that when sovereignty lapses by reason of treasonable alliance on the part of existing state authority, it reverts *ipso facto* to the loyal people of the commonwealth, and by them can be at once embodied in a provisional government. The conception and formation of this idea belongs as much, if not more, to \* \* \* Ex-Governor Pierpont, of Marion county, than to any other man in West Virginia."

vention and executive, whether legislative, executive or judicial, are vacated."

The broad and statesmanlike plan, proposed in the above declaration, was at first not well understood by many of the members of the convention. Nothing was said about the formation of a new state, and that was the one definite idea in the minds of many of the delegates. It required long and patient explanation and argument to satisfy the new state men that their favorite project was of secondary importance.

In explanation of the larger plan, and in advocating the immediate adoption of the declaration of rights, Mr. Pierpont delivered a long address to the convention on the 17th. He said: "Two plans have been prepared for the purpose of meeting the present emergency. One is by the division of the state; the other is, by forming a government for the whole state. If the first were practicable, under the constitution of the United States, I do not think it would meet the present exigency. Our great, or first object is to put down rebellion and restore peace to the country. \* \* \* But by pursuing the latter course, forming a government for the whole state, as fast as rebellion shall be put down in any section of the state, county elections can be held, men loyal to the government can be placed in power, who will, by the exercise of their office, restore law and order to the community; and thus, when the rebels are driven out, the whole state will be restored to its former loyalty to the Union. The proper course, I maintain, for us to pursue is, to institute a government for the whole state of Virginia. We are the loyal people of Virginia, entitled by law to the control of its military and civic power, as soon as we can get it."

The following day Mr. Chester D. Hubbard argued along the same line: "We are not here to create a state, but to save one; not here to create a government, but to help save a government. Let us go forward in the great work, and not higggle about what our taxes will be hereafter, or questions of that character. \* \* \* I hope we shall say nothing more now about the division of the state; our first and highest object is to perpetuate the Union and the government, and the next to rescue and save Virginia. If we find in the future that we cannot remain in the state, and that we can do better to separate, I shall be as willing as any other man."

Since the right of secession was denied, and the acts of the secession government were declared null and void, the convention contended that the substance of government remained with the loyal people of the state. These loyal citizens therefore could provide for filling

the vacancies in government thus created by secession. Furthermore, as the loyal citizenship of Virginia, so long as the state government gave allegiance to the Confederacy, could not be recognized as a part of the Union, therefore it became necessary to make a state government that the Union would recognize.

Thus the plan worked out in the convention was: First, to organize a loyal state government of Virginia; second, to obtain recognition of this government by the Union, and, under the protection of the federal authorities, to exercise the regular functions of the Virginia government over as much of the state as was possible; and third, as soon as practicable, to take steps for the separation of the western counties into a new state, and to obtain the consent of the restored government of Virginia for this action.

The ordinance for the reorganization of the state government was reported to the convention on the 14th of June, and on the 19th was passed by the unanimous vote of the members present. On the same evening, at a caucus held in the custom house, the following were nominated for the principal offices: Francis H. Pierpont of Marion county for governor; Daniel Polsley of Mason county for lieutenant-governor; James S. Wheat of Ohio county for attorney-general, and for members of the council of state, William Lazier of Monongalia county, Daniel Lamb and J. W. Paxton of Ohio county, Peter G. Van Winkle of Wood county and William A. Harrison of Harrison county. On the following day these officials were formally elected in open convention, and thus the new state government was inaugurated. That evening the state officials and most of the members of the convention crossed over to Camp Carlisle on Wheeling Island, where they were received by six hundred soldiers on dress parade under the command of Captain George R. Latham.

The first part of its work accomplished, the convention adjourned on June 25th, to reconvene in Wheeling on August 6th following. By proclamation, Governor Pierpont called an extra session of the Virginia legislature to meet at Wheeling on July 1st. In the meantime, the proceedings of the convention had been made known to the government at Washington, and in his first message Governor Pierpont was able to state that he had received assurance from President Lincoln that the loyal Virginia government should have such assistance as could be given under the authority of the constitution. Then on July 9th, the legislature chose Waitman T. Willey and John S. Carlisle to fill the vacancies in the United States senate caused by the withdrawal of the Senators Hunter and Mason. When Senators Willey and

Carlisle were admitted to seats in the senate, the first formal recognition was given by Congress of the restored government, and thus an important point was gained in carrying out the plan previously outlined.

The restored government of Virginia had its seat in Wheeling for two years. The legislature held three extra sessions and one regular session in this city. At the first session of the legislature, in July, the proposition to consent to a division of the state was not received with favor, as being inopportune, and so the movement for separation was deferred until the assembling of the second session of the second convention.

This adjourned session of the second convention met at the Custom House in Wheeling on August 6th and continued in session until August 21st. It was the work of this convention which made a new state out of the loyal counties of Virginia. Nearly two years elapsed before the West Virginia government was formally inaugurated, and it is probable that, but for the energy and enthusiasm of the new state faction in the convention, that event would have been delayed until the close of the war and would have been one of the results of the Reconstruction era.

The first resolution offered in the session provided for a committee to consider the subject of division of the state, its preamble referring to the general sentiment throughout western Virginia in favor of division and also to the difference of opinion existing as to the proper time and means for effecting this object. This committee was appointed.

The next day opposition to the convention taking any action for state division manifested itself in two resolutions, which, after referring to the refusal of the legislature to act on the subject, declared the unwisdom of further legislation on the matter by the convention. The convention quickly divided into two parties, and from that time until the close of the convention they were engaged in a constant struggle and the fate of the proposed new state, so far as it depended on immediate action, hung in the balance.

On the third day, the preceding skirmishes were resolved into a battle royal when the impetuous John S. Carlisle, with his characteristic impatience of methodical procedure, proposed that the business committee of the convention report an ordinance for the formation of a separate state out of thirty-eight western counties, and that it should also report a constitution and form of government for the proposed state.

In the long and forceful speech by which he supported his action, Mr. Carlisle took the ground that the previous refusal of the legislature had no bearing on the main question and that in conformity with all precedents in nation and state, the application of the people for any change of government was the obvious starting point in any such movement. There being no official expression of the wishes of the people as to a separate state, "there was an obvious propriety in the legislature refusing at its last session this assent."

It is evident, from a study of the published proceedings of the session, that a new factor had been injected into the situation by recent events of the war. Besides the long-existing economic and social reasons for separation of the western counties, the disasters to the Union army at Bull Run, and the consequent doubt as to whether secession might not succeed, gave urgency to the movement for getting the western counties into the Union as a new state lest they might be left as an alien borderland on the triumphant Confederacy.

It was objected, on the other hand, that in the confusion incident to the war, no adequate expression of opinion could be obtained either in the west or east. The work of the convention would necessarily have to receive the assent of the legislature, which really represented only the western part of the state, and after that Congress would have to give final assent. Would Congress admit a state formed on a mere technicality? Would not they require that the people of the whole state should be consulted in the matter?

A letter from Edward Bates, United States attorney-general, and read to the convention at this time, did much to influence the opponents of immediate division. Mr. Bates held the view that "the formation of a new state out of western Virginia is an original, independent act of revolution," and that in this terrible crisis of national affairs the people should abstain from the introduction of any new elements of revolution. The reorganized government was "a constitutional nucleus" around which all the scattered elements of the state might combine to restore its original integrity. The new state movement was certain to threaten the success of this restoration.

Another objection was that the convention had been called specifically to devise measures to maintain the western counties in the Union, to resist secession and reorganize a state government, and that the call contained no formal expression about the division of the state. Mr. Hubbard criticised the members of the convention and the people of the west for being so absorbed in the attempt to fix barriers for their own protection against secession, when they should be inspired by the

higher loyalty of sole devotion to the work of extending the Union authority over all the state.<sup>8</sup>

Against this cautious policy, the eloquent Carlisle threw himself with an energy that was unabated through all the succeeding days of the session. "There is," he declared, "an advantage which it seems to me we would derive from this separation, that nothing [else] can give us. With a defined line beyond which secession forces dare not approach without violating the 'sacred soil' and sovereignty of a free and independent state, we could defend it with fewer federal troops and less of the government's money than it will take to suppress an indiscriminate rebellion, and protect indiscriminately a population scattered all over this section of the state." Also, once western Virginia had gained recognition as an independent state, the Confederate government would cease its efforts to defend this region as part of the southern territory.

He then emphasized the fact that action by the convention was only initiatory and advisory, and that if it embarrassed the federal interests, the Congress would appropriately refuse their assent, and that would be an end of the matter. As to the fear that the organization of the new state government would weaken the effectiveness of the restored government, he argued that this restored government in any event could restore its authority over the eastern part of the state only when the loyal people there should be free to support the restored government and avail themselves of its privileges.

The champions of formal and deliberate procedure in this matter expressed themselves as strongly opposed to what they termed "secession from secession." If it was unconstitutional, early in the year, for two-thirds of Virginia to secede from the Union, was it not equally unjust that a fourth of the people should force a division without the consent of the rest of the state? The answer to this was that, so far as the federal government was concerned, only the loyal people were recognized as citizens, and that if a majority of them favored separation their action must be valid in the sight of Congress.

The members were nearly equally divided, and for over a week the debates continued and apparently neither side was willing to risk a vote on the several ordinances that had been proposed. The climax of the discussion was reached on the tenth day of the session. In the afternoon Mr. Carlisle reviewed the question in all its phases and closed his long speech with the following appeal:

---

<sup>8</sup>Mr. C. D. Hubbard and Mr. Daniel Lamb, of Wheeling, were among the leaders in opposing agitation for state division at that time. Though conservative in this respect, they shared the general desire for ultimate statehood for the western counties, but felt that the present movement was premature.

"Give us, then, the position designed for us. Let us avail ourselves of this opportunity. There is no reason in morals, and there is no reason in law, why we should not avail ourselves of it. There has never been a time before, in my humble judgment, when it could be accomplished, and I think it extremely doubtful if there ever will be again, when it can be accomplished peacefully, constitutionally and legally. Now is the day and now is the hour. \* \* \* Let not the golden moments pass by, for they may never return. Let us all sacrifice all of personal pride and personal feeling and private opinion we may have entertained. Let it all go as the veriest dust; let it be thrown to the winds of Heaven, and let us bring to the altar of our common country all the patriotism and all the wisdom that is within us. I repeat, sir, there is no difference of sentiment among the members of this body, or among our constituents, as to the support we should give the cause of the Union. Its flag we will maintain and uphold, and we can better do this with a separate existence than we can now, embarrassed as we are at every step we take by the innumerable burdens that are weighing upon us so long as we remain in this state."<sup>9</sup>

At the evening session following Mr. Carlisle's speech, Daniel Lamb obtained the floor and delivered a strong, logical argument against action toward a division of the state. He declared: "I am

---

<sup>9</sup>The one persistent and commanding figure in the Wheeling conventions was John S. Carlisle. A brilliant and effective orator, he was found day after day pleading the cause of the Union or of western Virginia. More than any other member he held the floor in the convention, and some of his speeches were remarkable for their plain eloquence and his impassioned manner in sweeping aside all formal obstructions and going straight to the heart of questions. He would rise to speak, and though the members were weary of the almost interminable discussion, he would be encouraged to go on beyond the hour of adjournment. He was accused of inconsistency. He came into the May convention the most ardent advocate of forming a new state of the loyal counties. His position was the popular one at first, and he pleaded its cause in committee and public. The prudence and wiser counsel of other leaders finally prevailed. Acquiescing in their judgment, he returned to the second convention and threw himself with all the enthusiasm of his nature into the work of reorganizing the state government, and at the same time striving to calm the still popular clamor for state division. Then, after the restored government had been put in operation and he had been instrumental in securing its recognition in Congress, he again appeared at the August session, revived the question of separation, which the convention was almost ready to dismiss, and day after day, from August 8th until adjournment, argued and pleaded that the convention should take the first step in the statehood movement. A reading of all his speeches and debates in both conventions must relieve him of the charge of inconsistency. In the political storms of subsequent years Carlisle's career was in the shadows of the minority factions. But if his career is to be judged from his work in the Wheeling conventions, it deserves a larger share of honor than has been heretofore given. His genius led him to enthusiastic devotion to one course, and, defeated in that, he was found striving with equal zeal for the next best and feasible plan. He fought without malice or pride of opinion. He was inspired by vision of larger things, but he gave all his energies to the work immediately before him. He was a practical idealist in politics.

for a separation of this state when it can be done at the proper time and in the proper manner," and then he reviewed the fundamental causes that made separation inevitable. "But, Sirs, that separation should be effected at the proper time and in the proper manner. It is when we could command such a boundary as our new state ought to have. It should take place only when a full and free and fair expression of the opinion of the people could be had throughout all the limits of the new state. When these conditions can be complied with, I am ready to go into the measure; and they cannot be complied with in the midst of confusion and civil war." In less than sixty days from the reorganization of the state, an attempt was being made to overthrow all that had then been established. "Already we would uproot the government which we had established from its foundation, and start off in pursuit of a new scheme—a new experiment, for experiment it is in such times as these. \* \* \* This disposition shown here, to have something new—some great change—before we have even tried the system which we have adopted, is, to my mind, one of the worst signs of the times." Replying to the suggestion that, with the possibility of Confederate success, it would be wise to get the western counties into a new state before the Confederate government subjected it by force of arms, he asked, "will their paper constitution, or the red lines they draw across the map to define the boundaries of the new state, protect them from the arms of General Beauregard or General Lee?" In the absence of any other argument, he contended that the attempt at division should not be made amid the confusion and danger then existing; that it would be impossible, within the boundaries of the proposed state, to obtain a full and fair expression of one half the people. The irony contained in the concluding sentences of his address requires for its appreciation an understanding of the gloomy apprehensions among the people of the north during the first weeks after the first Bull Run campaign. Referring to the proposal to include certain eastern counties in the new state, he says: "We are not only to include them within the boundaries of our new state, but we are to go to work and fix up a constitution for them. We are to fix up a constitution for the people of Jefferson, and Morgan and Berkely and Hampshire and Hardy, and for the people of Boone and Logan and Nicholas, and I know not how many other counties. Will my friend from Upshur, who has proposed this substitute for our adoption, undertake to carry that constitution into these counties, before the first Thursday of November next, or the fourth Thursday of October next, and explain its provisions to them, and explain why

we took this action or that action—why we adopted this provision or that provision? The report of the chairman of the majority committee proposes to extend the boundaries of the new state to Bull Run. Will the chairman of that committee undertake to explain to the inhabitants along that Run this constitution which he proposes to adopt for them—to discuss the matter in public meetings there, and secure us a full and fair expression of the people in the county of Fairfax?”

Saturday, August 17th, was the day of voting on the amendments and resolutions relating to division. The first taken up was the substitute motion of William J. Boreman. This resolution declared that in view of the unsettled state of the country and the impossibility of getting a full expression of opinion, it was premature to undertake the change, and recommend that if conditions admitted the taking of a fair vote in the western counties the general assembly should submit the proposition to them during the following January. This resolution was lost by the close vote of 40 to 42. The vote indicated that the advocates and opponents of division were nearly equal in number. The proceedings of this day were marked by much acrimony, and after the Boreman resolution had been defeated the convention turned into a scene of disorder in which several members tried to secure a *sine die* adjournment.

When the convention assembled on the next Monday, the members were in a much better humor. It was agreed that the entire question should be submitted to a Compromise Committee, three from each faction—Farnsworth, Carlisle, Paxton, Van Winkle, Ruffner and Lamb. After the many days of unyielding struggle between the two sides, it is remarkable evidence of their freedom from personal prejudice and their devotion to the general good that the committee made a unanimous report. This ordinance “to provide for the formation of a new state out of a portion of the territory of this state,” provided:—That the name should be “the state of Kanawha;<sup>10</sup> that on the following 24th of October a vote should be taken in the counties of the proposed new state, first, on the question of the formation of such state, and, second, to elect delegates to a constitutional convention, to be held if the majority were in favor of the new state. The governor was to proclaim the result of the vote, and if favorable to the formation of the state, should call the constitutional convention

---

<sup>10</sup>The names “New Virginia” and “Allegheny” had been previously suggested for the new state. Chapman J. Stuart proposed to amend this ordinance by substituting the name “West Virginia,” but his motion was lost, and the adoption of the present name was made in the constitutional convention.

to meet at Wheeling on November 26th; the constitution was to be submitted for ratification or rejection by the people. The last section of the ordinance declared that the restored government of Virginia should exercise its powers, undiminished and unimpaired, within the proposed state until Congress should admit the new state to the Union.

When this ordinance was reported to the convention it met with little serious antagonism. Several of the opponents of division explained the grounds upon which they had decided to support the measure, and after some slight amendments the question of its adoption was put and carried by a vote of 48 to 27.

Thus the great object for which the people of western Virginia had been struggling for years was, by the work of this convention, in a fair way to be accomplished. It was only the first step, but it laid a plan of practical procedure by which the ends might be realized. Regarded from a later point of view, it is evident that the state of West Virginia had its practical origin in the debates and the ordinance of the August session of the second convention. Though this convention did not adjourn *sine die*, the occasion for its reassembling did not arise, so that it really passed into history when its members left the old Custom House on the afternoon of the 21st of August.

The events following the adjournment of the convention will be sketched briefly. On the 24th of October, 1861, a total of 18,408 votes were cast in the western counties in favor of the formation of a new state; only 481 votes were opposed. The vote was considerably less than half the number cast in the preceding May on the question of secession. The absence of many citizens in both armies, and the difficulty of holding elections in some of the counties, were the principal causes for this result.

On November 26th, in response to the proclamation of Governor Pierpont, the delegates chosen at the election of the previous month, assembled in the Custom House at Wheeling to frame the constitution for the new state. The convention completed its labors on the 18th of February, 1862. Then on April 3d the constitution was submitted to the people for ratification or rejection. The vote was substantially the same in number and sentiment to that cast the previous October, the constitution being approved by 18,862 in its favor and 514 against it.

On May 6th, the general assembly of the restored government of Virginia met in extra session at Wheeling to consider the proposed formation of a new state. A week later, May 13th, the act "giving the assent of the legislature of Virginia to the formation and erection

of a new state within the jurisdiction of this state," was passed and approved. Thus the plan of action laid down by the second convention had been carried out practically without change.

The final step in the program was to submit the ratified constitution and the assent of the legislature to Congress. On May 29th, Senator Waitman T. Willey presented these documents to the senate. The matter was referred to the committee on territories, which on June 23d reported "Senate bill No. 365, providing for the admission of West Virginia into the Union and for other purposes."

With regard to slavery, the constitution as ratified by the people contained only the following brief statement: "No slave shall be brought, or free person of color be permitted to come into this state for permanent residence." The constitutional convention had been about equally divided on the question of making West Virginia a "free state," and the above provision was a compromise of the extreme opinions. Its result would have been a gradual extinction of slavery.

The debates in Congress centered chiefly around this provision. The bill for admission of the state, as finally passed, required an amendment to the constitution which should provide: that all slave children, born after July 4, 1863, be free; that all slave children, under ten years of age at that date, should be free at the age of twenty-one; that all slaves, between the ages of ten and twenty-one, should become free at the age of twenty-five; and that no slaves should be brought into the state for permanent residence.

It was at first proposed that this provision should be inserted by the reconvened constitutional convention and confirmed by it, without further vote of the people on the matter. At this point arose the controversy between the two Virginia senators and their respective followings, the one wishing to expedite the statehood matter by this means, and the other standing firmly to the principal that on this important subject the people of the new state should be consulted before the provision was inserted in their constitution. The controversy reopened the entire subject, and delayed the bill in Congress for months. Finally, a compromise was effected by which the amendment to the constitution was to be submitted to the people of the new state for adoption or rejection, the admission of the state to be conditioned on the adoption of this amendment.

In this form the bill for the admission of the state was passed in the senate on July 14, 1862, by a vote of 23 to 17. The next day the bill was presented in the house, which postponed its consideration

until the following December. After two days of discussion, the bill was passed in the house by a vote of 96 to 55, and on the last day of December it received the signature of President Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln had spent the Christmas season in a careful and patient study of this question, and had called all his cabinet to advise him. Part of his memorandum attached to the bill deserves quotation as expressive of the highest and final judgment on acts of the conventions which had made statehood possible. He wrote:

"The consent of the legislature of Virginia is constitutionally necessary to the bill for the admission of West Virginia becoming a law. A body claiming to be such legislature has given its consent. We can not well deny that it is such, unless we do so upon the outside knowledge that the body was chosen at elections in which a majority of the qualified voters of Virginia did not participate. But it is a universal practice in the popular elections in all these states to give no legal consideration whatever to those who do not choose to vote as against the effect of the votes of those who do choose to vote. Hence, it is not the qualified voters, but the qualified voters who choose to vote, that constitute the political power of the state. \* \* \*

"More than on anything else, it [the expediency of admitting the state] depends on whether the admission or rejection of the new state would, under all the circumstances, tend to the restoration of national authority throughout the Union. That which helps most in this direction is the most expedient at this time. Doubtless those in remaining Virginia would return to the Union, so to speak, less reluctantly without the division of the old state than with it, but I think we could not save as much in this quarter by rejecting the new state as we should lose by it in West Virginia. We can scarcely dispense with the aid of West Virginia in this struggle; much less can we afford to have her against us in Congress and in the field. Her brave and good men regard her admission into the Union as a matter of life and death. They have been true to the Union under very severe trials. We have so acted as to justify their hopes, and we cannot fully retain their confidence and co-operation if we seem to break faith with them. In fact, they could not do so much for us, if they would. Again, the admission of the new state turns that much slave soil to free, and thus is a certain and irrevocable encroachment upon the cause of the rebellion. The division of a state is dreaded as a precedent. But a measure made expedient by a war is no precedent for times of peace. It is said that the admission of West Virginia is secession and tolerated only because it is our secession. Well, if we call it by that name, there is still difference enough between secession against the constitution and secession in favor of the constitution. I believe the admission of West Virginia into the Union is expedient."

The provisions of the act of admission required that the constitutional convention should be convoked again, and on January 14th the proclamation was issued for the members to assemble in Wheeling on February 12, 1863. The convention met on that date, took up the work of making the changes required by Congress, and adjourned *sine die* on February 20th. The change of the section relating to slavery raised an issue which had hardly been present in any of the previous discussions regarding statehood. While western Virginia had made little use of the institution of slavery, on the other hand the cause of abolition had few exponents in this section of the state, and the general attitude was one of *laissez faire*. The strongest opponents of the congressional amendment now joined forces with the



Linsly Institute.

other enemies of the general proposal for a new state, but in the face of the vigorous campaign conducted by the advocates of the revised constitution, their combined influence had little effect on the final results.

On March 26th, when the constitution was submitted to the people, a much larger vote was cast than in the preceding elections. For ratification the vote was 27,749, and for rejection, 572.

All conditions having now been complied with, on April 20, 1863, President Lincoln issued his proclamation declaring that the act for the admission of West Virginia should go into effect sixty days from the date of the proclamation. In the meantime, elections for state

and county officials throughout the new state were held, and on the 20th of June, 1863, all was in readiness for the inauguration of the government of West Virginia.

That day was a remarkable one in the history of the Virginias.<sup>11</sup> "In Wheeling a vast multitude thronged the streets; the display of bunting was the most attractive ever seen in the 'Western Metropolis.' It threatened rain—June showers; now all the beauties of a clear sunlight were shown, then a cloud chased all away. There were June showers—little ones—not enough to drive the people from the streets. A procession marched through the principal streets and then halted in front of the Linsly Institute. It was filled with people; the streets were filled with men, women and children, and the yards, windows and roofs were full of eager faces. A large platform had been erected in front of the institute, and thither the officers—officials of two state governments—were conducted as they arrived. Hon. Chester D. Hubbard called the multitude to order. Thirty-five tastefully attired and beautiful little girls, representing the American states—all of them—sang the 'Star-spangled Banner.' Rev. J. T. McClure addressed the Throne of Grace. Then came two governors—Francis H. Pierpont, the head of the 'Restored Government'; and Arthur I. Boreman, chief executive of a state just then beginning to be. The first delivered a valedictory, the second an inaugural address. The sovereignty of the restored government of Virginia was terminated on the soil of West Virginia. Three cheers were given for West Virginia; the little girls sang *E Pluribus Unum*; the band played the Star-spangled Banner, and thus terminated the ceremonies of the inauguration of West Virginia as a free and independent state."

Governor Pierpont retired to the new seat of the restored government at Alexandria. At Wheeling the first state government of West Virginia was organized, and this city remained the capital until 1870.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup>Quoted from *Daily Intelligencer* of June 22, 1863, by Virgil A. Lewis in "How West Virginia was Made."

<sup>12</sup>Wheeling was the capital of West Virginia, altogether, for about sixteen years. By the original constitution, the city was to be the seat of government until otherwise provided by the legislature. The act of February 20, 1869, provided that the state government should be removed to Charleston, which was done the following year. Then five years later, by act of February 20, 1875, the legislature determined that the capital should return to Wheeling. While it was impossible to prevent the members of the government from leaving, the city of Charleston did secure an injunction forbidding the removal of the state archives. On May 20th, the governor and his suite established their quarters in Wheeling. Later the supreme court of appeals dissolved the injunction, and

the records came to Wheeling and were placed in the Linsly Institute. In 1876 the city of Wheeling erected and placed at the disposal of the state government what is now the court house and city hall building, and that was the state capitol for about nine years.

However, notwithstanding the generosity of the people of Wheeling and vicinity, it was not satisfactory to the greater part of the state that the capital should be in the extreme northwest corner. In response to the agitation, the legislature, in the act of February 21, 1877, provided that the permanent location of the seat of government should be decided by a vote of the people, the choice being given of the three cities of Clarksburg, Martinsburg and Charleston. The last named was the successful competitor, and by the terms of the law the government was moved to that city on May 1, 1885, and has remained there ever since.





The Old Court House

## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE BENCH AND BAR.\*

"For honor is ordained for no cause,  
But to see right maintained by the laws."

In 1776, when the original Ohio county came into existence, the county court was the only constituted civil and judicial body for the administration of justice and public affairs throughout practically all the Panhandle of Virginia. Recourse to any higher authority was not to be had short of the government and tribunals of the state at Williamsburg. There were no circuit courts, no judicial bodies of any kind with intermediate jurisdiction, between the monthly court held at West Liberty and the commonwealth's superior courts at the capital.

For over ten years following the organization of the county, any appeals from the decisions of the county court would have taken the long route over the mountains to Williamsburg or Richmond. Such a course was productive of almost prohibitive cost and long delays, and was rarely followed. The litigation of the time was naturally of a simple character. Most of the business of the county court was administrative, relating to the laying out of roads, organizing the militia, assessing and collecting, and the other general duties which in modern times are performed by the court of county commissioners. Chancery matters also came before this court, including the appointment of guardians for orphans or dependent minors, the issuing of papers of administration on estates, the recording of wills and deeds. Personal suits were usually of a trivial nature, for trespass, defamation, debt, assault and battery. One of the first cases involved a dispute over "a Certain Bed." At the August term of 1780, in one of the commonwealth cases, a man named Bruce was tried for stealing a bell, was judged guilty by the court, and the sheriff was directed to punish him with twenty-five lashes on the bare back. Trial by jury of twelve men prevailed in cases involving questions of both law and fact.

Thus the local magistrates composing the original county court

---

\*Acknowledgment is made for a careful revision of this article by Mr. Henry M. Russell, of the Wheeling bar, and also for suggestions and assistance from T. S. Riley, L. S. Jordan, Alfred Caldwell, S. G. Smith and others.

were the first judiciary of Ohio county, and for more than thirty years this court was the only one holding sessions in this county. Therefore the history of the Bench and Bar properly begins with this combined administrative and judicial body, composed of seven or more justices of the peace for Ohio county.

Up to the admission of West Virginia to the Union in 1863, the system of courts and civil government in this vicinity was the system practiced and developed by Old Virginia. Much has been written on other pages illustrating the radical differences in population, social customs and general economy between Western Virginia and the Tidewater Virginia. In many striking ways the two portions of the commonwealth were essentially lacking in homogeneous character and development. The courts and laws and the civil government, however, were identical in form and method throughout the Old Dominion, and the jurisprudence of West Virginia has the same origins from which old Virginia drew its law and lawyers.

The judicial system of Virginia was a compound of the local magistracy and of the courts of the Crown, and its origin is found in the common institutions of old England, where the proprietor of the manorial estate dispensed justice among his tenants and dependants, while at quarter sessions or other terms the judges of the king came around to the different shires of the realm to adjudicate the more important cases of law and equity. In Governor Berkeley's report on Virginia in 1671 he states that all causes involving values above fifteen pounds sterling were judged by the governor and his counsellors. For amounts under that sum, there were particular courts in every county.

Through development of this principle, arose the judicial system in existence and adopted when Virginia became an independent state in 1776. The fundamental feature of this system was the county court, as above described. Above this were three superior courts—the high court of chancery, the general court, and the court of admiralty. The first two received appeals from the county courts. Over all, was the supreme court of appeals, to which cases were brought from the superior courts.

A description of the administration of justice and the courts of Virginia that prevailed when Ohio county was organized is afforded in Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, written in 1781-2. Aside from the value of his description as history, it is interesting for its quaint language and the curious comments on some of the features of the system:

"The state is divided into counties. In every county are appointed magistrates, called justices of the peace, usually from eight to forty in number, in proportion to the size of the county, of the most discreet and honest inhabitants. They are nominated by their fellows, but commissioned by the governor, and act without reward. These magistrates have jurisdiction both criminal and civil. If the question before them be a question of law only, they decide on it themselves; but if it be of fact, or of fact and law combined, it must be referred to a jury. In the latter case, of a combination of law and fact, it is usual for the jurors to decide the fact, and to refer the law arising on it to the decision of the judges. But this division of the subject lies with their discretion only. And if the question relate to any point of public liberty, or if it be one of those in which the judges may be suspected of bias, the jury undertake to decide both law and fact. If they be mistaken, a decision against right, which is casual only, is less dangerous to the state, and less afflicting to the loser, than one which makes part of a regular and uniform system. In truth it is better to toss up cross and pile<sup>1</sup> in a cause, than to refer it to a judge whose mind is warped by any motive whatever, in that particular case. But the common sense of twelve honest men gives still a better chance of just decision than the hazard of cross and pile. These judges execute their process by the sheriff or coroner of the county, or by constables of their own appointment. If any free person commit an offence against the commonwealth, if it be below the degree of felony, he is bound by a justice to appear before their court, to answer it on indictment or information. If it amounts to felony, he is committed to jail, a court of these justices is called; if they on examination think him guilty, they send him to the jail of the general court, before which court he is to be tried first by a grand jury of 24, of whom 13 must concur in opinion; if they find him guilty, he is then tried by a jury of twelve men from the county where the offence was committed, and by their verdict, which must be unanimous, he is acquitted or condemned without appeal. If the criminal be a slave the trial by the county court is final. In every case, however, except that of high treason, there resides in the governor a power of pardon. In high treason, the pardon can only flow from the general assembly. In civil matters these justices have jurisdiction in all cases of whatever value, not appertaining to the department of the admiralty. This jurisdiction is two-fold. If the matter in dispute be of less value than four dollars and one-sixth, a single member may try it at any time and place within his county, and may award execution on the goods of the party cast. If it be

---

<sup>1</sup>Cross and Pile, an old game with money, at which the chance was decided according as the coin fell with that side up which bore the cross, or the other, which was called *pile*, or reverse; equivalent to the *heads and tails* of the present time.—Century Dictionary.

of that or greater value, it is determinable before the county court, which consists of four at least of those justices, and assembles at the court house of the county on a certain day in every month. From their determination, if the matter be of the value of ten pounds sterling, or concern the title or bounds of lands, an appeal lies to one of the superior courts.

"There are three superior courts, to wit, the high-court of chancery, the general court, and the court of admiralty. The first and second of these receive appeals from the county courts, and also have original jurisdiction, where the subject of controversy is of the value of ten pounds sterling, or where it concerns the title or bounds of land. The jurisdiction of the admiralty is original altogether. The high court of chancery is composed of three judges, the general court of five, and the court of admiralty of three. The two first hold their sessions at Richmond at stated times, the chancery twice in the year, and the general court twice for business, civil and criminal, and twice more for criminal only.

\* \* \*

"There is one supreme court, called the court of appeals, composed of the judges of the three superior courts, assembling twice a year at stated times at Richmond. This court receives appeals in all civil cases from each of the superior courts, and determines them finally. But it has no original jurisdiction."

In marked contrast with the practices of later times, when every public official from judge to coroner was chosen by popular vote, not only the judges of the superior courts were appointed by the governor but even the justices of the county court received their commissions, not through election by the local inhabitants, but from the governor. This was one of the features of the first state constitution severely criticised by Jefferson. "All the powers of government," he said, "legislative, executive, and judiciary, result to the legislative body," and he declared that the "concentrating these in the same hands is precisely the definition of despotic government." The members of the general assembly were the only state or local officials chosen by the people under the original constitution. The members of the assembly had the appointment of the governor and council, the judges of the superior courts, and other general officers of the commonwealth.

As regards the county court, besides the fact that its members were not elected, its character seems still further removed from later ideas concerning democratic government when it is recalled that the court was practically a close corporation, a self-perpetuating body. For though its members were nominally appointed by the governor, it was customary for the justices to nominate new candidates, so that practically the court filled its own vacancies. Furthermore, the justices

were appointed for life or good behavior, a practice that continued until the constitution of 1851 went into effect. The membership of the court was not limited in number, except that each county had at least eight justices, the presence of four being necessary to a quorum for holding regular court.

As illustrating the constitution of the original court of Ohio county, the following extract is made from the first page of the Order Book No. 1, containing the proceedings of the first court at Black's Cabin on January 6, 1777:

"Accordingly & in Compliance with a Certain writ of dedimus potestatom, directed to Willm. Scott, James McMechen, & David Rodgers, Impowering eighter of them to administer unto Messrs. David Sheepeerd, Silus Hedges, willm. Scott & James Caldwell, the oath of Justice of the peace within sd. County; therefore the Commission being red at Blacks Cabbin aforesd., James McMechan there did on Monday the sixth of this Instant, did administer unto sd. David Sheepeerd, Silus Hedges, Wm. Scott & James Caldwell the oaths of Justice of the peace, who being duly qualified the aforesaid Sheepeerd did administer unto Messrs. Zachariah Sprigg, Thomas Waller & Danl. McClain the said oath of Justice of the peace, who being duly qualified took their seats on the Bench accordingly."

These seven justices, representative citizens of the time, though so far as known none of them learned in the law, composed the first judiciary of not only Ohio county as it now is but of all the rest of the Panhandle, and their jurisdiction also extended for several years over part of Washington and Greene counties in Pennsylvania. At the March term of 1777 David Rodgers took the oath of justice, thus making the regular number. It seldom happened that all the justices were present in the sessions, and when court continued for several days the membership changed each day. At the June term of 1780 there were present on three successive days the following named justices: Solomon Hedges, Edward Robinson, James Williamson, Samuel McCulloch, James Gillespie, James Miller, Charles Wells, Zachariah Sprigg, Silas Hedges, James Caldwell, George McCulloch.

Some further extracts taken at random from the records of this court during the first two or three years of its existence will illustrate the scope of its jurisdiction and some of the legal procedure of the time.

"Ordered that James Fitzpatrick, an orphan Child, be bound unto Saml. Bruce to learn the art and Mystery of a Taylor until he shall arrive at the age of Twenty one years."

"The Commonwealth v. Murty Hanly for Disaffection to the State, the breach of a penal [statute] for the punishment of Certain offences; the Defendt. being Bound in Recognizance to this Court, the def'dt came in to Court & pleads not guilty; then came a Jury, viz: Resin Virgin, Jacob Newland, Benjamin Biggs, Charles Hedges, Isaac Tayler, Joseph Ogle, Derick Hoaglin, Wm Biggs, Andrew Fouts, Oliver Gorrel, Jno. Warford & Jno. Harris; who Bring a verdict for the Commonwealth. Mauty Hanly, guilty of speaking of offensive words against the Commonwealth, to suffer imprisonment from now to the first day of September next, then to pay a fine of ten pounds & to be discharged then upon taking the oath of fidelity or giving Security for his further Behavior."

"An attachment David McClure on the goods & chattles of Alexander Dooglas, the sheriff returns that by virtue of sd. attachment he hath attachd the following effects: two potts, one frying pan, 2 wheels, 1 bed stead, 1 Churn, 1 Barrel, Twelve sheep, four cows & calves, & one hefer, in the hands of Samuel Mason, Thomas Peak & Wm. Hawkins, and the said Alexander Douglas being solemnly called does not appear, Whereupon the said Mason produces Hugh Siddwel an evidence, who being sworn saith he saw Samuel Mason Purchase the above articles of sd. Douglas, & the Coart is of opinion that the sale is good, & Thomas Peak & Samuel Mason was sworn as garnishee, & nothing apers in their hands Except a side of Lether, in the hand of Mason, when taned."

"Administration of the Estate of Samuel Kennedy is Granted to James Buchanan. he Complying with the Law; then sd. Buchanan Came into Court & Gave David McClure as his Surety."

"Ordered that Joseph Ogle, David English, David Williamson, Isaac Meek, Thomas Chapman, Samuel Glass, George-Humphrys, Thomas Gilliland, John Carpenter, Andrew Fouts, Daniel Harris, John Huff, & George Dement, Each be Find in the Amount of two Hundred pounds of Tobacco for not Appearing agreeable to Summons as Grandjurymen."

An important change was made in the county court by an act of the general assembly in October, 1785, "for reforming the county courts." The preamble of this act states that the methods previously established for the administration of justice had proved ineffectual. Thenceforth, four times a year, the justices were to assemble for a quarter sessions court, at which should be tried all suits in common law, chancery, petitions for debt, presentments and criminal prosecutions. The monthly sessions on other months of the year were to be devoted to the transaction of all matters cognizable by the court except chancery and jury trials. An amendment to this act in January, 1788, defined the jurisdiction of the quarter sessions court for the

trial of all presentments and criminal prosecutions, suits at common law and chancery where the sum exceeded five pounds in money or eight hundred pounds of tobacco.

With the inauguration of the district and circuit system of courts, next to be described, the old county court lost much of its importance, though its jurisdiction remained practically the same for many years. In its membership and composition the county court was unchanged in the constitution of 1830, and it still had jurisdiction in law and chancery, though the establishment of the circuit court of both law and chancery in each county lessened the judicial importance of the old court.

By the constitution of 1851 the jurisdiction of the county court of justices remained as in previous courts of this class, but the justices were no longer to be appointed for life or good behavior. The constitution directed that each county be laid off into districts, and that each district should elect four justices for terms of four years. The monthly court was to be held by not less than three nor more than five of these justices.

This was the county court up to the division of the state. Under the first constitution of West Virginia, in 1863, each county was to be divided into from three to ten townships. Each township elected one justice for four years, and one additional justice if the population of the township exceeded twelve hundred. These justices now became merely inferior judicial officers, and no longer controlled the civil government of the county. For the latter purpose each township elected one supervisor annually, and the board of supervisors, sitting together, were to "have the superintendence and administration of the internal affairs and fiscal concerns of their county." Thus the old county court, which had been adopted in the early colonial history of Virginia, and which had existed without substantial change of powers and duties from 1785, failed to be adopted by the makers of the first constitution of West Virginia.

The board of supervisors administered the police and fiscal and affairs of the county, and the judicial powers above those of individual justices of the peace were exercised by the circuit court until the constitution of 1872, when there was a return to the old county court. In the constitution of 1863 the judicial power had been vested in the supreme court of appeals and circuit courts, and such inferior tribunals as were therein authorized. The constitution of 1872 vested the judicial power in a supreme court of appeals, circuit courts and the

judges thereof; in county and corporation courts; and in justices of the peace.

The constitutional provision concerning the county court was: "There shall be in each county of the state a county court, which shall be composed of a president and two justices of the peace. \* \* \* It shall hold six sessions during the year, at times to be prescribed by law; two of which shall be limited to matters connected with the police and fiscal affairs of the county; the other four shall be held for the trial of causes and for the transaction of all other business within the general jurisdiction of the court, except an assessment or levy upon the property of the county. In all cases where a levy of the county is laid, a majority of all the justices elected in the county shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of that business." The president of the county court, generally called the county judge, was elected in the county at large for a term of four years. Each county was to be divided into from three to ten districts (reviving the names of the divisions made in the constitution of 1851 and corresponding to the townships of the constitution of 1863), and each district was to elect one, and not more than two, justices of the peace, for four-year terms.

This county court had original jurisdiction in all actions of law where the amount in controversy exceeded twenty dollars, in probate matters, administrations and trusteeships, and had appellate jurisdiction from the justices. It also had the superintendence and administration of the internal police and fiscal affairs of the county. It combined the former powers of the board of supervisors and also the judicial powers which had been exercised by the county courts under the old commonwealth.

The constitution as amended by the acts of 1879 changed the civil government of the county to the system that now prevails. By that amendment the judicial power was vested in a supreme court of appeals, in circuit courts and the judges thereof, in such inferior tribunals as therein authorized, and in justices of the peace. What has since been known as the county court was composed of three commissioners, each elected for a term of six years. By act of February 11, 1881, this county court was to have jurisdiction in all matters of probate, administrations and trusteeships, and to have the superintendence and administration of the internal police and fiscal affairs of the county. But the judicial powers of the so-called county court were taken away, and all suits and proceedings not embraced in the above jurisdiction were transferred for determination to the circuit

court of the county. Hence the present county court of commissioners is a fiscal and probate body. Matters purely judicial are under the jurisdiction, first, of the individual justices of the peace, or, second, of the circuit courts of law and chancery.

Reference has been made to the fact that litigants in the higher courts above the county court, under the original system as above described, had to present themselves before such courts at Richmond, which was distant many days of hard travel. The first step to remedy this condition and to bring the higher courts to the people instead of the people to the courts was taken in the act of general assembly of December 22, 1788.

Part of the preamble of this act reads as follows: "Whereas the delays inseparable from the present constitution of the general court may be often equal to a denial of justice, the expenses of the criminal prosecution are unnecessarily burthensome to the citizens of the commonwealth, violations of the laws frequently pass with impunity from the difficulty with which witnesses attend from great distances," it was accordingly enacted that the state should be divided into districts, and a superior court of law held in each twice a year. The counties of Harrison, Monongalia, Ohio and Randolph (as bounded at that time) composed one district, and its superior court was to be held in the "Monongalia court house" at Morgantown.

One of the interesting features of this old court was the provision that two judges of the general court should be allotted to each district, the judges sitting together in the trials. "In all criminal cases where the charge shall be of such a nature as in case of conviction to subject the party to capital punishment or burning in the hand, two judges shall be necessary to proceed upon the trial of the case." In minor causes one judge might sit and be competent to hold trials. In criminal trials "in case the court shall be divided," all questions on which such division of judgment occurred "shall be considered as adjudged in favor of the criminal." Thus, in such cases, unless the two judges were unanimous, the accused went free.

**The** first session of this court was held at Morgantown, May 4, 1789, and it was at the May and September sessions of this court during the next twenty years that all the appeals from the Ohio county court as well as many original causes were heard and decided. There was a different assignment of judges at nearly every session, and a list comprising the principal ones who presided there up to September, 1808, is as follows: Joseph Prentis, Cuthbert Bellett, James Mer-

cer, Richard Parker, St. George Tucker, Joseph Jones, Spencer Rone, Henry Tazewell, William Nelson, James Henry, John Tyler, Paul Carrington, Robert White, Edmund Winston, Archibald Stewart, Robert White Jr., William Nelson Jr., Francis T. Brooke and Hugh Holmes.<sup>2</sup>

The first court above the county court to be held at Wheeling was opened by Judge Hugh Nelson in the spring of 1809. The record of this session begins the court order books on file at the county building, these books comprising a continuous record of the superior or circuit court for more than a hundred years.

This court was held under the provisions of the act of February 1, 1808, for the organization and establishment of a superior court of law in each county of the state. This marked the final step in the progress of the general court to more convenient access by the people. Sitting at Richmond, its jurisdiction at first comprised the entire commonwealth from the coast to the remote regions west of the Alleghanies. Next it held stated sessions in the centers of the districts into which the state was divided, and finally, by the act just named, the judges of the general court were increased to twelve in number and one of them was allotted to each circuit. The twelfth circuit by this law included the counties of Brooke, Ohio (which still included Marshall), Monongalia, Harrison, Wood, Mason and Kanawha. The court was given the same jurisdiction formerly possessed by the district court, and received all appeals in law from the county or corporation courts which hitherto had gone to the district court in Morgantown. And from this time, too, only one judge presided at the trials.

This first circuit court, it should be noted, was a court of "law." Appeals in chancery cases from the county courts were still taken to the high court of chancery. This latter court, established in 1777, at first had three judges, and in 1788 the number was reduced to one. The jurisdiction of the court extended all over the state until 1802, when a superior court of chancery was instituted in each of three districts, the court being held at Richmond, Williamsburg and Staunton. In 1812 the Staunton district was divided into four districts with two judges. One of these courts was held at Clarksburg, to which place all chancery cases from Ohio county were taken up to 1831.

Under the constitution of 1830, and by act of April 16, 1831, the superior courts of law, held by fifteen judges, and the superior courts

---

<sup>2</sup>History of Monongalia County, S. T. Wiley (1883).

of chancery, held by four judges, were abolished. The state was then divided into twenty circuits, with an equal number of judges, and in each such circuit was established "a circuit superior court of law and chancery" to be held in each county. Thus with this act was inaugurated in Ohio county the circuit court as now understood, with jurisdiction in both law and chancery.

The system prevailed until the constitution of 1851, which vested the judicial power in the supreme court of appeals, district courts and circuit courts. The state was divided into twenty-one circuits, ten districts and five sections, Ohio county being in the 20th circuit, 10th district and 5th section. In each circuit a judge was to be elected by the voters thereof, for a term of eight years, to hold court twice a year in each county. The district court, held at least once a year, was composed of the judges of the circuits composing the district. From each of the five judicial sections, one judge was to be elected, the five judges composing the supreme court of appeals.

The constitution of the new state of West Virginia vested the judicial power in a supreme court of appeals and circuit courts, thus abolishing the district courts. The state was divided into nine circuits, Hancock, Brooke, Ohio and Marshall counties constituting the first circuit. Until 1872 the circuit judges were elected for terms of six years, and since that time the term has been eight years. By the amendment of 1879, when the county court was abolished and its judicial powers transferred to the circuit court, it was provided that the first circuit should have two judges. This was a result of the geography of the first circuit. To have constituted Ohio county as one circuit would have left Brooke and Hancock at one end and Marshall county on the other, to obviate which awkward arrangement the circuit was kept as it was and given two judges.

Beginning with a quotation from the first page of the first court order book, the following is a complete list of the judges of the superior or circuit courts which have held sessions in Ohio county from 1809 until the present time :

"At a Superior Court of law held for the County of Ohio at the Court House thereof on Monday the 17th day of April in the year of our Lord 1809, in pursuance of an act entitled an act to establish a Superior Court of Law in each County for this Commonwealth, and of the several acts supplemental thereto.

"Present Hugh Nelson Esq., one of the Judges of the General Circuit, allotted by the Governor with the advice of Council to hold Circuit Courts in the eleventh Circuit of this Commonwealth."

Judge Nelson, presiding from April 17th, 1809, to September, 1811.

Judge Daniel Smith, presiding from September 16th, 1811, to 1831.

Judge Joseph L. Fry, from April 16th, 1831, to 1852.

Judge Geo. W. Thompson, from 1852 to 1861.

Judge Ralph L. Berkshire, from 1861 to 1863.

*Judges of the First Circuit of West Virginia.*

1863. Elbert H. Caldwell.

1869, June 3rd. Thos. W. Harrison, Judge of 4th Judicial Circuit.

1869, June 7th. C. J. Stewart, Judge of 2nd Judicial Circuit.

1869, June 15th. George Loomis, Judge of 9th Judicial Circuit.

1869, June. Judge Elbert H. Caldwell, Died.

1869, Sept. 13th. Judge Thayer Melvin.

1881, Feb. 5th. Judges Thayer Melvin and Geo. E. Boyd, for the First Judicial Circuit.

1882. Judges John J. Jacob and Geo. E. Boyd, for the First Judicial Circuit.

1889. Judges Joseph R. Paul and Jno. A. Campbell, Judges for the First Judicial Circuit.

1897. H. C. Hervey and Joseph R. Paul, Judges.

1900. H. C. Hervey and Thayer Melvin, Judges.

1906. H. C. Hervey and Frank W. Nesbitt, Judges.

It is now more than a century since the first superior court of law was opened in Ohio county. Many judges have discharged the high responsibilities of their office, and the honors due to their service are, in the greater number of cases, paid to men who have answered the summons to the last tribunal. Of the men who have sat on the circuit bench during the last three quarters of a century, something remains of biographical nature, but of the first judges little identifies them beyond their names.

This was particularly true of the first judge, Hugh Nelson, who came to hold court in the old building on Tenth street in Wheeling in 1809. It is thought he was a resident of Harrison county. Also a resident of Harrison county was Judge Daniel Smith, whose name is signed to the court records for nearly twenty years. His successor was Judge Joseph L. Fry, who presided at the January term of 1831, and continued on the bench twenty-one years, until under the consti-

tution of 1852 the office of circuit judge became elective. He was a native of Orange county, Virginia, moved to Kanawha county, and after his appointment to the bench moved to Wheeling. He died June 10, 1865, at the age of seventy-one. He was a man of literary tastes, possessed a fine library. Many of the lawyers of the last generation were admitted to the bar in his court. When the office of judge was made elective he was a candidate, but was defeated. "On the bench," says Judge Cranmer, "he was always sedate and dignified. He was fair in his treatment of the members of the bar, but he was not popular. He was thoroughly versed in the law and it is doubtful whether a more capable judge or profounder lawyer ever sat upon the bench of the Wheeling circuit."

George W. Thompson, who was the first judge elected by the people, had a long and varied career in the public service. After one term as circuit judge he was re-elected in 1860. He was past the middle age and had seen many years of public service when the war came on. As a loyal Virginian, he was unable to readjust himself to the forces which were evolving a new state, and being conscientiously unable to take the oath of allegiance to the restored government he was removed from office in July, 1861. During the remaining years of his life he was retired, and gave much of his time to authorship, dealing with themes of religion and philosophy. He had been admitted to the bar at St. Clairsville in 1826, and began practice at Wheeling in 1837. He represented Wheeling in the controversy over the location of the route of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, was a member of the Virginia-Ohio commission to settle the jurisdiction of these states on the Ohio river, and was elected to Congress in 1851. He introduced and urged through Congress the bill which, in opposition to the decree of the supreme court, declared the Wheeling suspension bridge not an obstruction to navigation (see history of Wheeling and Belmont bridge).

The successor of Judge Thompson was Ralph L. Berkshire, of Monongalia county. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1816, spent his early life on a farm in Monongalia county, and was admitted to the bar in 1841. He took an active part in the Union movement of 1861, and helped draw up the resolutions at Morgantown which were called the "first loyal voice from Western Virginia." He was a delegate to the second Wheeling convention, and soon after was elected to the vacant office of circuit judge. In 1863 he was elected one of the first judges of the Supreme Court of Appeals for

the State of West Virginia, and was president of the court until the close of his term in 1867.

Judge E. H. Caldwell, who was on the circuit bench from 1863 until his death in 1869, was a native of Brooke county and a son of Alexander Caldwell, one of the early attorneys of the last century. He was the first commonwealth's attorney at the organization of Marshall county in 1836, and was clerk of court until his election to the circuit bench.

Judge Thayer Melvin presided over the courts of the first circuit altogether for about eighteen years. His career and services on the bench were the subject of a resolution in the records of the court, and this record is herewith transcribed in full:

This 26th day of November, 1906 on motion of A. J. Clarke Esq., the following resolution is ordered spread upon the records of this court.

#### IN MEMORIAM, JUDGE THAYER MELVIN

always belonged to the "Panhandle." He was born and reared in the village of Fairview, in Brooke, in that portion which in 1847 became Hancock county. His parents worthy and reputable, were James and Philenia (Thayer) Melvin, the former a Pennsylvanian of North of Ireland stock, the latter a New Englander, whose people came to Virginia while she was young. The oldest of five children, he received a fair English education at the common and high schools of the vicinity; began at 17 the study of law, reading in Fairview, then the county seat, and later in Lisbon, O., and was licensed and admitted to practice in 1853, at the early age of 18 years. He began his legal career in his native place, and in 1855, while still in his minority, was elected prosecuting attorney of the county, as he was for full terms, in 1856 and 1860, although residing from 1857 to 1860 in Wheeling, where he was associated with Joseph H. Pendleton, a distinguished lawyer of his day. Shortly after the breaking out of the Civil War he enlisted in a Hancock company—"F" of the First West Virginia Volunteer Infantry—and was with it for several months, as orderly sergeant and then as first lieutenant, leaving it to accept a federal commission as assistant adjutant general of volunteers, filling that position until late in 1865, when he was honorably discharged from the army, with brevets for meritorious services in the line of duty. Locating in Wellsburg in 1866 he was in that year again elected prosecuting attorney of Hancock, and was nominated by the Republican party and elected attorney general of the State, and was again nom-

inated for the latter office and elected two years thereafter, resigning in June, 1869, to accept a commission as judge of the First Judicial Circuit, a vacancy having resulted from the death of Judge E. H. Caldwell, and the attorneys of the circuit having signified to the governor their willingness for his appointment.

Before this he had again taken up his residence in Wheeling, and under an appointment from the governor, had assisted in completing the codification of the laws of the State. Subsequently, in 1872, he was elected judge for the full term of eight years, and in 1880 was elected one of the two judges to which the circuit had become entitled, Judge George E. Boyd being the other successful candidate.

Resigning in November of the following year, he resumed the practice in Wheeling, a member of the firms of Ewing, Melvin & Riley, Ewing, Melvin & Ewing and Melvin & Ewing, in the order indicated.

In September of 1899 immediately after the death of Judge J. R. Paull, Judge Melvin was appointed to his old position of Judge, again at the instance of the attorneys of the different counties, to fill the vacancy thus occasioned; and in the succeeding year an election being in order he was nominated by both of the prominent political parties, and was continued in office by the people, without opposition or dissent.

Politically, he was at the beginning a follower of Henry Clay, but after the war acted with the Republican party, recognized as a partisan, however and never took part in the political arena, having always preferred to devote himself exclusively to the profession of his choice.

On October 31, 1906, while engaged in the discharge of his judicial duties in Brooke county, he suffered a stroke of paralysis, which terminated fatally at Wheeling on the ninth day of the following month.

Throughout his career his deportment was distinguished by a becoming dignity, and unfailing courtesy and an unaffected modesty; his disposition at once cheerful and serene, was so tempered by the tenderest sympathies that all who knew him were bound to him by the strongest ties of affectionate friendship.

He was a learned lawyer, a wise counsellor, an able and eloquent advocate, a brave soldier, a devoted friend, and an exemplary and patriotic citizen, but he appeared to greatest advantage as a jurist; and upon the bench he was equally distinguished for natural ability, knowledge of law, judicial temperament, literary attainments, consideration for defeated litigants and their counsel, courteous treatment

of all concerned, and the conscientious discharge of official duty. This happy and unusual combination made him a rare man and an ideal judge.

To his brothers on the bench and at the bar his life was an inspiration. In energy he was unflagging, in courage indomitable; firm he was, and strict in the discipline of his court, yet his heart was warm and filled with abounding love for his fellow man—a love that looked out from kindly eyes, and had expression in a never-failing courtesy.

His integrity was unquestioned and incorruptible, and his steadfast devotion to duty was an example for all men.

Great is the loss sustained through the death of Judge Melvin, and deep and universal in the sense of bereavement.

No citizen of the community in which he lived and worked was more widely known or more universally esteemed. By his death the bar which he always influenced in the direction of good has lost an esteemed and beloved associate; the bench, which he adorned, a learned, just and upright judge, the community, which he loved, a man of rare gifts and many virtues; the state, which he honored, a most faithful efficient and conscientious servant.

John J. Jacob, who was one of the judges of the first circuit from 1882 to 1889, and afterwards was an esteemed member of the Wheeling bar until his death, was born in Hampshire county, Virginia, December, 1829, and was graduated from Dickinson College (Pennsylvania) at the age of twenty. He was an instructor in the University of Missouri seven or eight years and began the practice of his profession in that state. Returning in 1864 to Hampshire county, he began a prominent career in public affairs. In 1870 he was elected governor of West Virginia, being the first representative of the Democratic party to win that honor. He was re-elected under the new constitution in 1872. On retiring from office in 1877 he continued his residence at Wheeling, represented the county in the legislature, and in 1881 was appointed to the vacancy caused by Judge Melvin's resignation, and the following year was elected to the office of judge.

Joseph R. Paull, who was judge of this circuit for ten years previous to his death, was born in Pennsylvania in 1848, graduated from Lafayette College in 1871, studied law under private instruction and in Columbia law college, was admitted to the bar at Uniontown and in January, 1876, began practice at the Wheeling bar. It is said that he never participated as attorney in a court trial. He was for a number of years commissioner in chancery, and his decisions were seldom

if ever overruled. At the time of his death in September, 1899, the resolutions of respect from the bar contained the following: "He had held for long an enviable position in the profession of his choice. As commissioner he took and held high rank. But it was as judge that we knew him best and loved him most. For more than a decade he was identified with the courts of the circuit, his reputation increasing with the years. His learning was extensive, his judgment sound. He presided with unfailing courtesy, yet with a firmness that insured against unavoidable delay."

Of the other judges of this circuit, besides the two now on the bench, Judges H. C. Hervey and Frank W. Nesbitt, Judge Boyd was the last judge of the old county court, and he was elected to the circuit bench when that court was abolished. He is now engaged in private practice at Wheeling.

To carry the record of the bar as far back into the past as possible, a brief reference may be made to the old West Augusta court during its jurisdiction over the old West Augusta District which included Wheeling and Ohio county until the division of the district in 1776. One of the minutes of this court at its session of February, 21, 1775, is: "George Brent and George Rootes took the usual oaths to his Majesties Person and Government, sub. the Abjuration Oath and Test, then took the Oaths of Attorneys." The qualifications of the examiner of attorneys are stated in the following record, made two days later: "James Berwick, Gent., is recommended to the Gentlemen to examine att'ys, as a person of Probaty, Honesty, & Good Demeanor." In May, 1775, "Henry Peyton took the oath of an atto. & is admitted to Practice as such in this court."

In September, 1775, occurred the first case of contempt of court on the part of members of the bar, though an erasure of the minutes from the original record indicates that the court was reconciled to the offenders and did not prosecute its drastic order. The record, however, is interesting:

"It appearing to the Court that George Brent & John Gabl. Jones, practicing attornies at this Court, have this day insulted this Court in a very gross manner, by directing the under sheriff not to open the Court when Commanded by the Justices met upon the adjournment of yesterday, from which directions the sheriff hesitated some time in doing his duty, & did Commit other Insults highly derogatory from the dignity & Authority of the Court; It is the Opinion of this Court that the sd George Brent & John Gabl. Jones be suspended from practicing as attos in this

Court until the Pleasure of the General Court is known in this Behalf. It is therefore Ordered that the Clerk do certify these proceedings to the Honble, the General Court, & that the Atto Gentl do sum John Walker Gent of Albemarle, Edmund Winston of Bedford, George Rootes of Frederick, & Chas. Sims of West Augusta, to attend there and prove the facts alledged agst the sd Brent & Jones & It is Ord that They be Committed to the Goal of this County & there to enter into recog in the sum of £200 each with two secys in the sum of £100 Each.”<sup>3</sup>

After the organization of the Ohio county court in January, 1777, there is no record, in the minutes of the court, of admission of attorneys until November 2, 1778, on which date occurs the following: “Philip Pendleton & George Brent, Gentm. took the oath of Attorney at Law and is admitted to practice as such in this Court.” Also, “Philip Pendleton Gent is appointed as a Deputy Commonwealth Atty for this County till some person is appointed by the Governor.”

At the March term, 1779, “Samuel Irwin took the Oath of An Atty at Law & is Admitted to Preach as Such in this Court.” In November, 1779, “Thomas Scott Came into Court and took the Oath of an Attorney at Law and is Admitted to act as such.” These were the only attorneys admitted during the first four years of the old county court. A thorough examination of the old order books of the county court would reveal a number of others who practiced law in Ohio county during the closing years of the eighteenth century. But until the superior courts began holding sessions in this county, most of the attorneys who practiced in the county court were from other localities. During the twenty years, from 1789 to 1809, that the old district court held its sessions in Morgantown, many lawyers who practiced in this part of the state resided there.

Noah Linsly, one of Wheeling's early lawyers, but who first practiced in Morgantown, wrote from the latter place in June, 1798, as follows: “My success thus far has been as good as I could reasonably expect, but money here, as well as everywhere else in America, is extremely scarce, and fees come in very slowly.” And two months later he wrote: “I suppose that at least six or eight hundred must be due me, but mostly in small debts, and if I should happen to die the greater part of it might be lost.”

In another place, he refers to a usage which even yet is not quite extinct. “If you address me in any other manner than in your last

---

<sup>3</sup>These records of the West Augusta court are from the publication of the original by Judge Boyd Crumrine, of Washington, Pa.

letter, you can give me the old-fashioned title of Esquire, which seems to be given to lawyers in every part of the Union. However, it is not a farthing's consequence anyway."

There follows a list of all the attorneys who were admitted to practice in the Ohio county superior and circuit courts, from 1809 to 1912. This list was compiled from the court order books, covering this period, by Mr. J. C. Edwards, the present deputy circuit clerk. Though the books were examined page by page, it is apparent that some of the lawyers admitted here were not recorded. Where possible some of these omissions have been corrected from outside information. The facts given in each instance are, date of admission as it appears on the court record; name of the attorney; and place of residence so far as can be ascertained from the record.

April 17th, 1809—James Magee, Ohio county.

April 17th, 1809—Archibald Hamilton, Ohio county.

April 17th, 1809—Philip Doddridge, Ohio county.

April 17th, 1809—Charles Hammond, Ohio county.

September 16th, 1811—Samuel Sprigg, Ohio county.

April 20th, 1812—Jesse Edgington, Ohio county.

May 26th, 1817—David Biddick, state of Ohio.

May 26th, 1817—John M. Goodmon, state of Ohio.

October 13th, 1818—Thomas McGiffin, state of Pennsylvania.

April 24th, 1820—Morgan Nelson, state of Kentucky.

April 25th, 1820—William A. Harrison, Ohio county.

April 23rd, 1821—Eugenius Wilson, Ohio county.

September 23rd, 1822—Peter W. Gale, state of Ohio.

September 25th, 1822—Samuel W. Boswick, Ohio county.

September 22nd, 1823—Wilson Shannon, state of Ohio.

September 22nd, 1823—William McConnell, Jr., Ohio county.

September 27th, 1823—Thadeas P. Robinson, Ohio county.

September 26th, 1825—Edward Hamilton, Ohio county.

September 26th, 1826—Daniel Peck, Ohio county.

April 23rd, 1827—Moses C. Good, Ohio county.

April 25th, 1827—John J. Allen, Ohio county.

April 28th, 1828—John N. Young, Ohio county.

October 14th, 1831—James S. Wheat, state of Maryland.

October 15th, 1831—John F. Snodgrass, county of Wood.

October 15th, 1831—Daniel M. Edgington, county of Brooke.

October 17th, 1831—Edward Archibald, state of Ohio.

October 18th, 1831—Samuel Atkinson, Ohio county.

October 20th, 1831—Edward Archiball, state of Ohio.

- October 20th, 1831—Robert J. Alexander, state of Ohio.  
 October 21st, 1831—Salathiel Curtis, Ohio county.  
 October 24th, 1831—Benjamin Tappan, state of Ohio.  
 May 14th, 1832—Wilson Shannon, Ohio county.  
 May 15th, 1832—James Weir, state of Ohio.  
 May 18th, 1832—William Blackstone Hubbard, state of Ohio.  
 October 15th, 1832—Robert H. Miller, state of Ohio.  
 October 16th, 1832—Lewis Steenrod, Ohio county.  
 January 28th, 1833—David I. Hillyard, Ohio county.  
 January 28th, 1833—Isaac Hoge, Ohio county.  
 February 9th, 1833—Francis R. Armstrong, Ohio county.  
 May 14th, 1833—Isaac Leek, state of Pennsylvania.  
 May 15th, 1833—William C. Russell, state of Ohio.  
 May 22nd, 1833—George H. Lee, Ohio county.  
 May 28th, 1834—Benjamin S. Cowen, state of Ohio.  
 October 4th, 1834—John I. Jackson, Ohio county.  
 October 4th, 1834—Henry I. Fisher, Ohio county.  
 November 3rd, 1834—William Kennon, state of Ohio.  
 October 26th, 1835—George James, state of Ohio.  
 October 27th, 1835—James M. Stephenson, Wood county, W. Va.  
 October 27th, 1835—Samuel Price, Nicholas county, W. Va.  
 November 23rd, 1836—Isaiah Stein, Ohio county.  
 May 22nd, 1837—Augilla Bolton Caldwell, Ohio county.  
 November 4th, 1837—William A. Harrison, Ohio county.  
 November 23rd, 1837—Joseph Tidball, Ohio county.  
 October 23rd, 1838—Schuyler Strong, state of Pennsylvania.  
 October 24th, 1838—Alfred Caldwell, state of Ohio.  
 October 18th, 1839—James Paull, Ohio county.  
 May 21st, 1839—Charles W. Russell, Ohio county.  
 May 21st, 1839—William L. Henley.  
 \* November 18th, 1839—Hugh I. Arnett, state of Ohio.  
 June 11th, 1841—Isaiah B. B. Hale, Ohio county.

---

\*Supplementing this list, the *Wheeling Directory* for 1839, names the following attorneys of Wheeling, Samuel Atkinson, T. M. Brashear, J. A. Clark, M. W. Chapline, F. C. Campbell, D. M. Edgington, M. C. Good, Z. Jacob (admitted during '20s), Daniel Lamb (admitted in 1837), Wm. M. McConnell, John McFerran, Morgan Nelson, Lewis Steenrod, Samuel Sprigg, Isaiah Steen, J. Tidball, J. S. Wheat, Alexander Wilson, A. B. Caldwell, Alfred Caldwell, John L. Newby, E. H. Fitzhugh.

Non-residents practicing in Ohio county—John C. Campbell of Brooke, E. H. Caldwell of Marshall, Isaac Hoge of Marshall, Daniel Peck of Belmont, R. J. Alexander of Belmont, C. C. Carroll of Belmont, Benjamin Cowan of Belmont.

June 22nd, 1841—Isaac W. Iswitt, state of Maryland.  
November 10th, 1841—Henry Stephens, state of Ohio.  
November 19th, 1841—Daniel Polshy, Ohio county.  
October 28th, 1842—Gustavus Creasap, Ohio county.  
May 30th, 1843—Thomas M. Alexander, state of Ohio.  
June 10th, 1843—William B. Martin, Ohio county.  
October 23rd, 1843—Beverly M. Eoff, Ohio county.  
October 23rd, 1843—Sherrard Clemens, Ohio county.  
October 30th, 1843—Wyhi H. Oldham, Ohio county.  
May 23rd, 1844—William Tate Robinson, Ohio county.  
May 29th, 1846—James W. McConaha, Ohio county.  
June 26th, 1846—William H. Chaney, Ohio county.  
October 27th, 1846—James Hannon McMechen, Ohio county.  
October 29th, 1846—Rufus K. Irwin, state of Maryland.  
November 12th, 1846—John McColloch, Ohio county.  
May 30th, 1849—Edgar W. Woods, Ohio county.  
November 21st, 1849—John Porter, state of Ohio.  
October 15th, 1850—William Montgomery, state of Pennsylvania.  
October 14th, 1851—John T. Russell, Ohio county.  
October 14th, 1852—William I. Nelson, Ohio county.  
October 14th, 1852—Alexander C. Jones, Ohio county.  
October 23rd, 1852—Lawrence L. Minor, Ohio county.  
June 2nd, 1853—Samuel W. Black, Ohio county.  
June 8th, 1853—Hamden Shriver, Ohio county.  
June 11th, 1853—Miler I. W. Glover, state of Ohio.  
June 22nd, 1853—James A. Dunlevy, state of Pennsylvania.  
October 17th, 1853—F. T. Turner, Ohio county.  
November 1st, 1853—I. D. Nichol, Ohio county.  
November 1st, 1853—David Clarke, state of Ohio.  
November 2nd, 1853—David L. Jennings, state of Ohio.  
November 5th, 1853—I. C. Spalding, Ohio county.  
November 5th, 1853—John N. Eichelberger, Ohio county.  
May 15th, 1854—Andrew E. Kennedy, state of Maryland.  
June 7th, 1854—Andrew Hunter, Ohio county.  
October 18th, 1854—I. Boone McLure, Ohio county.  
June 7th, 1855—Benjamin Wilson, Ohio county.  
October 16th, 1855—Edmond A. Nickerson, state of Maryland.  
October 16th, 1855—Leonidas S. Johnson, Ohio county.  
November 12th, 1855—Samuel B. Robinson, Ohio county.  
October 31st, 1856—John R. Donehoo, Ohio county.  
May 14th, 1857—Edmond P. Zane, Ohio county.

May 15th, 1857—Thayer Melvin, Ohio county.  
June 8th, 1857—Samuel P. Wheeler, Ohio county.  
June 9th, 1857—J. B. Jackson, Ohio county.  
November 5th, 1857—James Clapp, state of Illinois.  
November 5th, 1857—John V. Le Moyne, state of Illinois.  
November 5th, 1857—John L. Gow, state of Pennsylvania.  
January 6th, 1858—John O'Neal, state of Ohio.  
May 14th, 1858—Andrew J. Lawrence, Ohio county.  
May 22nd, 1858—George J. Jeffers, state of Pennsylvania.  
October 23rd, 1858—Charles Guinn, state of Maryland.  
November 17th, 1858—John A. Vincent, Ohio county.  
November 26th, 1858—Henry C. Flesher, Ohio county.  
May 18th, 1859—Charles C. Tobin, Ohio county.  
November 12th, 1859—Hannibal Forbes, Ohio county.  
October 16th, 1860—John J. Fry, Ohio county.  
January 16th, 1861—James W. Warden, Ohio county.  
May 16th, 1861—Spencer Dayton, Ohio county.  
October 10th, 1861—Samuel Crane, Ohio county.  
October 22nd, 1861—George E. Boyd, Ohio county.  
° May 13th, 1862—John G. Chandler, Ohio county.

June 20th, 1863, Virginia<sup>a</sup> was divided into two states, namely Virginia and West Virginia, and all attorneys who had been admitted to practice the law under the laws of Virginia or commonwealth, were compelled to again take the oath prescribed by the state of West Virginia, namely, to wit: To support the constitution of the United States and the state of West Virginia, and to honestly demean themselves in the practice of the law, and to their ability execute their office as attorney at law. So help you God.

---

The following are the attorneys admitted to practice under the laws of the state of West Virginia:

October 6th, 1863—A. B. Caldwell, Ohio county.  
October 6th, 1863—Zachariah Jacob, Ohio county.  
October 6th, 1863—Daniel Peck, Ohio county.  
October 6th, 1863—Nathaniel Richardson, Ohio county.  
October 6th, 1863—M. C. Good, Ohio county.  
October 6th, 1863—James Rogers, Ohio county.

---

<sup>a</sup>Judge L. S. Jordan was admitted here about 1862.

October 6th, 1863—L. Wheat, Ohio county.  
October 6th, 1863, Henry C. Fletsher, Ohio county.  
October 6th, 1863—John G. Chandler, Ohio county.  
October 6th, 1863—G. L. Cranmer, Ohio county.  
October 6th, 1863—George E. Boyd, Ohio county.  
October 6th, 1863—Sam'l P. Wheeler, Ohio county.  
October 6th, 1863—Hannibal Forbes, Ohio county.  
October 6th, 1863—George W. Jeffers, Ohio county.  
October 10th, 1863—J. Boone McLure, Ohio county.  
October 10th, 1863—George R. Cochran, Ohio county.  
October 12th, 1863—Benjamin Wilson, Ohio county.  
October 12th, 1863—E. C. Bunker, Ohio county.  
October 15th, 1863—R. S. Moody, Ohio county.  
October 19th, 1863—William S. Buchanan, Ohio county.  
October 20th, 1863—J. H. Collins, Ohio county.  
**December 1st, 1863—John Habermehl, Ohio county.**  
\* March 17th, 1864—Henry Shallenbarger, Ohio county.  
May 2nd, 1865—J. J. Glover, Ohio county.  
May 2nd, 1865—William B. Martin, Ohio county.  
May 4th, 1865—James R. Ruth, Ohio county.  
May 8th, 1865—Samuel Crane, Ohio county.  
May 12th, 1865—M. M. N. Walsh, state of New York.  
May 13th, 1865—George H. Lee, Ohio county.  
October 4th, 1865—R. G. Barr, state of Pennsylvania.  
October 13th, 1865—Ephraim Hall, Ohio county.  
December 5th, 1865—Edward Archibald, state of Ohio.  
May 1st, 1866—J. H. Good, Ohio county.  
May 2nd, 1866—J. W. Shannon, state of Ohio.  
May 2nd, 1866—R. G. Barr, Ohio county.  
May 2nd, 1866—J. O. Taylor, Ohio county.  
May 2nd, 1866—J. W. Parker, state of Pennsylvania.  
May 9th, 1866—Edwin Maxwell, Ohio county.  
May 19th, 1866—George B. Caldwell, Ohio county.  
October 2nd, 1866—C. W. B. Allison, Ohio county.  
October 2nd, 1866—Wesley Wolf, state of Pennsylvania.  
October 4th, 1866—Samuel P. Wheeler, Ohio county.  
October 4th, 1866—Isaac F. Jones, Ohio county.  
October 5th, 1866—H. B. Stanton, Ohio county.  
October 26th, 1866—John A. Bingham, state of Ohio.

---

\*W. P. Hubbard was admitted in 1864.

- December 11th, 1866—R. C. Holliday, Ohio county.  
 May 14th, 1867—Basil T. Bowers, state of Ohio.  
 October 1st, 1867—Alfred Caldwell, Ohio county.  
 October 1st, 1867—Wm. V. Hoge, Ohio county.  
 October 7th, 1867—J. L. Parkinson, Ohio county.  
 October 19th, 1867—John H. Jug, state of Maryland.  
 October 24th, 1867—Benjamin S. Cowen, state of Ohio.  
 May 16th, 1868—J. B. Smith, state of Ohio.  
 May 19th, 1868—William A. Walden, state of Ohio.  
 May 20th, 1868—Alexander G. Cochran, state of Pennsylvania.  
 May 20th, 1868—R. S. Morrison, state of Pennsylvania.  
 October 6th, 1868—Rob't J. Russell, Ohio county.  
 October 6th, 1868—J. B. McLure, Ohio county.  
 October 8th, 1868—William M. Welch, Ohio county.  
 December 2nd, 1868—Alfred Caldwell, Ohio county.  
 December 2nd, 1868—Samuel A. Heaton, Ohio county.  
 December 3rd, 1868—E. G. Cracraft, Ohio county.  
 December 3rd, 1868—W. L. Parkinson, state of Pennsylvania.  
 December 3rd, 1868—H. C. McWhorter, Ohio county.  
 December 4th, 1868—James A. Macauley, Ohio county.  
 December 4th, 1868—William H. Caldwell, Ohio county.  
 December 17th, 1868—M. D. King, state of Ohio.  
 June 7th, 1869—R. H. Cochran, state of Ohio.  
 June 15th, 1869—Clifford Arrick, state of Ohio.  
 September 27th, 1869—Clarence O. McSwords, Ohio county.  
 November 2nd, 1869—Edward C. Freel, Ohio county.  
 November 3rd, 1869—J. M. McWhorter, Ohio county.  
 November 5th, 1869—Arthur I. Boreman, Ohio county.  
 March 1st, 1870—J. H. Pendleton, Ohio county.  
 March 1st, 1870—E. G. Day, Ohio county.  
 June 22nd, 1870—William Erskine, Ohio county.  
 June 22nd, 1870—Robert L. Muench, state of Pennsylvania.  
 June 25th, 1870—R. P. H. Staub, state of Maryland.  
 July 13th, 1870—D. S. Wilson, state of Pennsylvania.  
 November 4th, 1870—William M. Dunlap, Ohio county.  
 November 19th, 1870—S. Kinning Boyd, Ohio county.  
 December 28th, 1870—William H. McEnrue, state of Pennsylvania.  
 March 14th, 1871—William P. Thompson, Ohio county.  
 June 8th, 1871—William H. Tallman, state of Ohio.  
 June 9th, 1871—Daniel N. McCracken, state of Pennsylvania.

July 3rd, 1871—Henry M. Russell, Ohio county.  
July 18th, 1871—Frederick Rodgers, Ohio county.  
March 19th, 1872—Thomas J. Hugus, Ohio county.  
May 20th, 1872—Lewis S. Jordan, Ohio county.  
June 1st, 1872—Lemuel Beerboner, Ohio county.  
June 11th, 1872—John K. Cowen, state of Maryland.  
October 23rd, 1872—W. J. N. Cowden, Ohio county.  
October 26th, 1872—B. B. Dovener, Ohio county.  
November 15th, 1872—Ross J. Alexander, state of Ohio.  
November 22nd, 1872—Benjamin C. Cranston, state of Ohio.  
May 13th, 1873—John W. Mason, Ohio county.  
November 4th, 1873—John N. Kennedy, Ohio county.  
November 6th, 1873—Joseph J. Woods, Ohio county.  
November 11th, 1873—F. W. Sisson, Ohio county.  
November 22nd, 1873—Charles James Faulkner, Ohio county.  
April 20th, 1874—John O. Pendleton, Ohio county.  
April 24th, 1874—William S. Buchanon, Ohio county.  
April 27th, 1874—Frank C. Hildreth, Ohio county.  
May 8th, 1874—James Monon, Jr., Ohio county.  
May 14th, 1874—D. L. Watson, Ohio county.  
August 20th, 1874—George P. Linch, Ohio county.  
November 5th, 1874—Lorenzo Danford, state of Ohio.  
November 5th, 1874—W. J. Kennon, state of Ohio.  
November 25th, 1874—Robert McEldowney, Ohio county.  
April 19th, 1875—George R. Thompson, Ohio county.  
April 19th, 1875—Winfield Scott, Ohio county.  
May 31st, 1875—Frank P. McNell, Ohio county.  
June 1st, 1875—John McSweeney, state of Ohio.  
June 7th, 1875—J. E. B. McDonald, Ohio county.  
October 23rd, 1875—F. M. Thompson, Ohio county.  
November 29th, 1875—A. B. Caldwell, Ohio county.  
January 11th, 1876—Joseph R. Paull, Ohio county.  
May 2nd, 1876—Sherrard Clemans, Ohio county.  
July 5th, 1876—H. B. Ferguson, Ohio county.  
July 13th, 1876—John Walton, Ohio county.  
October 9th, 1876—William H. Hearne, Ohio county.  
October 30th, 1876—John W. Stephenson, Ohio county.  
November 14th, 1876—B. F. Meighen, Ohio county.  
January 3rd, 1877—R. H. Cochran, Ohio county.  
January 3rd, 1877—E. G. Cracraft, Ohio county.  
January 13th, 1877—John McClare, state of Ohio.

- April 18th, 1877—Robert White, Ohio county.  
April 19th, 1877—John J. Jacob, Ohio county.  
April 23d, 1877—Robert E. Chambers, state of Ohio.  
May 1st, 1877—William B. Martin, Ohio county.  
May 14th, 1877—James A. Haggerty, Marion county, W. Va.  
May 18th, 1877—Louis F. Stifel, Ohio county.  
July 2nd, 1877—William M. Menifield, Ohio county.  
July 7th, 1877—Henry H. Pendleton, Ohio county.  
July 9th, 1877—John A. Hutchinson, Ohio county.  
October 30th, 1877—Jacob B. Jackson, Ohio county.  
October 31st, 1877—J. C. Wright, Ohio county.  
November 14th, 1877—Robert M. Eaton, state of Ohio.  
November 16th, 1877—T. P. Jacob, Ohio county.  
November 19th, 1877—John S. Cochran, state of Ohio.  
January 22nd, 1878—M. R. Crouse, Ohio county.  
April 19th, 1878—Benjamin T. Reno, state of Ohio.  
April 24th, 1878—E. W. Hugus, Ohio county.  
April 24th, 1878—John A. Florrance, state of Ohio.  
April 27th, 1878—A. Suydan, Ohio county.  
May 1st, 1878—Dennis O'Keefe, Ohio county.  
May 3rd, 1878—J. Dunbar, state of Ohio.  
May 25th, 1878—Benjamin S. Allison, state of New York.  
June 21st, 1878—T. P. R. Brown, Ohio county.  
October 21st, 1878—Guy R. C. Allen, Ohio county.  
October 30th, 1878—Alfred Reinstein, Ohio county.  
October 31st, 1878—John H. Miller, state of Ohio.  
November 6th, 1878—Wm. G. Worle, Ohio county.  
November 20th, 1878—Oscar F. Davison, state of Ohio.  
December 3rd, 1878—Bernard D. Sinclair, state of Ohio.  
April 21st, 1879—William A. Curtis, Ohio county.  
May 29th, 1879—William M. Richardson, Ohio county.  
February 17th, 1880—Frederick C. Arbenz, Ohio county.  
April 14th, 1880—O. R. Wood, state of Michigan.  
April 14th, 1880—H. R. Spencer, state of Michigan.  
April 17th, 1880—John S. Robinson, Ohio county.  
April 17th, 1880—Eugene Tarr, Ohio county.  
April 19th, 1880—Joseph D. Ellson, Ohio county.  
May 11th, 1880—W. J. Robertson, state of Virginia.  
May 11th, 1880—W. H. Hogeman, Ohio county.  
May 13th, 1880—James M. Payne, Ohio county.  
May 18th, 1880—John F. O'Malley, state of Pennsylvania.

- May 20th, 1880—Samuel M. Sutliff, state of New York.  
July 12th, 1880—Thomas D. Houston, state of Virginia.  
December 31st, 1880—John C. Shea, state of Massachusetts.  
April 11th, 1881—Charles S. Morrison, Ohio county.  
April 12th, 1881—Robert Marshall, Ohio county.  
May 30th, 1881—Frank Woods, Ohio county.  
May 30th, 1881—Sam'l P. McCormick, Ohio county.  
September 5th, 1881—George R. E. Gilchrist, Ohio county.  
September 5th 1881—Frank P. Nuzum, Ohio county.  
September 7th, 1881—Harry P. Camden, Ohio county.  
November 21st, 1881—Clinton Milligan, Ohio county.  
December 19th, 1881—J. C. Grey, state of Ohio.  
September 2nd, 1882—Thomas H. B. Staggers, Ohio county.  
September 25th, 1882—William C. Ridgely, Ohio county.  
September 30th, 1882—John C. Smith, Ohio county.  
November 22nd, 1882—J. A. Gallaher, state of Ohio.  
April 12th, 1882—Geo. Duncan, state of Ohio.  
April 19th, 1883—John G. Hutchinson, state of Pennsylvania.  
May 22nd, 1883—W. C. Yeaton, Ohio county.  
May 26th, 1883—Jacob H. Reigner, state of Michigan.  
September 15th, 1883—J. L. Robb, state of Ohio.  
October 3rd, 1883—Basil T. Bowers, Wetzel county, W. Va.  
April 16th, 1884—Monroe Hopwood, state of Iowa.  
April 19th, 1884—Edward O. Russell, District of Columbia.  
May 6th, 1884—John H. Atkinson, Ohio county.  
December 2nd, 1884—S. G. Smith, Ohio county.  
December 29th, 1884—John H. Holt, Ohio county.  
April 21st, 1885—Thurman South, state of Pennsylvania.  
May 6th, 1885—James P. Crawford, Ohio county.  
May 20th, 1885—Francis A. Riddle, Ohio county.  
May 27th, 1885—W. J. Darnelle, state of Indiana.  
September 7th, 1885—Edgar E. Boyd, Ohio county.  
September 7th, 1885—Thomas M. Garvin, Ohio county.  
September 8th, 1885—Glissan T. Porter, Ohio county.  
September 11th, 1885—Samuel O. Boyce, Ohio county.  
November 19th, 1885—J. W. C. Armstrong, Ohio county.  
May 13th, 1886—H. C. Hervey, Ohio county.  
May 22nd, 1886—J. G. Nigh, Ohio county.  
September 25th, 1886—Daniel B. Lucas, Ohio county.  
September 28th, 1886—Eugene Hanke, Ohio county.  
October 9th, 1886—R. E. Hall, Ohio county.

- May 9th, 1887—P. E. C. Young, Ohio county.  
May 16th, 1887—George E. Boyd, Jr., Ohio county.  
November 22nd, 1887—George M. Fleming, Ohio county.  
December 28th, 1887—Thomas Hughes, Ohio county.  
May 30th, 1888—Newell K. Kennon, state of Ohio.  
September 20th, 1888—James B. Menager, Ohio county.  
December 17th, 1888—Philip Y. Pendleton, Ohio county.  
December 17th, 1888—A. B. Fleming, Ohio county.  
April 6th, 1889—W. W. Campbell, Ohio county.  
July 17th, 1889, W. H. C. Curtis, Ohio county.  
September 23rd, 1889—S. P. Kelly, Logan county, W. Va.  
February 3rd, 1890—John J. Coniff, Ohio county.  
February 3rd, 1890—A. H. Wiedebusch, Ohio county.  
September 17th, 1890—Wilbur L. Medill, state of Ohio.  
September 19th, 1890—Wm. A. Stamp, Ohio county.  
October 10th, 1890—John B. Wilson, Ohio county.  
February 16th, 1891—P. C. Young, Ohio county.  
September 21st, 1891—John H. Romer, Ohio county.  
December 8th, 1891—John C. Palmer, Jr., Ohio county.  
December 18th, 1891—John Bassell, Ohio county.  
May 11th, 1892—William Kennon Cowden, Ohio county.  
May 21st, 1892—Robert A. Armstrong, Ohio county.  
September 8th, 1892—Cyrus P. Flick, Ohio county.  
September 20th, 1892—James H. Porte, Ohio county.  
September 20th, 1892—Joseph M. Davis, Ohio county.  
December 2nd, 1892—E. Jay Penney, State of Ohio.  
January 3rd, 1893—M. F. Dryden, Ohio county.  
April 15th, 1893—J. B. Handlan, Ohio county.  
April 22nd, 1893—Harry G. Lynn, Ohio county.  
April 24th, 1893—J. W. McIntire, Ohio county.  
May 5th, 1893—John G. MacConnell, state of Pennsylvania.  
June 2nd, 1893—John F. Baron, Ohio county.  
June 3rd, 1893—James W. Ewing, Ohio county.  
September 16th, 1893—Ferdinand J. Wingerter, Ohio county.  
January 11th, 1894—Charles D. Breuster, state of New York.  
September 15th, 1894—J. W. Hollingsworth, state of Ohio.  
September 26th, 1894—J. H. Lazear, Ohio county.  
December 6th, 1894—G. A. Colpitts, state of Ohio.  
January 9th, 1895—Talton W. Engle, Ohio county.  
February 9th, 1895—Wallace L. Handley, state of Ohio.  
April 13th, 1895—Franklin C. Holmes, Ohio county.

July 18th, 1895—G. W. Brown, Ohio county.  
September 4th, 1895—W. P. Robinson, Ohio county.  
September 7th, 1895—William E. Patterson, Ohio county.  
September 7th, 1895—Frank W. Nesbitt, Ohio county.  
September 10th, 1895—R. M. Addleman, Ohio county.  
September 10th, 1895—William E. Meyers, Ohio county.  
September 26th, 1895—Frank C. Cox, Ohio county.  
October 4th, 1895—Reymond G. Scott, Ohio county.  
January 4th, 1896—Clarence Wilson, Ohio county.  
April 4th, 1896—H. W. Dickinson, Ohio county.  
April 18th, 1896—William L. Bradshaw, Ohio county.  
May 2nd, 1896—Agnes J. Morrison (lady), Ohio county.  
May 4th, 1896—Nelson C. Hubbard, Ohio county.  
May 5th, 1896—Marshall Brown, Ohio county.  
May 11th, 1896—Joseph Handlan, Ohio county.  
September 9th, 1896—W. B. Anderson, state of Michigan.  
September 9th, 1896—Clark Anderson, state of Michigan.  
November 16th, 1896—J. C. Anderson, state of Illinois.  
November 23rd, 1896—J. E. W. McCully, Ohio county.  
December 1st, 1896—Joseph L. Rhees, Ohio county.  
December 23rd, 1896—Constantine W. Bente, state of Ohio.  
April 12th, 1897—John Wesley Adams, Ohio county.  
April 24th, 1897—Charles John Schuck, state of Michigan.  
April 24th, 1897—George H. Clementson, state of Wisconsin.  
May 10th, 1897—Albert Lee Hooton, Ohio county.  
May 10th, 1897—M. L. McLaughlin, state of Michigan.  
May 18th, 1897—Richard Ryan, Ohio county.  
June 2nd, 1897—William G. Caldwell, Ohio county.  
September 6th, 1897—A. A. Bemis, state of Ohio.  
September 14th, 1897—Herbert E. Dunlap, Ohio county.  
November 15th, 1897—Samuel M. Noyes, Ohio county.  
November 15th, 1897—John T. Cochran, Ohio county.  
December 29th, 1897—J. C. Tahlman, state of Ohio.  
May 31st, 1898—Wilfred G. Anderson, state of Illinois.  
October 1st, 1898—Alfred I. Phillips, state of Pennsylvania.  
October 6th, 1898—Leon Friedeman, Ohio county.  
November 29th, 1898—John J. O'Brien, Ohio county.  
January 11th, 1899—T. W. Shreve, Ohio county.  
April 10th, 1899—Max Srolowitz, Ohio county.  
April 17th, 1899—Francis T. Hord, Ohio county.  
April 24th, 1899—George E. Frost, state of Michigan.

- July 3rd, 1899—Archie LeRoy Sawtell, Ohio county.  
July 10th, 1899—Joseph A. Nealey, Ohio county.  
September 21st, 1899—Lee F. Dobbs, Ohio county.  
October 7th, 1899—C. K. Jacob, Ohio county.  
December 20th, 1899—G. C. Jansen, Ohio county.  
September 18th, 1900—Gibson L. Caldwell, Ohio county.  
September 29th, 1900—David W. Van Hoesen, state of New York.  
October 10th, 1900—A. D. McCarty, state of Michigan.  
December 21st, 1900—Taylor Morrison, state of Maryland.  
April 20th, 1901—Count Lee Radcliffe, Ohio county.  
November 18th, 1901—Lawrence A. Reymann, Ohio county.  
November 26th, 1901—Sheridan Moore, Ohio county.  
November 27th, 1901—E. L. Long, Tyler county, W. Va.  
November 30th, 1901—George Jackson Rogers, Ohio county.  
December 4th, 1901—H. C. Richards, Ohio county.  
December 7th, 1901—Allan H. Robinson, Ohio county.  
December 18th, 1902—Frank A. McMahon, Ohio county.  
January 19th, 1903—Thayer Melvin McIntyre, Ohio county.  
September 8th, 1903—James P. Scott, Ohio county.  
November 16th, 1903—Henry M. Russell, Jr., Ohio county.  
November 16th, 1903—Margan Clarke, Ohio county.  
January 7th, 1904—Harry F. O'Neil, Ohio county.  
January 18th, 1904—Samuel Amspoker, state of Pennsylvania.  
April 30th, 1904—Charles E. Carrigan, Ohio county.  
June 2nd, 1904—Horace G. Coen, Ohio county.  
September 6th, 1904—S. W. Douglas, Ohio county.  
September 6th, 1904—Henry A. Nolte, Ohio county.  
December 14th, 1904—M. Pope Theodoroff, Ohio county.  
January 12th, 1905—Martin J. Kelley, Ohio county.  
April 19th, 1905—J. V. Hoeffler, Ohio county.  
May 1st, 1905—J. M. Ritz, Ohio county.  
September 9th, 1905—Jacob O. Hertzler, Ohio county.  
September 11th, 1905—Chas. Reymond Deignan, Ohio county.  
September 19th, 1905—Fred L. Maury, Ohio county.  
September 28th, 1905—Clyde F. Amos, Ohio county.  
November 27th, 1905, E. D. Leach, Ohio county.  
December 8th, 1905—John S. Ritz, Ohio county.  
January 18th, 1906—A. J. Porter, Ohio county.  
February 10th, 1906—L. V. Thornton, Ohio county.  
March 26th, 1906—H. C. Lockney, Ohio county.  
May 2nd, 1906—Everet F. Moore, Ohio county.

July 2nd, 1906—H. C. Grant, Ohio county.  
September 10th, 1906—Samuel A. Williams, Ohio county.  
September 15th, 1906—Edwin F. Kline, Ohio county.  
September 15th, 1906—B. S. Honecker, Ohio county.  
November 26th, 1906—D. A. McKee, Ohio county.  
December 24th, 1906—Berthold Sim Horkheimer, Ohio county.  
December 26th, 1906—J. H. Brennan, Ohio county.  
September 5th, 1907—Herman A. Hundt, Ohio county.  
December 28th, 1907—George A. Blackford, Ohio county.  
January 6th, 1908—Walter R. Jones, Ohio county.  
January 11th, 1908—George C. Beneke, Ohio county.  
February 15th, 1908—J. Bruce Allison, Ohio county.  
September 8th, 1908—W. B. Casey, Ohio county.  
September 30th, 1908—George A. Feeney, Ohio county.  
October 8th, 1908—R. C. Newell, Ohio county.  
November 23rd, 1908—Paul G. Armstrong, Ohio county.  
December 12th, 1908—E. P. Hunter, Ohio county.  
January 14th, 1909—Martin Brown, Ohio county.  
April 26th, 1909—A. G. Patton, Ohio county.  
March 29th, 1909—M. J. Cullinan, Ohio county.  
April 29th, 1909—Allyn C. McNell, Ohio county.  
April 29th, 1909—Robert L. Bland, Lewis county, W. Va.  
May 6th, 1909—A. E. Bryant, Ohio county.  
May 6th, 1909—O. G. Beans, Ohio county.  
September 7th, 1909—H. W. Houston, Ohio county.  
September 7th, 1909—W. W. Smith, Ohio county.  
September 21st, 1909—W. C. McKee, Ohio county.  
November 22nd, 1909—H. C. McCamic, Ohio county.  
April 13th, 1910—William Gail Hamilton, Ohio county.  
May 9th, 1910—O. M. Wilkerson, Ohio county.  
September 6th, 1910—Robert S. Judge, Ohio county.  
September 10th, 1910—Fred H. Brinkman, Ohio county.  
October 7th, 1910—David A. Cronin, Ohio county.  
October 7th, 1910—Howard C. Baron, Ohio county.  
December 22nd, 1910—John H. Habermehl, Ohio county.  
December 28th, 1910—John C. Berry, Ohio county.  
January 23rd, 1911—Charles J. Smith, Ohio county.  
September 8th, 1911—B. T. Clayton, Ohio county.  
December 4th, 1911—George Thurman Knoté, Ohio county.

COMMONWEALTH ATTORNEYS.<sup>7</sup>

April 17th, 1809—Philip Doddridge.  
September 12th, 1812—Noah Linsly.  
April 18th, 1814—Samuel Sprigg.  
May 20th, 1842—Zachariah Jacob.  
1852—Moses C. Good.  
June 13th, 1860—James M. Hoge.  
June 16th, 1860—Thayer Melvin was appointed Commonwealth Attorney for Hancock county.

## PROSECUTING ATTORNEYS.

1863—Henry C. Flesher.  
1868—J. S. Good.  
1872—E. G. Cracraft.  
1876—Lewis S. Jordan.  
1888—John A. Howard.  
1892—William C. Meyers.  
1896—Frank W. Nesbitt.  
1900—Charles J. Schuck.  
1909—J. Bernard Handlan.

## CLERKS OF CIRCUIT COURT.

1809—William Chapline, Jr., James Chapline, Deputy.  
1817—Moses Chapline, appointed Deputy for Wm. Chapline.  
1831—William Chapline, re-appointed by Judge Joseph L. Fry,  
and Samuel H. Whitaker, appointed Deputy.  
1838—Alexander T. Lawley, Clerk of Court.  
1846—John McColloch, appointed Deputy Clerk of Court.  
1852—Alonzo Loring, Clerk of Court, John McColloch, Deputy.  
1853—Jno. W. Morron, appointed Deputy Clerk, for Alonzo Loring.  
1853—George Wheeler, appointed Deputy Clerk, for Alonzo Loring.  
1856—Lucien Lowther, appointed Deputy for Alonzo Loring.

---

<sup>7</sup>The commonwealth attorneys were appointed by the court up to 1852. During the sessions of the old district court at Morgantown, Philip Doddridge was appointed commonwealth attorney in 1803, and Noah Linsly in 1804.

1860—Alonzo Loring, resigned Clerk of Court, and Lucien Luther appointed in his place.

1860—Samuel B. McColloch, appointed Deputy Clerk by Lucien Luther.

1861—George W. Lights, Clerk of Court. I. N. Irwin, Deputy.

June 30th, 1863—Jacob Burkle was elected Clerk of the Circuit Court of Ohio County, and appointed Isaac N. Irwin, Deputy.

Robert S. Irwin was appointed Deputy Clerk in 1864.

Samuel B. McColloch, appointed Deputy Clerk in 1865.

1867—Michael J. Breinig, Clerk, Bernard A. Gilligan and Jacob Burkle were appointed his Deputies.

1870—Samuel B. McColloch, Clerk, John Walton, appointed Deputy Clerk March 22nd, 1871.

April 10th, 1882, F. A. Woods, appointed Deputy Clerk for Samuel B. McColloch.

1884—John W. Mitchell, Clerk.

1896—Charles H. Henning, Clerk.

A. J. Wilson, Deputy.

William E. Bowers, Deputy, in 1902.

P. H. Bachman, Deputy, in 1905.

1909—John L. Kinghorn, Clerk.

James C. Edwards, Deputy.

#### DATE. SHERIFFS.

1809—William Wells.

1812—Joseph Martin.

1813—Basil Riggs.

1815—Cleabum Simms.

1817—Archibald Woods.

1819—Benjamin McMechen.

1822—Noah Zane.

1823—Lewis Bonnett.

1826—Joseph Caldwell.

1828—Abraham Ridgely.

1831—Charles D. Knox.

1833—Jacob Burley.

1834—Blair Moran.

1837—William Robb.

1838—Ebinizer McKinley.

1840—Richard Hardesty.

1843—Archibald Woods.

1847—Robert C. Woods.

#### DATE. SHERIFFS.

1848—Richard Simms.

1851—John Snodgrass.

1852—William S. Wickham.

1857—Samuel Irwin.

1861—Alonzo Loring.

1863—Joseph Seybold.

1867—Thomas J. Campbell.

1870—Richard S. Brown.

1876—Geo. W. Tingle.

1881—Curtis P. Brown.

1884—William C. Handlan.

1889—Lewis Steenrod.

1893—A. A. Franzheim.

1897—H. C. Richards.

1901—W. W. Irwin.

1905—Dr. D. H. Taylor.

1909—W. M. Clemans.

The first courthouse of Ohio county was "Black's Cabin," on the north fork of Short creek, near Vanmeter's Fort, at the village since known as West Liberty. This cabin had been decided upon as the seat of justice by the landholders of the county when they assembled to organize the new county on December 27, 1776, and the first county court began its session there January 6, 1777. On the next day the following record describes the first steps in the establishment of the county seat:

"& Forasmuch as the tract of land agreed upon for holding Courts at in future doth of right appertain unto Abraham Vanmetre of Opechan Creek in the County of Bartley, Orderd, therefore, that Zachariah Sprigg, Silas Hedges, Esqr., be appointed to Contract & Covenant with sd Vanmetre for not less than Two



Court House and Jail.

acres of sd Tract Including the Cabbin & spring, In behalf of this County, for the purpose of erecting & Building thereon a Court house, Prison and other necessary publick Buildings, for any sum not exceeding Twenty pounds, & Report make of their proceedings therein as soon as may be to this Court."

The deed for this site was executed March 6, 1777, and on April 8, 1777, the following record was made on the Ohio county order book:

"The Court taking unto their Consideration the Expediency of having a Courthouse erected, ordered that a house for that purpose be erected of the following Dimentions & Conveniences, viz.

"a Dimond Cornerd house of Dimentions Twenty-Two by eighteen feet in the Clear; one Story & one half high; a floor above & below of hewd or sawn plank; Ten Joice in the upper floor, nine or ten feet high; in the Lower Story a Coart's Bentsh & Clark's Table; Two windows of eight lights each eight by ten Inches; a pair of stairs & Cabbin Roof; a plain Door & hinges of Iron; likewise plain window Shutters, wth Iron hinges.

"A Jail Twenty by sixteen feet on the outside, the Loggs of the walls to be round & Close laid the loft; floors & partitions to be of loggs squarid to eight inches thick; Two Rounds of Loggs above the Loft; Cabbin Roof'd; Doors & windows agreeable; A Stone Chimney with Iron Grates, the doors done with nails; Lock Sufficient; the Loft & floor to have each a Large Summur Supporting them in the middle.

"& for the purpose of having the aforementioned Buildings Completed as soon as possible agreeable to the aforesaid Dimentions, ordered that Jno. McCulloch, high sheriff, be ordered to put the same up at publick auction to the lowest undertaker."

Some time elapsed before the public buildings were constructed in accordance with these specifications. In June, 1778, the court met at the house of Andrew Ramsey, presumably because the old cabin was not comfortable, or it may have been converted for use as a jail. At the same session (June, 1778) "David Sheephherd protests against the sufficiency of the Jail of this County," and it was "Ordered that the sheriff apply to Mr. Richard Yates for permission to make use of the district Jail to Imprison Delinquents during these difficult times of danger & want of Jail at the Courthouse seat for this County, upon the most Reasonable Terms possible." This district jail was the jail of the former District of West Augusta in Washington county, Pennsylvania.<sup>8</sup> In November, 1778, the court ordered the payment of six pounds to Mr. Yates for the use of this jail by Ohio county.

The following additional extracts from the county order book No. 1 will indicate the progress in completing the original seat of justice for Ohio county. June 2, 1778: "Ordered that David Sheephherd, sheriff for this county, advertise to the Lowest undertaker the Building of the publick Buildings for this County, agreeable to the

---

<sup>8</sup>Boyd Crumrine's sketch of the County Court for the District of West Augusta.

Dimensions therein Containd." September 7, 1778: "Isaac Taylor entered into Bond and Security to finish the Gaol and Court house for this county the court house by the 1st March next, and the Prison by the 1st May next; Ordered that the sheriff do advance Mr. Taylor the sum of fifty pounds and take Mr. Taylors receipt for the same." March 2, 1779: "Ordered that the Sheriff pay the money for the Publick buildings as soon as collected to Isaac Taylor, Robt. Taylor—(David Williamson, Jacob Wolf, Sarah Taylor, David Williamson, Jacob Wolf)." Probably the court house was finished sometime in 1779. But on November 1, 1779, there is this record—"Ordered that the Court be adjourned to meet Immediately at Zachariah Spriggs Gent," and at the close of the first day's session of March, 1780, it was again ordered that the meeting place for the next day should be at Spriggs' house. In the "conveniences" specified in the building of the court house there is no mention of any means of heating the building, and it is possible that the above adjournments to a private house were taken to secure warmer quarters. A year or so later an item occurs of the payment of two pounds "to dobbing the court house," which evidently meant the filling up of the cracks in the building with plaster of some kind.

In May, 1797, the northern half of the Panhandle was organized as Brooke county, thus diminishing Ohio county to the area now included in Ohio and Marshall counties. As West Liberty was thus left at the extreme north end of the county, its appropriateness as a site for the seat of justice was lost. At the following session of the general assembly, the act of December 27, 1797, directed that the Ohio county justices or a majority of them at the next May or June meeting "fix upon a place for holding courts in the said county at or as near the center thereof as the situation and convenience will admit."

Accordingly, at the May session of 1798, the following eight justices were present in court: James Caldwell, Ebenezer Zane, John Boggs, Robert Woods, Benjamin Biggs, Robert McLure, William Skinner, Andrew Woods. The first two owned the land along the Ohio river on both sides of Wheeling creek, and several of the others lived in this vicinity. Hence, besides the real eligibility of Wheeling town, there may have been some self-interest in its choice as the seat. The record of this meeting is: "In pursuance of an act of the general assembly of this commonwealth passed the 27th day of December, 1797, it is ordered that the town of Wheeling be henceforth the place for holding courts in this county."

Ebenezer Zane, Andrew Woods and Henry Smith were appointed

commissioners to determine and purchase a proper site for public buildings, and until such buildings should be completed the house of Henry Smith then "in the occupation of Mr. John Gooding innkeeper in the said town of Wheeling be the place for the meeting of this court." That May term was the last session of the county court at West Liberty, and it adjourned to meet at "Smith's House." In the following November the public buildings and public ground at West Liberty were ordered to be sold by the sheriff, and with this sale the history of West Liberty as the county seat closes.

At the June term of 1798, Andrew Woods, Moses Chapline, John McIntyer, Moses Shepherd and George Knox were authorized by the court to contract for the erection of "court house, jail, stocks and whipping post." The site selected for the first court house was in the middle of the present Tenth street, about midway between Main and Market. There was erected "a two-story building of square free-stone blocks, some of which were hewn and others in their rough state. It was a small building about thirty feet square and set quite low on the ground, having a four-sided roof, with a sort of chicken-coop belfry on the top of it. There were a few small windows, which were gracefully hung with dust and cobwebs, giving the rough seats and floor a still harder appearance than they would have presented at the best."<sup>9</sup>

What the first jail was like cannot be stated, and the records so far as examined do not disclose whether a building was specially erected for this purpose. Under date of January 26, 1808, Thomas Evans, commissioner, advertised that he would receive propositions for the building of a "new jail" for Ohio county. This jail was erected on a site to the east of the court house, and was completed in 1808, since at the June term of county court of that year the sum of six hundred dollars was included in the levy "for building jail." Little need be said about this building further than the fact of its erection, but among the matters of curious interest should be added the following record from the minutes of the county court in March, 1810: "It having been represented to the court that the jail of this county is made use of for purposes of smoking meat, whereby the public buildings are in danger of taking fire and rendered altogether unfit for the reception of prisoners, it is therefore ordered that Josiah Updegraff and Archibald Wood Esqs. be appointed to examine into the state of the said jail and take measures for having the same kept in proper order for the accommodation of prisoners."

---

<sup>9</sup>As described by Judge G. L. Cranmer.

During 1807-08 and probably for some time later, the residents of Ohio county in the neighborhood of Grave creek made a strenuous effort to get the county seat moved to that vicinity. On one occasion a bill passed one house of the general assembly providing for this removal, but the plan was checked. The agitation so far as the people of Grave creek were concerned came to an end with the creation of Marshall county in 1836.<sup>10</sup> But in the same year the assembly, by act of March 17th, authorized the relocation of the site for the court house and other public buildings of Ohio county. The four commissioners named by the act determined, however, that the greatest good



South End of Old Market Square, Before Erection of Market Auditorium.

of the greatest number could only be obtained, and substantial justice between contending interests promoted, by a location of the seat of justice within the city of Wheeling.

The county court appointed Zachariah Jacob, David Agnew and Robert C. Woods as commissioners to borrow on the credit of the county twenty thousand dollars to pay for the grounds selected as a new site. The two lots at the southeast corner of Twelfth and Chapline streets were chosen for the new court house and jail. After considerable delay the cornerstone of the court house was laid April

<sup>10</sup>In the preamble of an act of the general assembly, December 8, 1832, it was represented that the present site of the seat of justice of Ohio county had existed for years "to the great prejudice of the happiness and tranquility of the good people thereof." Commissioners, residents of other counties, were named to select a site for the permanent seat of justice.

10, 1839. The event was celebrated by a procession of the Wheeling Riflemen, a band of music, the Ohio Lodge of Masons, the members of bench and bar, city officials and many private citizens, and the occasion was a general holiday throughout the city. While this building was being erected the courts and county officials had their offices in the market house, which had been recently extended and remodeled. Concerning the new county buildings the Directory of 1839 contains the following: "This new court house will occupy a basis of 125 feet long, by 80 feet in width, and is going up upon the corner of 4th and Monroe streets. It is to be erected in Grecian style, and substantially built of brick above the parapet, stuccoed in fancy color, and in all respects to receive a finish appropriate to its design. The new jail, which is receiving preparations, and will go up at the same time, will occupy a front of 50 feet on 5th, near Monroe street, and extend 90 feet in rear, westward."

The modern six-story building known as the Board of Trade and Court Theatre occupies the site where for nearly sixty years stood the court house just described. This old county building was one of the historic structures of Wheeling, and in addition to its constant use for forty-five years as the place for holding courts and the transaction of all public affairs of the county, it was also the scene of many public meetings, and in that respect was better known to the masses of people than the present county building.

In 1876 the city built at a cost of \$120,000 the commodious structure on Chapline between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets for the Capitol of the state. As told on other pages, this State House was used for its original purpose less than ten years, and when the state government moved to Charleston in 1885 the building reverted to the city. The north half of the building was then taken by the county for its offices and courts, and since that time has been the Ohio county court house. The substantial brick jail, at the rear of the court house and on the corner of Fifteenth and Eoff streets, was built in 1890.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## CONCERNING MEDICAL PRACTICE.

"He that is the greatest among you, let him be \* \* \* as he that doth serve."

The people of Wheeling now have the services of one hundred active physicians and surgeons, located in the city proper, while many more have offices in the immediate suburbs. As that is one doctor to four hundred inhabitants, the proportion is about the average. About ten per cent of the members of the profession in Wheeling are specialists in name and practice, besides those who give particular attention to surgery. While most of the profession are exponents of the regular school, there are also representatives of homeopathy, the eclectic system, and the more modern osteopathy. In summing up in this wise the numerical strength of the resident profession, other factors should not be forgotten, namely, the local hospitals and the large body of trained nurses. Moreover, that class of people above the line of genteel poverty have within their reach the highly specialized talent and institutions of a dozen states and metropolitan cities. Practically all the facilities of modern medical science are available to Wheeling people, either in their home city or by a few hours' journey.

With this brief prefatory statement we turn from the present day and ask what were the conditions in earlier periods of Wheeling's history. What were the character and training of the old-time doctors? what drugs and appliances did they have? what were the important improvements introduced from time to time? and what are the principal institutions and organizations which have come to supplement the individual efficiency of the physician and surgeon?

In a paper contributed to the State Medical Society's report for 1876, Dr. E. A. Hildreth, who had begun practice in Wheeling in 1845, said that there was neither record nor tradition of any physician having practiced here between the time of earliest settlement and the establishment of the town in 1795. The same authority does not mention the activities of any doctor between the latter date and 1803, when the first resident physician, Dr. Gideon C. Forsythe, located here. In a period of forty years, therefore, the annals of local medicine are barren of professional activities. Even the pioneer, Dr. For-

sythe, lived here only from 1803 to 1812. During his residence here three young men—H. Potter, Thomas Toner and James Ralff—studied in his office. Toner, after four or five years, gave up medicine and became one of the proprietors of the *Northwestern Virginia Gazette*. Ralff became surgeon in a Virginia regiment and left town in 1814. Besides this meager data concerning the first known doctors in Wheeling, the *Repository* of June 30, 1808, contains the following card of a doctor about whom nothing more can be added:

#### DOCTOR WISHART

Who has been honored with the Degree of Doctor of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania,

Respectfully informs the Publick, that he has commenced business in a part of the house occupied by Mr. Patrick Ford, Main Street, Wheeling. He will promptly attend any call in the practice of Physic, Surgery, or Midwifery.

From his experience in Country, likewise in City and Hospital Practice, he flatters himself that he will be able to give satisfaction to those who may honour him with their confidence in any of the branches of his profession.

June 10th, 1808.

Dr. Wishart, it is to be noted, was a graduate from the University of Pennsylvania. From that time onward probably a majority of the profession had preparation in medical schools. But experience rather than scholastic training was the door through which most of the early doctors entered upon practice. The Harvard Medical School had been established only in 1783, and it was one of the two medical schools in the country. The aspirants for the profession who could not afford to attend these schools got their training as the three young men above mentioned, in the capacity of apprentice to some established practitioner. The apprentice ground the powders, mixed the pills, rode with the doctor on his rounds, held the basin when the patient was bled, helped to adjust plasters, and in addition performed the duties of office boy.

The study of anatomy was prosecuted through books and observation of regular practice than through systematic dissection. In the early years of Harvard Medical School a single body had to do duty for a whole year's lectures. It was discovered that Dr. Forsythe had secured the body of a slave belonging to one of his neighbors, and the storm of indignation over this "body snatching" may have been one of the reasons for the worthy doctor's removal from town. Even the knowledge to be gained from reading was limited, since few physicians of the eighteenth century boasted a medical library of fifty volumes.

To the layman who has a somewhat vague and general knowledge of the wonderful scope of modern medicine, it seems remarkable how limited the old-time doctor was both in the available knowledge as to the human organism and in the remedies and appliances for professional use. As late as 1700 the circulation of the blood was a debated question in Harvard. Vaccination was not made known by Jenner until 1798, and smallpox was almost as prevalent as pneumonia is now. The discovery of anesthesia by the inhalation of ether was not given to the world by Morton until 1846. Not one of the many remedies which assuage pain, which destroy disease, which hold in check the most loathsome maladies and the most violent epidemics, was in use.

"But a few of the simplest drugs were then to be found stowed away on the shelves of the village store, among the heaps of shoes, Rohan hats, balls of twine, packages of seeds and flitches of bacon. The physician was therefore compelled to combine the duties of both the doctor and the apothecary. He pounded his own drugs, made his own tinctures, prepared his own infusions, and put up his own prescriptions. His saddle-bag was the only drug store within forty miles, and there, beside his horn balances and his china mortar, were medicines now gone quite out of fashion, or at most but rarely used. Homeopathy, with its tasteless mixtures and diminutive doses, was unknown, and it is not too much to say that more medicine was then taken every year by the well than is now taken in the same space of time by the sick. Each spring the blood had to be purified, the bowels must be purged, the kidneys must be excited, the bile must be removed, and large doses of senna and manna, and loathsome concoctions of rhubarb and molasses, were taken daily. In a thousand ways the practice of medicine has changed since that day, and changed for the better. Remedies now in the medicine-box of every farmer were then utterly unknown. Water was denied the patient tormented with fever, and in its stead he was given small quantities of clam-juice. Mercurial compounds were taken till the lips turned blue and the gums fell away from the teeth. The damsel who fainted was bled profusely. Cupping and bleeding was freely prescribed. The alkaloid quinia was unknown until 1820. The only cure for malarial diseases was powdered cinchona bark; but the amount required to restore the patient was so great, and the supply so small, that the remedy was all but useless."<sup>1</sup>

The pioneers brought with them into the wilderness an almost intuitive, at least traditional, knowledge of crude remedies made from

---

<sup>1</sup>McMaster's History of the People of the United States.

the herbs and simples of the forest and field. And both men and women were kindly and tender, though unscientific nurses. As it was the custom for all the community to combine in building a home for the newcomer, so the neighbors, in cases of sickness, were ever ready with the service of watching and sympathetic nursing. Dr. Hildreth relates how a pioneer, suffering from fourteen rifle wounds, with broken leg and arm, was given into the care of two women in Fort Henry, and by their fomentations and applications of slippery-elm bark not only cured his wounds but saved his limbs, so that he lived to a hale and hearty old age. Poultices of "jimson weed" (stramonium) were a favorite remedy for the relief of pain. The same authority states that during the early days Colonel Zane was often very successful in advising proper treatments for persons suffering from stiffened and swollen limbs and joints.

The substance of another quotation from Dr. Hildreth's article will show what the prevailing diseases and therapeutics were in that epoch when doctors were rare in Wheeling and vicinity. Intermittent fever was treated with the bark of dog-wood, cherry and poplar digested in whiskey, or decoction of boneset. Remittent or bilious fever was the regular summer and fall disease. On its incursion the patient was generally vomited freely with lobelia, after which he was purged with infusion of white walnut bark, and sweated with copious draughts of warm elder-blossom tea. Dysentery, which was one of the most dreaded diseases, was treated by the internal use of "oak-ooze," May-apple root and walnut bark, slippery-elm bark tea, bitter elm bark (which was regarded as a specific), with hot fomentations over the abdomen. Patients with inflammation of the chest were steamed with the vapor of whiskey or hot water, and in addition drinks and poultices of herbs were applied. Virginia snake-root was considered a remedy for coughs of all kinds. Rheumatism was treated with cohosh, blood-root and bark of leather-wood, and sometimes the patient was given an "Indian sweat." From the Indian the pioneer acquired no small part of his knowledge of the medicinal plants.

"If a person was severely injured," wrote another local physician regarding early methods of practice, "he was bled at once by opening a vein in the arm; and if much bruised, he was cupped. The latter was the usual remedy for neuralgic or rhematic pain. Calomel was the sheet anchor. In the way of medicine, all other remedies were considered subordinate to this, and its use was usually pushed to salivation."

The rolls of the medical profession in Wheeling during the past century included the names of many men who were successful doctors and high-minded and valuable citizens. The career of medicine, unlike that of the law, seldom leads directly to official distinction. It is a fact that the ablest physician is often little known outside the community of his own patients, and his name does not find a place among those who are popularly regarded as "leading citizens." Hence it would invite the charge of invidious discrimination to speak in detail of the careers of physicians who in general estimation stood above the average in ability and attainments. On the other hand, it is not possible to present a complete list of all those who have followed this profession in Wheeling from Dr. Forsythe to the present time. For these reasons, in the "personal mention" to be found in the following paragraphs no attempt is made at concise biography, but only those personal details will be introduced which will illustrate somewhat the character, education and work of the profession in the past.

Of the men who prepared for the profession, not in schools, but largely by apprenticeship and personal study, one of the very successful during the first half of the century was Dr. Martin Luther Todd, who began practice here in 1814. His forte was in the treatment of fever, especially the so-called "cold plague" of the time. By the judicious use of the simple remedies of the time he acquired a reputation as one of the most reliable of the family doctors of Wheeling, where he practiced nearly half a century.

A graduate of Harvard was Dr. Joshua Morton, who practiced from 1816 to 1839. An advertisement in the *Northwestern Virginia Gazette* of 1818 states that Dr. Pougade, "of the Faculty of Montpellier, in France, and late of the army of Bonaparte," had opened "a medical office at Mr. J. Thompson's, one mile above Colonel Shepherd's mills and seven miles from Wheeling." But college trained men were not numerous in the ranks of the early profession.

It is said that Dr. James Tanner, who was a graduate of the Baltimore Medical College, did more hard, laborious practice, rendering his fellow citizens more charitable, unrequited service in his nearly forty years of practice, than any other one of his contemporaries. He was mayor of Wheeling at the time of his death in 1858.

The pioneer Zane family had a representative in the profession for a short while in the '20s in the person of Jonathan Zane. John Eoff and his son John Q., likewise one of the oldest families in the city, were practicing physicians for a few years.

In the first attempts at professional organization and the establishment of central agencies to promote the health of the community,

Dr. Archibald Todd, a younger brother of Dr. M. L., was perhaps the most influential among his associates in this city. He was one of the organizers of the city dispensary and vaccine institution in 1845, of the old county medical society in 1847, of the State Medical Society in 1867, and of the present city and county society in 1868. In the public affairs of the city he was hardly less prominent than in his profession.

Another who was remarkable for the wide range of his activities was Dr. S. P. Hullihen, who, during his residence in Wheeling from 1835 to his death in 1858, exercised a lasting influence in the affairs of this city. He was a graduate in medicine from the Washington College of Baltimore, but gave all his attention to dentistry and surgery, in which he held first rank in the local profession. He was the inventor of instruments for his departments of the profession, was a writer on surgical topics at a time when that was seldom done by the members of the local profession. Dr. Hullihen established the private infirmary which was the nucleus for the Wheeling Hospital, of which he was one of the founders.

Dr. A. E. Hildreth, whose writings have been quoted, and who practiced in this city forty years, was likewise a physician with a record for public service both in and out of his profession. Besides his prominence for many years in local, state and national medical societies, he was one of the organizers of the West Virginia hospital for the insane in 1864, was for some years a director of the penitentiary, and for thirty years a member of the Wheeling public school board.

The first city health officer of Wheeling was Dr. Richard Blum, who in 1865 had drafted the health ordinance under which he was appointed. He soon resigned the office because the council would not support him in his vigorous work of sanitary reforms.

The "new school" of homeopathy had its first successful exponent in Wheeling in the person of Alfred Hughes. He finally overcame prejudice to the extent of winning a good practice. He had been located here ten years when the Civil war broke out, at which time he was among those who refused to take the oath of allegiance. He was arrested, then released, and finally, rather than subscribe to the oath, removed to Richmond.

His sister, Eliza Hughes, was the pioneer woman physician in Wheeling and also, it is claimed, in the entire state of Virginia. Her brother's library awakened her interest in medicine, and after gradu-

ating from medical college in 1860 she located at Wheeling, where she practiced until her death in 1882.

At the beginning of the Civil war Dr. Joseph Thoburn went out with the First Virginia regiment as surgeon, a few months later, on the reorganization, was commissioned colonel, and led his regiment and gained enduring fame as a soldier when he was killed in the battle of Cedar Creek in 1864 (see the chapter on the Civil war).

While Dr. Thoburn was away gaining another title on the field of war, one of Wheeling's most eminent physicians, Dr. John Frissell, was serving as medical superintendent of the military prisoners and soldiers stationed at Wheeling. Dr. Frissell was for nearly half a century active in practice at Wheeling, and was one of the first and ablest surgeons of the city. An interesting sketch of his career will be found elsewhere in this work.

One of the founders of the State Medical Society was Dr. John C. Hupp, who was prominent both as physician and surgeon for nearly forty years, and was a constant contributor to medical publications and very active in many medical organizations. His influence and work as a citizen were hardly less conspicuous. (See sketch of Dr. Hupp's career on other pages.)

In the portion of this work reserved for formal biographies will be found the sketches of other prominent physicians of the past whose names will be missed from the preceding paragraphs. Nothing has been said of the members of the profession in the near-by towns for the reason that they are mentioned in the separate articles on these towns, elsewhere in this volume. In the personal examples selected, enough has been written to indicate the general character and attainments of those who composed the membership of the medical profession during the last century. During that time Wheeling had its share of the old-time doctors whose work and character have so often been represented in the pages of American literature. There were those whose knowledge of men was greater than their attainments in the scientific departments of their profession, and yet they rendered kindly, capable service to the community. Still others were college-trained and efficient practitioners, who devoted themselves to their quiet round of duties so that little more could be said of them than that they were faithful, conscientious and successful doctors. A few have performed a large part in the public life of the community, and were citizens, soldiers, administrators and business men as well as physicians and surgeons.

The best work of the old-time doctor, as of the modern physician, did not flaunt itself before the public gaze, but was wrought in the hearts of his fellow men. "Man," exclaims Carlyle, "it is not thy works, which are all mortal, infinitely little, and the greatest no greater than the least, but only the spirit thou workest in, that can have worth or continuance." The spirit of tender and knowing love for his brother men has ever been the trait of the true physician; and many pages of our literature have borne witness to his faithful devotion, often unappreciated till his death has startled men's minds to a realization of what they had accepted so much as a matter of course, and were not to lose. The character of the Doctor John North in the following has not been unknown in our vicinity.

"We had a funeral today in this community and the longest funeral procession ever seen in all the years of memory among these hills. A good man has gone away—and yet remains. In the comparatively short time I have been here I never came to know him well personally, though I saw him often in the country roads, a ruddy old gentleman with thick, coarse, iron-gray hair, somewhat stern of countenance, somewhat shabby of attire, sitting as erect as a trooper in his open buggy, one muscular hand resting on his knee, the other holding the reins of his familiar old white horse. I said I did not come to know him well personally, and yet no one who knows this community can help knowing Doctor John North. I never so desired a gift of moving expression as I do at this moment, on my return from his funeral, that I may give some faint idea of what a good man means to a community like ours—as the more complete knowledge of it has come to me today.

"In the district school that I attended when a boy we used to love to leave our mark, as we called it, wherever our roving led us. It was a bit of boyish mysticism, unaccountable now that we have grown older and wise (perhaps); but it had its meaning. It was an instinctive outreaching of the young soul to perpetuate the knowledge of its existence upon this forgetful earth. My mark, I remember, was a notch and cross. With what secret fond diligence I carved it in the gray bark of beech trees, on fence posts, or on barn doors, and once, I remember, on the roof-ridge of our home, and once, with high imaginings of how long it would remain, I spent hours chiseling it deep in a hard-headed old boulder in the pasture, where, if man has been as kind as Nature, it remains to this day. If you should chance to see it you would not know of the boy who carved it there.

"So Doctor North left his secret mark upon the neighborhood—as all of us do, for good or for ill, upon *our* neighborhoods in accordance with the strength of that character which abides within us. For a long time I did not know that it was he,

though it was not difficult to see that some strong good man had often passed this way. I saw the mystic sign of him deep-lettered in the hearthstone of a home; I heard it speaking bravely from the weak lips of a friend; it is carved in the plastic heart of many a boy. No, I do not doubt the immortalities of the soul; in this community, which I have come to love so much, dwells more than one of John North's immortalities—and will continue to dwell. I, too, live more deeply because John North was here.

"He was in no outward way an extraordinary man, nor was his life eventful. He was born in this neighborhood; I saw him lying quite still this morning in the same sunny room of the same house where he first saw the light of day. Here among these common hills he grew up, and save for the few years he spent at school or in the army, he lived here all his life long. \* \* \* I never fully realized until this morning what a supreme triumph it is, having grown old, to merit the respect of those who know us best. Mere greatness offers no reward to compare with it, for greatness compels that homage which we freely bestow upon goodness. So long as I live I shall never forget this morning.  
\* \* \*

"I heard again the stories of how he drove the country roads, winter and summer, how he had seen most of the population into the world and had held the hands of many who went out! It was the plain, hard life of the country doctor, and yet it seemed to rise in our community like some great tree, its roots buried in the soil of our common life, its branches close to the sky. To those accustomed to the outward excitements of city life it would have seemed barren and uneventful. It was significant that the talk was not so much of what the Doctor did as of *how* he did it, not so much of his actions as of the natural expression of his character. And when we come to think of it, goodness *is* uneventful. It does not flash, it glows. It is deep, quiet and very simple. It passes not with oratory, it is commonly foreign to riches, nor does it often sit in the places of the mighty; but may be felt in the touch of a friendly hand or the look of a kindly eye. \* \* \*

"The last call had come and he was ready for it. I looked at his face after death. I saw the iron lines of that old struggle in his mouth and chin; and the humor that it brought him in the lines around his deep-set eyes.

"And as I think of him this afternoon, I can see him—curiously, for I can hardly explain it—carrying a banner as in battle right here among our quiet hills. And those he leads seem to be the people we know, the men, and the women, and the boys! He is the hero of a new age. In olden days he might have been a pioneer, carrying the light of civilization to a new land; here he has been a sort of moral pioneer—a pioneering far more difficult than any we have ever known. There are no heroics connected with it; the name of the pioneer will not go ringing down

the ages; for it is a silent leadership and its success is measured by victories in other lives. We see it now, only too dimly, when he is gone. We reflect sadly that we did not stop to thank him. How busy we were with our own affairs when he was among us! I wonder is there anyone here to take up the banner he has laid down!

"And we came away with a nameless, aching sense of loss, thinking how, perhaps, in a small way, we might do something for somebody else—as the old Doctor did."<sup>2</sup>

Among the doctors of the old-time, there were men of rare human greatness—strong but tender, brusque but true, with a devotion to duty that bested them through all storm and stress. The past generations knew such men in Wheeling, and those they served knew that strong, good men had often passed this way.

In the modern circles of the profession, only superficial cynicism would deny the existence of the same qualities which are associated with the memories of the old-time doctors. Not character, but conditions have changed. It is not required of the modern physician that he ride or drive for miles through storm and over all but impassable roads. With less effort and sacrifice of his own health, he performs his service more efficiently than did his predecessor of half a century ago. His study is more profound, his diagnosis more searching, his skill more sure.

The doctor of our grandfathers' time served his patients as an individual. When his own strength and resources failed, the destructive processes were left to triumph. From that age of intense individualism, the memory remains of those doctors who, relying on their own strength, were most successful in retarding disease and aiding human frailty.

For this individualism has been substituted, in later times, the greater strength that comes through standardization of facilities and co-operative organization. More than ever, the physician has become a unit factor of social service, engaged in the unostentatious performance of duties that affect the general welfare. A dozen agencies outside of his own skill and knowledge are relied upon for success. Disease is no longer regarded as an enemy to one but to all mankind. Where prejudice and ignorance once stood in the way of medical science in combating the scourage of epidemic and contagion, society now offers its police power to aid in prevention and cure. The in-

---

<sup>2</sup>From David Grayson's "Adventures in Contentment."

dividual efficiency of the doctor is now supplemented by organization, and both science and society are now combined in an attack which science formerly conducted alone.

For this change of attitude the credit is largely due, in Wheeling as everywhere, to the energetic leadership and public spirit of the members of the medical profession. The founding of hospitals, the engrafting of health and sanitation regulations in the municipal code, the promotion of movements for clean food and pure water, and the formation of societies for fighting contagion—practically all have originated in the medical profession and have found able leaders in the same ranks.

In this class of agencies through which the work of the individual physician has gained increased efficiency, Wheeling has, first of all, its hospitals, which will receive attention in later paragraphs; also its city health officials, its Certified Milk Commission, its Anti-Tuberculosis League. The Medical Society of the city and county, though primarily an organization for the benefit of its members, has endorsed and assisted the work for better public health.

It would be a pleasant task to recount in detail all the present manifestations of the spirit of the medical profession moving in and behind the forces that are making a Greater and a Better Wheeling by safeguarding the lives and energies of the people. A newly and thoroughly awakened civic consciousness in individual laymen, in semi-public bodies like the Board of Trade and the Associated Charities, and in the public agencies of city and county, has joined hands with the traditional altruism of the medical profession—with the result that today Wheeling can point to tangible triumphs in its crusade against tuberculosis, "the captain of the men of death"; is strikingly noteworthy in the practical efficiency of its municipal health department; and in the character of its milk supply stands at the forefront of American cities.

---

The Wheeling Hospital.—The Wheeling Hospital and Orphan Asylum, popularly known as the North Wheeling Hospital, is the oldest in the city. It was founded in the year 1850 by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Richard D. Whelan, the charter being granted by the state of Virginia on March 12, 1850. Bishop Whelan was the first president

of the institution, and Henry Moore the first secretary. The Rev. Father John Brasill was also prominently connected with the early days of the institution.<sup>3</sup>

For about three years the institution was in charge of paid nurses, being located in a building near the site of the present convent of St. Joseph. In April, 1853, a number of the Sisters of St. Joseph were secured from St. Louis by Bishop Whelan, and from that time until the present the hospital has been conducted by that order. On their arrival it became necessary to find a new location, and for about six weeks the hospital occupied the Zane residence, on Chapline street.

It was then removed to the Metcalf property on Fifteenth street, beyond Jacob, and remained there until the year 1856, when the removal was made to the present site. At the time of this removal the charter was amended, and the members of the first board of directors were M. Riley, N. Crawley, John Black, B. H. Watson, Thomas Askew, John White, James Quigg, Jacob Kiger and William A. Edwards.

The first Mother Superior of the hospital was Mother Agnes Spencer, of Philadelphia. She was soon recalled to St. Louis for another post, and Mother Protase became her successor. In the year 1860 this community was separated from the jurisdiction of St. Louis, and has since been independent.

On December 8th, 1860, Sister Immaculate Feeny, a sister of George Feeny of this city, became Mother Superior of the institution and was in charge throughout the stormy days of the Civil war. She

---

<sup>3</sup>An act to incorporate the Wheeling Hospital, passed March 12, 1850:

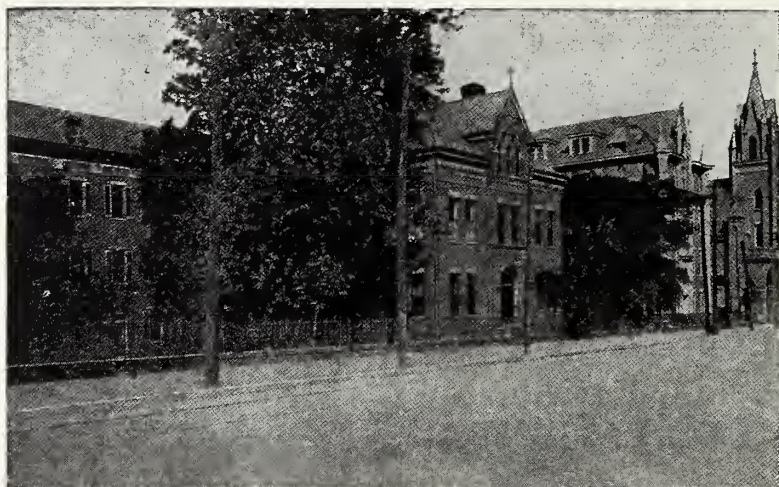
"Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That the holders of stock hereinafter authorized to be subscribed for, shall be, and they are hereby constituted and made a body politic and corporate by the name of 'The Wheeling Hospital,' for the purpose of carrying on a hospital in or near the city of Wheeling, and also, a pesthouse (or hospital for persons having contagious or infectious diseases) without the said city and in the county of Ohio. \* \* \* And provided, That it shall not keep or maintain within said city, any person having a contagious or infectious disease. \* \* \*

"Subscriptions for said stock may be made or received by Simeon P. Hulihen, Matthew H. Houston, Henry Moore, Jacob S. Shriver and Charles W. Russell. \* \* \*

Amended by act of February 21, 1856: "The holders of the stock heretofore subscribed for in the corporation created by this act, now amended, and of the stock hereinafter authorized to be subscribed for, are hereby constituted, made and continued a body corporate by the name of Wheeling Hospital; for the purpose of establishing, keeping and carrying on an orphan asylum and a hospital in or near the city of Wheeling. \* \* \*

is still one of the most prominent Sisters of St. Joseph's of this section, having been stationed at St. Joseph's convent for the past several years. In spite of her advanced years, her faculties are as keen as those of a young woman, and her memory of those stirring times is remarkably clear.

The hospital was thrown open to wounded soldiers of the North and South alike, and Mother Immaculate often cared for Union and Confederate lying side by side. She remembers particularly the time that Morgan's raiders swept through Ohio, the hospital being crowded with soldiers terribly wounded in the fierce engagements between the



The Wheeling Hospital.

raiders and the Union cavalry. Mother Immaculate is the only sister living who was connected with the hospital at that time.

The original building of the present hospital was purchased from Michael Sweeney, and wings have been added from time to time. The last of these was erected in the year 1905, under the auspices of the Rt. Rev. Bishop P. J. Donahue, at a cost of \$60,000, raised by private subscription. Recently a series of porches for patients requiring open-air treatment was built, and plans are now preparing for a new south wing to correspond with the one built in 1905, thus completing the symmetry of the building, and providing for the increased accommodations demanded.

Bishop Whelan, the founder, was succeeded in 1874 by the Rt. Rev. Bishop John J. Kain, and he in turn was succeeded in 1894 by the

Rt. Rev. Bishop P. J. Donahue, who has ably directed the affairs of the Wheeling diocese since that time.

The orphan girls of the diocese were formerly kept at the hospital, but in 1895 a site for an orphans' home was secured at Keys Lane, Elm Grove, by Bishop Donahue, and the girls were removed to that place, adding much badly-needed room for patients. At that time Mrs. Jane Carney donated a strip of land adjoining the girls' home as a site for a boys' home, the orphan boys having been previously sheltered by the Xaverian Brothers on Thirteenth street.

The hospital at the present time has twelve Sisters of St. Joseph, and a large staff of skilled nurses, all of whom are under the direction of Mother Superior Dominic. During the year 1911, 1,958 patients were treated, of whom 250 were charity cases. The total amount received for the care of the 1,958 patients was \$32,718.64, and by the aid of bequests and donations the hospital debt was reduced to \$3,126.55. The demands on the hospital are greatly in excess of its capacity.

The present board of directors is composed as follows: President, Rt. Rev. Bishop P. J. Donahue; secretary, Chancellor Edward E. Weber; directors, George Dusch, Sr., George J. Mathison, P. J. Greene, E. B. Carney, George S. Feeny, John Coleman, Hon. T. S. Riley and Dr. Charles A. Wingerter.

The City Hospital.<sup>4</sup>—Interest in hospital work and appreciation of the value of such an institution in a community have steadily grown in the last twenty years. Expensive as such a charity is to equip and maintain, yet its appeal to the sympathies of our people is so strong that today we find few cities of any size which do not maintain a hospital, and each year a number of young women, who have taken the prescribed course of training, are graduated from these institutions to become the physicians' intelligent helpers in caring for the sick.

In 1889 there were some persons in Wheeling, active in the philanthropies of the place, who felt that there was need for more hospital facilities. The matter was often spoken of but the cost of organizing and maintaining such an enterprise seemed insurmountable, unless some one should begin it with a good sum of money. But realizing that the only way to begin anything is to begin, a little group of ladies associated with St. Matthew's church announced that a supper would

---

<sup>4</sup>This article, except for a few modifications in bringing the history down to the year 1912, was written by Rev. R. R. Swope, D. D., for the special edition of the *Wheeling Intelligencer* in 1911.

be given by them for the purpose of securing a fund to build the new hospital.

This little band, who called themselves "The Hospital Ten," had as their president Mrs. Harry List. The supper was given and netted about one hundred dollars. The promoters had to listen to some pleasant jests over their project and the wish was expressed that their faith might result in a realization of their desire; no one was hopeful of any definite result. But a beginning was made. A few more entertainments were given and a sum of about three hundred dollars was at last accumulated.

The next step was the getting of a state charter and the selection



The City Hospital.

of a board of directors. The original members of this board were Rev. H. H. Swope, D. D., rector of St. Matthew's church, who was made president; Henry M. Russell, Morris Horkheimer, William A. Wilson, W. F. Stifel, N. B. Scott and H. F. Behrens. The organization took the name of "The City Hospital Association."

There was at that time an organization known as the "Woman's Benevolent Society," made up of ladies from all the Protestant churches in the city. The members of the society, with a number of others who were interested in the new movement, met in the hall of the Y. M. C. A. building, under the presidency of Mrs. W. F. Butler. Dr. Swope addressed them and before adjourning a resolution was

adopted that it was the opinion of those present that a hospital should be established, and a committee, consisting of Mrs. Harry List, Mrs. C. B. Briscoe, Mrs. R. W. Hazlett, with the president, was appointed to co-operate with the board of directors in securing a suitable location.

The result of this meeting was the organization in May, 1890, of the Woman's Hospital Association, with Mrs. W. F. Butler, president; Miss Martha J. Hare, secretary; Mrs. Joseph A. Metcalf, treasurer. The valuable work done by this organization for the hospital in the first years of weakness and since cannot be overestimated. Its members collected money for its equipment and needs; they gave personal and practical attention to its internal affairs, and by their wise suggestions and helpfulness at all times they won for the institution the confidence of the community.

But the work of securing a building in which to house the new charity moved slowly. Funds came in dribblets, because nothing was being done. One or two options were taken on pieces of property that seemed available, but there were always found good reasons for not taking them up. In 1891 it was learned that the building and grounds of what was known as the Wheeling Female college could be purchased. This was a large brick building containing some sixty or seventy rooms, and which was susceptible of being adapted to hospital use. Situated on an eminence overlooking the city, easily accessible and yet apart from the resident district, it was admirable for the purpose. It was owned by a stock company, and the amount of the outstanding certificates was \$16,200. A canvass was made of the stockholders and options secured on their holdings at par. Many of them did not know that they had stock, having made their original contributions with little expectation of ever getting anything back, and they were glad to accept par value for it.

But just then other parties became interested in the property, and an offer was made to the principal stockholders of an amount much in excess of the par value of the stock. Some of them wanted to accept the higher offer and a meeting was called to consider the sale. The Hospital Association had only a few hundred dollars in its treasury, but through the goodwill of one or two bankers and the good financial standing of the board of directors, the cash was advanced to take up the options, and, armed with this, Rev. Dr. Swope and Mr. Henry Russell presented themselves at the meeting to claim their bond. After long consideration the meeting decided to sell to the hospital board, and so the matter was closed.

The hospital now had a home, but the organization had yet to secure the means of paying for the property it had acquired and of fitting up and equipping the building for its new use. It took a great deal of hard work, but the public interest grew with the acquisition of the building, and funds were forthcoming for it. The various churches, societies and individuals undertook the furnishing of the rooms. Something like twenty-five thousand dollars were expended in all, and the building was formally opened on the 9th day of February.

In addition to those named before, L. E. Sands, Alfred Paull, S. S. Bloch, Howard Hazlett and F. J. Park were new members of the board of directors.

The members of the first staff of physicians were: Drs. John Friswell, W. J. Bates, Sr., R. W. Hazlett, J. C. Hupp and C. E. Ulrich as consulting physicians.

The surgeons were Drs. L. D. Wilson, A. F. Stifel, E. C. Myers, J. L. Dickey, R. J. Reed and Jacob Schwinn.

The medical section of the staff consisted of Drs. S. L. Jepson, Eugene Hoge, R. H. Bullard, H. B. Baguley, R. M. Baird and E. A. Hildreth.

Dr. G. A. Aschman, ophthalmologist.

The homeopathic practice was represented by Drs. J. W. Morris, J. E. Belleville and B. D. Morrison.

Miss Jennie Maywood was the first superintendent.

The first months of the hospital's existence witnessed many vicissitudes. There were some who did not think it was needed, and who prophesied that six months would see it close its doors. As the directors would meet at the end of the months and try to figure out how they could pay \$800 of expense with \$400 in the treasury, it looked as if the institution could not be successfully carried on; but always with the need there came the supply. When debts accumulated, some one would always come forward with sufficient assistance, and by one means or another debts were paid and needed improvements secured.

But that first year proved that the hospital was needed, and its success was beyond the most sanguine hopes of its friends and a contradiction of the prophecies of the pessimists. Two hundred and seventy-two cases were treated. The total receipts were \$10,763.55, the expenditures \$8,763.19.

From that time on the hospital, having successfully surmounted the difficulties and problems of its genesis, steadily increased in usefulness and public favor. On its third anniversary in 1895 the president was able to say in his annual report: "The financial condition of the

hospital is most healthful and encouraging. The desirable property which is constantly enhancing in value is entirely paid for and now belongs outright to the association. All other outstanding accounts are settled and the association is free from debt."

Preliminary plans for a modern new building have been made by the board of directors, and a campaign for funds is now in progress. It is planned to erect the new structure on the site of the present building, this location being considered an ideal one for the institution. The idea has met with the hearty approval of the general public, and it is thought that the movement can be financed without difficulty.

The present officers of the City Hospital are as follows: President, Henry M. Russell; vice-president, William F. Stifel; secretary, Lawrence F. Sands; directors, H. F. Behrens, Jr.; Howard Hazlett, W. A. Wilson, B. W. Peterson, Morris Horkheimer, S. S. Bloch, N. B. Scott and Alfred Paull.

The following are the officials of the Women's Hospital association: President, Mrs. William F. Butler; first vice-president, Mrs. James Cummins; second vice-president, Mrs. G. A. Aschman; secretary, Mrs. R. H. List; treasurer, Mrs. W. Alfred Wilson; executive board, Mrs. Howard Hazlett, Mrs. William Tierman, Mrs. Alfred Paull, Mrs. William Brady, Mrs. Louis Bayha, Mrs. B. W. Peterson, Mrs. Charles Killmeyer, Mrs. Howard Simpson, Mrs. Sallie McColough, Mrs. G. O. Nagle, Mrs. H. C. Franzheim, Mrs. Louis Horkheimer, Mrs. Thomas B. Moore, Mrs. Samuel Kraft and Miss Zoe McLure.

The fund of a quarter of a million dollars for the new hospital was raised by popular subscription. The campaign began early in December and closed on December 19th, when the total subscriptions amounted to several thousand dollars more than the sum required. The campaign was conducted by an organization almost military in its discipline and efficiency. The workers were divided into companies, each under the direction of a captain, and reports of the contributions were made every day. A large clock dial on the German Bank building indicated the progress of the subscriptions toward the "twelve o'clock" total. The individual subscriptions ranged from twenty-five thousand dollars down to amounts of fifty cents and a dollar. It was the first time in the history of the city that citizens, most of them business men, co-operating in the cause of benevolence, have in so short a time effected results of such magnitude. It is significant of the improvement in civic spirit that such an undertaking could hardly have succeeded five years before.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## EDUCATION.

"It appeareth that the great advantages which civilized and polished nations appears to enjoy beyond the savage and barbarous nations of the world are principally derived from the invention and use of letters, by means whereof the knowledge and experience of past days are recorded and transmitted so that man, availing himself in succession of the accumulated wisdom and discoveries of his predecessors, is enabled more successfully to pursue and improve not only those acts which contribute to the support, convenience and ornament of life, but to those also which tend to illumine and ennoble his understanding and nature."—From the first Virginia school law, December 26, 1796.

Outside of the domain of mechanical and scientific accomplishments, probably the most remarkable changes recorded during the nineteenth century were those made in the facilities and methods of popular education. Some persons will be found today who will dispute the superiority of modern schooling over the system in vogue when they were children. While the efficiency of the modern instruction may be disparaged, no one can deny that the facilities and the opportunities of learning have been vastly improved, and, what is of more importance, made available for the free use of all.

Many imperfect views are current in expression and belief with regard to the development of our American educational system. In New England, popular public education reached its most perfect form and system, and there is no doubt that from this center were derived most of the methods and ideals in the popular education that afterwards were gradually adopted throughout the nation. However, it is a mistake to assume, as has often been done, that popular education was born in New England, and that Americans are indebted to that energetic center of civilization for both the fundamental ideas and formal methods of education.

Few words in common use have greater variety of meaning than "education." Individuals, associations of individuals, states and nations have formulated many different conceptions of the general term, so that at the outset it will be well to confine this discussion to the simplest and most common object of education—the teaching of the so-called "language arts" or the "use of letters." It was the advantages "derived from the invention and use of letters" that influenced the old Virginia legislators to encourage the establishment of schools in 1796, and throughout the nineteenth century the one

feature common to all school curricula was the teaching of "reading, writing and arithmetic." It was to promote the acquirement of the "three Rs" that most schools were established and conducted, and even today the greater part of the time given to education is devoted to those fundamental arts.<sup>1</sup> The successive generations of children have been taught many other things, but the one persisting curriculum has been the "use of letters." How thoroughly this estimate of what constitutes education pervaded all people is indicated by the fact that for a century or more the criterion of literacy has been a person's ability to write and spell correctly and to read. Washington is said to have suffered much humiliation on account of his poor spelling and grammar, and thousands of men less conspicuous in ability and judgment have had to contend against similar handicaps.

For the origin of the teaching of such literary arts, one must go back in history long before the New England schoolmaster. There are extant the copy-books of Egyptian boys, belonging to a period four or five thousand years before the Christian era. The pedagogue has been familiar in civilized nations wherever much is known of their common life and customs. So that the traditions of education had pervaded civilization centuries before the discovery of America, and from Massachusetts to Georgia the first settlers brought with them the customs and ideals of child training in the literary fundamentals.

The origin of the educational customs imported by the first Americans is well described by Edward Eggleston:<sup>2</sup>

"Our system of education is sometimes supposed to come from some fountain head in America, or at most to be a Protestant device dating from the Reformation. But the schools that sprang up after the change of religion in England marked the persistence of an ancient tradition that even such an upheaval could not destroy. To find a logical point of beginning we must ascend to the early Christian centuries, when the work of religious teaching and proselytism marched abreast. Education was carried on in primitive monasteries and in cathedral chapters of a monastic type. These far-back monastic schools, for teaching religion only, are connected by an unbroken pedigree with our complicated modern systems of child training. We may account the ancient missionary schools a place of beginning because it would tax patience to little purpose to grope uncertainly in the gray dawn of tradition for connection with sources yet higher

---

"The chief problem of the school to-day is to get enough time for mastery of the language arts."—From a state teachers' report.

"The Transit of Civilization."

up. \* \* \* From them is plainly traceable across the ages for nearly fifteen hundred years the long line of tradition and habit of education. There have been variation and evolution, but there has been no break. The monastery school became a cathedral school in some cases, and the semi-monastic free school grew up alongside them both. The rudimentary school in the house of the detached priest got its impulse and direction from the higher schools in the cathedrals, and by slow changes the local priest's school became the parish school, and in prosaic modern times, by a series of transformations, the American district school, which last retains few traces of its remote ecclesiastical ancestry." \* \* \*

In New England, due to its close community or town system of settlement, education had a better opportunity to develop than in Virginia and her neighbors, where the plantations were widely scattered along the water fronts and access to a common house of either religion or education was difficult. Thus the New England school was brought to a high state of efficiency and organization compared with schools in other colonies, and when the rest of the country began to adopt a practical form of general education it naturally took the system and methods that had been worked out in New England.

Recurring again to our limited definition of education, it is evident that the early settler of every frontier could easily afford to neglect even these fundamentals where books were rare and the periodical press almost unknown, both elders and children had little occasion for the use of letters. "The trees of the forest were a hostile phalanx to be broken, the fields beset with stumps that defied the plow were to be subdued to culture; there were savages to fight and flee from, towns and ships to build, with tasks of Hercules beside that left small room for learning. Frontiersmen find the Latin accidence dispensable. The generations of bad spellers and clumsy writers born to a new world-battle were much better trained for their environment than the most accomplished of the first comers. They had learned from boyhood to take bearings and lay a true course through labyrinthine woods, to handle with steady sureness the heavy firelock musket or the newer snaphance. \* \* \* Patience, courage, enterprise, and a nimble mental shiftiness could not but result from such a curriculum. But these men hardly knew more of literature than did the Greek heroes or the Hebrew patriarchs."<sup>3</sup>

Yet, though bad orthography is almost universal, the majority of pioneers in this Ohio Valley evidently could record their names

---

<sup>3</sup>Eggleston's "Transit of Civilization."

and practical ideas by means of writing when necessity required. And it is a remarkable tribute to the persistence of these traditions of education above mentioned, and indicates that they were the product of many generations of custom going far beyond the beginning of American history, that measures were taken to establish schools soon after the last hostile Indians had disappeared and the settlements begun a secure development.

Wheeling and vicinity has had schools for more than a hundred years, and not only the "private" or "select" schools of the time, but also schools that bore a qualified resemblance to modern public schools. The children of both the poor and well-to-do had opportunities for learning during the early years of the last century. Thirteen years before the passage of the free school law of 1846, which is often referred to as the date of beginning of popular education in Virginia, Ohio county had forty schools attended by the children of families unable to bear the expense of educating them.

Virginia's first state constitution, the first constitution of an American state, contained not a single reference to education. In 1796, however, the Legislature, without the letter of constitutional sanction, enacted the first general school law, part of whose preamble is above quoted. The law provided that each county should annually elect three "aldermen," who should divide the county into sections, and when the residents of each section had determined upon a site, should have a school-house erected there, should select a teacher, and should perform the general work of supervision and examination of the schools of the county. The schools were to be maintained out of the general revenues of the county, and in such schools the children of free families should receive tuition gratis for a period of three years. Under this law, in such counties as carried out its provisions, children were permitted for a period of three years to attend the schools maintained by public taxation. As the public school term was held for only a few months each year, it is evident that the opportunities of free or public education were granted to each child for a total period hardly exceeding nine months. If the child continued in school beyond the time allowed by the law, his tuition had to be paid by his parents. However, this was a beginning in public education. In the ten counties existing at the time of this law in what is now West Virginia, it is asserted\* that some schools were established and maintained under the provisions of the law.

---

\*Virgil A. Lewis, state historian, in *History of Education in West Virginia*.

In studying the attitude of the people of the time toward popular education, the strangest fact of all is that opposition to the school law of 1796 arose chiefly because the schools were to be free schools. Among the better classes at least the value of education was recognized, but that the state should undertake the work of education instead of the family was in conflict with Virginia ideas of independence at that time. Individualism was then a popular ideal. It was argued that the perfect government was that which interfered least with the conduct of its citizens. For the state to undertake to perform the duties which had previously been performed by the family was a movement away from real democracy and tended toward the paternalistic, centralized form of government which the Democratic-Republicans like Jefferson and his school so much opposed. Jefferson himself, however, was one of the earliest and strongest advocates of a system of public education.

With regard to the schools established under the law of 1796, there was "a certain stigma attached \* \* \* not alone for the contact with poor children, whose rude manners may have been entailed upon them by an idle and dissolute father or worthless mother, but from the innate Virginia idea of independence; that sense of not being dependent upon their fellow men or the state, for material support or assistance, especially in the matter of education of their children."<sup>5</sup>

The "Literary Fund" was the source of the money supplied by the state for the education of poor children during the early years of the last century. An act of the assembly passed in 1809 provided that the funds existing in February, 1810, and thereafter derived from "escheats, confiscations and forfeitures" and all personal property returning to the commonwealth, should be appropriated "to the encouragement of learning." Militia fines and other moneys were also later applied to this fund. This fund grew rapidly, and in 1817 the assembly directed that forty-five thousand dollars should be distributed among the counties, pro rata, and should be used in each county for the education of poor children, such children being designated for that purpose by the "school commissioners" in each county.

Statistics<sup>6</sup> for the year 1833 show a number of schools were in existence in the Virginia panhandle and that many children were being educated under the provisions of the laws above described. In Brooke county there were 29 common primary schools, attended by

---

<sup>5</sup>J. E. Norris, quoted by Virgil A. Lewis, in the *History of Education in West Virginia*.

<sup>6</sup>Martin's *Gazeteer of Virginia*.

poor children. There were 410 such poor children enumerated in the county, 268 of whom were in school, each attending an average of 72 days in the year, and \$1.98 was drawn from the Literary Fund for the education of each one. In Ohio county (which then included Marshall county) there were forty schools of this class, 500 poor children, 282 of them in school, with an average attendance of 81 days and the Literary Fund supplied \$1.84 for the schooling of each of these children.

Concerning the pioneer schools of Wheeling and vicinity it is impossible to obtain any data that would afford a more distinctive view than such as is given in the numerous descriptive pictures of such schools in every part of the country. No doubt every teacher had his individuality, and every school a character of its own. Yet the hundreds of reminiscent pictures of those early schools present only minor variations of typical features—the despotical master, the birch rod, the predominance of discipline over instruction, the meagre curriculum, the rough and uncomfortable school furnishings and buildings. Around these have been constructed the stories of the old-time schools, and nothing now extant will add a more intimate knowledge.

Perhaps the oldest published information concerning one of Wheeling's private schools is found in the files of the *Repository* for 1808. It is the following advertisement:

#### THE WHEELING SEMINARY.

A new School for the Education of Females having been opened in this town, it has been thought fit by the Subscriber, at this time, to establish

#### A SCHOOL FOR THE EDUCATION OF BOYS,

Wherein will be taught Spelling, Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Book-keeping, etc., at \$3 per Qr.

The French and Spanish Languages (3 times a week.)

A. M. BOLTON.

Wheeling, 26th of 7th mo., 1808.

Some of the more important of the early special schools are described on later pages. Such schools were the first established in this part of the country. As evidently in the case of the one mentioned in the above advertisement, professional "schoolmasters" often opened these schools, relying upon the patronage of the well-to-do families of the towns for support. Often, too, the first minister of the gospel combined with his other work that of teaching the children, and hence some of the earliest schools offered the instructions of religion as well as those of the literary arts.

There is reason to suppose that these seminaries and academies, examples of which are found at Wheeling and Wellsburg, were of a higher grade than the average school maintained in the districts outside of these populous centers. But it was in the schools of the latter class that most of the children who grew up between 1800 and 1850 received their training. The population of Ohio county in 1790, when all the Panhandle was included in this one county, was over five thousand; in 1800, when Brooke and Hancock had been separated the population was 4,740; and in 1830, a few years before Marshall county was erected, the population was over fifteen thousand. It is evident that in this period a number of thousands of boys and girls lived in this vicinity and for the most part depended on the local schools for all the literary training they obtained. Those boys and girls were the citizens of the middle century and Civil war period, and on the whole they represented a high average of citizenship, business ability, morality and even of culture. So far as schools contribute these essential qualities of manhood and womanhood, it was the "old field schools" and the academies that furnished the equipment with which these native sons and daughters started in life.

It is important, in the absence of any definite details concerning the early schools, to keep the above mentioned facts in mind, since the assertion is sometimes made or it is otherwise implied that the beginning of popular education in this section was coincident with the passage of the school law of 1846. It is more nearly the truth that with the exception of the actual pioneer period education has had a fairly continuous history in this region for more than a century. And it cannot be doubted that many of the schools in this vicinity were hardly better, in their efficiency of instruction, for some years after the adoption of the law of 1846 than they were before.

However, the law of 1846 may be properly considered as a logical point of beginning in the development of the modern "free public-school system." For the old laws never resulted in any "system" of schools, and as already stated the funds supplied by the state were never sufficient to supply more than a few months' free schooling, anything more than that being paid for by individual tuition.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup>The following statistics from the federal census of 1850 concerning the public schools of Brooke, Ohio, Marshall and Belmont counties will prove of interest as a survey on educational affairs at that time:

	Number.	Teachers.	Pupils.
Brooke .....	2	2	60
Marshall .....	25	25	700
Ohio .....	33	46	3529
Belmont (Ohio).....	194	204	4008

The act of March 5, 1846, "amending the present primary school system," directed the county court to divide the county into school districts and appoint a school commissioner for each. These commissioners acting together appointed a county superintendent of schools, who was, however, an official without important powers. Each commissioner had charge of the schools in his district, and reported the number of indigent pupils who should receive the aid of the state fund for their schooling.

This act was really no improvement on the old laws. But at the same time an optional law was passed for the establishment of a "district public school system." Under this law, in addition to the school commissioner, each district had three trustees, whose chief duties were to obtain a site and erect a school house, furnish and maintain it for school purposes and hire a teacher. More important still, in order to supplement the county's share of the general school funds, the inhabitants of the county were to be taxed for the support of the public schools, the taxes to be collected in the same manner as other county taxes.

To secure the benefits of this act, it was necessary that each county should adopt it by two-thirds of the total vote being cast in its favor. The only county in the Panhandle to adopt this act was Ohio county, which voted on the question in April, 1847. Having voted for the public school system, the county had a hard struggle to

The following figures indicate the income of these schools from the sources of—taxation, public funds, other sources, and the total annual income:

	Taxation.	Public funds.	Other sources.	Total.
Brooke .....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Marshall .....		\$ 680	\$ 500	\$1,180
Ohio .....	\$10,174	1,181	12,892	24,247
Belmont .....	1,498	6,395	4,450	14,267

Under the head of academies and other schools, the following statistics are found pertaining to these four counties:

	No.	Teachers.	Pupils.	Tot. income.
Brooke .....	1	2	73	\$ 970
Marshall .....	1	3	60	1,080
Ohio .....	7	20	400	5,265
Belmont .....	8	8	200	670

From these figures it is evident that Ohio county was far in advance of the rest as to the money raised by public taxation for the support of schools, and also as to the number of pupils, though Belmont county across the river had more schools and more teachers. Incidental to this subject of schools, the following figures as to illiteracy in the four counties, as shown by the census tables for 1850, are pertinent. The figures enumerate those of the white, foreign born and free colored population who could neither read nor write:

Brooke .....	252
Marshall .....	1,031
Ohio .....	145
Belmont .....	1,383

retain it, and for two years one of the foremost public questions concerned the retention of the schools.

To provide by general taxation for the maintenance of free public schools was a progressive measure really a little in advance of public opinion not only in western Virginia but throughout the middle west. In this connection it is noteworthy that the same optional methods for adopting free schools prevailed in the great state of Pennsylvania, and nearly every county had a hard struggle in inaugurating the system. In Michigan and Indiana also the beginning of free public schools was made about the middle of the century, so that West Virginia's experience is not exceptional.

In the light of these facts, it is perhaps not strange that efforts were made to abandon the public system after it had once been adopted. The following is part of the record of the Ohio county court at the March term of 1848: "On motion of Thomas Thornburg, Esq., ordered that the sheriff of this county, at the next annual election for a delegate to represent this county in the general assembly, open a poll at the court house and several election precincts of this county, and that he take the vote of the qualified voters thereof, at the said election, for and against the rejection of the District Public School System, established by act of Assembly passed March 5, 1846, which system was adopted in this county by the voters thereof at the last annual election."

This action of county court precipitated a controversy that waged in public discussion and the press for a year. Meetings were held in nearly every school district to protest against the order of the court and to stir the voters to protect the schools, and during the early months of 1849, preceding the election, the local press was filled with communications on the subject. The general tone of these resolutions and letters is reflected in the action of the meeting at the Beech Glen schoolhouse in April, 1849.<sup>8</sup> Col. B. F. Kelley, A. Bedillion and S. H. B. Carter were the committee who drafted the resolutions, which in part read as follows: "Whereas, The legislature passed an act at the session of 1845-46 authorizing the people to adopt one of those systems therein contained \* \* \* and whereas the people of Ohio county \* \* \* did at the annual election of April, 1847, \* \* \* adopt almost unanimously the 'District System of Free Schools' \* \* \* and whereas, so far as your committee know or believe, the law \* \* \* has thus far resulted to the very great advantage and improvement of

---

<sup>8</sup>Daily Gazette, April 13, 1849.

the children of the county, and is now rapidly growing into favor with all classes \* \* \*", it was resolved that censure be passed upon the action of the county court as contrary to the better judgment of the majority of citizens, as without justification by material evidence of dissatisfaction with the new system, and as an arbitrary act of authority on the part of the court.

On April 26th the election was held, and the result in the three election precincts was as follows: Wheeling—844 for the schools and 33 against; Triadelphia—181 for and 24 against; West. Liberty—73 for and 56 against. Thus the system was retained by a large majority.

In the meantime, at the session of 1848-49, the general assembly passed an act with special reference to the district public schools of Ohio county. Under this law the county was divided into two school divisions, the city of Wheeling to be an independent school district and the rest of the county to form another. There were to be five school commissioners, or one from each ward, and all land in the city heretofore conveyed to the county school commissioners for public schools was to be vested in the control of the city commissioners. It was this act by which the city of Wheeling was given practically a free hand in the management of its schools. Since that time the school district has been a separate corporation, without direct relations with the city or county government.

The free public schools of Wheeling were actually begun under the provisions of the law adopted in April, 1847. Concerning the progress in building and opening schools, the *Daily Gazette* of November 17, 1848, states that the third ward had a fine two-story brick school nearly completed, while the building on Main street in the first ward was under way and the schools in the fourth and fifth wards were to be ready in the spring. In September, 1849, the same paper speaks of the opening of school in the first, third, fourth and fifth wards, while the school in the second ward was to be opened soon.

In the first town charter, of 1806, the town authorities were empowered to erect and maintain schoolhouses. In the city charter of 1836 it is noteworthy that no mention is made of the city's interest or obligation in the matter of schools. By that time the control of education had become vested in the county officials as described above. But the city inherited from the town one trust that is of interest to this article. In 1831 a member of the Zane family had transferred to the town a lot on the west side of Market square to be used for school purposes only. It is evidence going to prove that the town never exercised its powers for the erection or maintenance of school-

houses, since it obtained from Mr. Zane a release from the obligation to use the lot for school purposes. This release was granted on the condition that the town would donate the sum of two thousand dollars to be used for the support of schools. This sum the town held in trust for nearly eighteen years, or until the establishment of the independent school district of Wheeling, when the amount was paid to the school board. Furthermore, in November, 1849, the city ordered a city bond for two thousand dollars to be issued to the public school trustees, as the amount of interest on the original sum which had accumulated during the past eighteen years. This sum of four thousand dollars in all was a very important addition to the public school treasury, and was used to good advantage in starting the public schools.<sup>9</sup>

The subsequent development of the public school system of Wheeling from the time of the establishment of the independent school district is the subject of an article by Mr. H. B. Work, the present city superintendent, in Miller's History of Education in West Virginia. The following paragraphs concerning the city schools up to the time the article was written are taken for the most part from Mr. Work's sketch.

From the minutes of the school board the following account of the organization is quoted:

"Pursuant to an act of the general assembly of the state of Virginia entitled 'An act concerning district public schools in the county of Ohio,' passed February 23, 1849, the clerk of the city of Wheeling, whose duty it became under the law aforesaid, issued a writ for an election to be held on the fourth Monday of March, 1849, for one school commissioner and two school trustees for each ward in said city, and the officer whose duty it was to conduct said election, having made due return thereof as required by said act, it appears from said returns that the following named persons have been duly elected school commissioners of said city, viz.: For the first ward, Thomas Johnson, Sr.; for the second ward, William S. Wickham; for the third ward, Morgan Nelson; for the fourth ward, Richard W. Harding; for the fifth

---

<sup>9</sup>The source of this information is the issue of the *Daily Gazette*, November 8, 1849, containing the proceedings of the council which ordered the issue of the bond to the school trustees, the action of the council being explained in a paragraph as follows: "This was the amount of the interest for eighteen years on the bond given by Wheeling town in 1831 to E. Zane, in consideration of his releasing the borough from an obligation to use a lot now on the west side of Market square for public school purposes alone, on the condition that the borough would donate \$2,000 for school purposes. The donation promised eighteen years ago has been paid only since the establishment of the public schools in the now city of Wheeling. With a laudable zeal to foster the free schools, the city has also resolved to pay the interest (\$2,000) to the schools now in existence, that amount to be divided among the several ward schools."

ward, Henry Echols; to continue in office until the fourth Monday in January, 1850."

Morgan Nelson was chosen at first president of the board of commissioners, and George W. Sights, clerk. Among all those named as commissioners and trustees at the organization, there is not one now living.

The schools went into operation under many difficulties,<sup>10</sup> but the opposition was slowly overcome, and the public school system thus became established in this city before the formation of the present state of West Virginia. When the system went into operation the city contained nearly 10,000 inhabitants, and for a number of years the aggregate attendance in the schools was about 1,000. Five school buildings were provided, one in each ward, each having two main school rooms, one for the boys and one for the girls.

The records show that the commissioners during the first years had very much to contend with. New houses were to be built, and the schools were to be equipped. Money had to be borrowed, rules provided, courses of study mapped out, text books agreed upon, and in fact everything taken from the hands of individuals and done by officials. It is worthy of notice and remark that very wise provisions were made. The rules then adopted for the government of the board and the schools have come to us with some modifications and additions.

One of the first subjects considered by the board of 1849 was the establishing of a high school. The following is found as part of the minutes of the first meeting: "On motion, Messrs. Johnson and Wickham were appointed a committee to select a proper site for the erection and establishment of a central high school, and make report to the board." Subsequent records show that a site was procured, but no building was erected. After some years this site was sold and the matter of a central high school was dropped for the time being.

At the time the free schools were first organized the total available fund for school purposes was \$5,921.52. In order to continue schools in session from the "first Monday in October to the second Friday in July," all parents were required to pay for each pupil one dollar

---

<sup>10</sup>The *Daily Gazette*, during the early weeks of 1850, contains a very lively correspondence on many phases of the new school system. There are discussions on the comparative value of "moral and birch suasion," on the advantages of parents visiting the schools, on alleged discriminations between the children of the rich and of the poor, and on numerous other topics, some of which have now ceased to interest school patrons and others which are still questions of pedagogy.

per term, or three dollars each year, to supplement the Literary Fund and levy.

The schools were continued under the provisions of this act of 1849 for about sixteen years. The struggle of the Civil war brought about the rending of Virginia, and West Virginia became a state of the Union in 1863, and by its constitution a free school system was provided for the whole state.

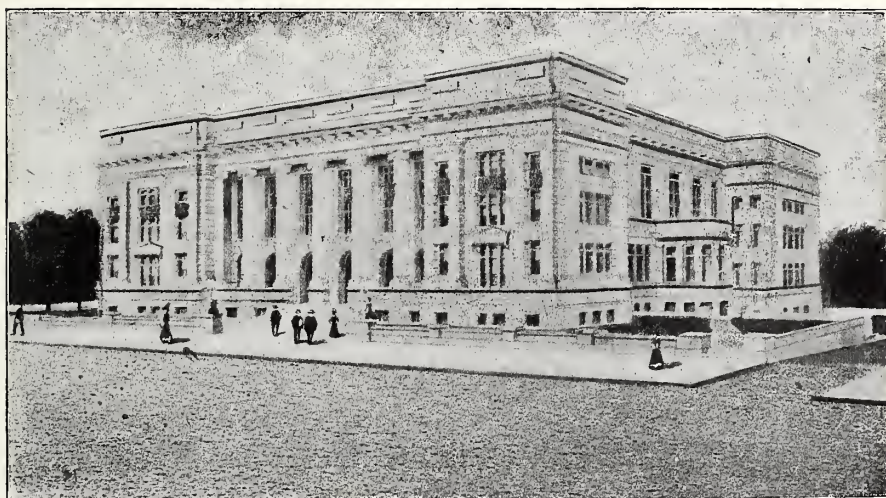
The legislature of West Virginia passed an act, March 2, 1865, constituting the city of Wheeling an independent school district, to be known as the School District of Wheeling. Thus since the act of Virginia in 1849 the schools of the city have been carried on independently of those of the county. The act provides for a board of education to be made up of three members from each sub-district. The members of this board are elected for six years, one-third being elected every two years. Under the old regime there was no city superintendent, the work of each school being directed by its own principal. There was a lack of unity and in many respects the system was faulty and imperfect.

When the schools were organized under the new law in 1865, there were six school districts, as follows: Washington, Madison, Clay, Union, Centre and Webster. Ritchie, which is now the largest district in the city, was added in 1872.

F. S. Williams, formerly a principal of one of the schools, was appointed superintendent for the district of Wheeling, August 2, 1865. This position he filled with marked ability until October, 1875, when he resigned. In November, 1875, John C. Hervey was chosen superintendent of the city schools. He was a member of the graduating class of Washington College of 1847, of which James G. Blaine was a member. He filled the position in a most satisfactory manner until his death, which occurred in May, 1881. John M. Birch, formerly principal of Linsly Institute in this city, was chosen superintendent June 16, 1881, by a unanimous vote of the board of education. As superintendent he was active and energetic, and under his administration the schools progressed rapidly. Superintendent Birch resigned in July, 1885, having been appointed consul to Nagasaki, Japan. On July 17, 1885, W. H. Anderson, formerly principal of Union School, was elected superintendent. His administration was marked by a steady growth in the breadth and efficiency of the school work. Mr. Anderson was active in all state and national organizations, and was well known to the leading educators of the nation. After eighteen years of successful service in this position and twenty-four years of service

in the city schools he resigned, and was succeeded, July 16, 1903, by David E. Cloyd, formerly school visitor for the General Education Board of New York. Mr. Cloyd's period of service was terminated October 1, 1904, and was succeeded by Mr. H. B. Work, the present superintendent. Mr. Work was elected the first principal of the high school on its establishment in 1897, and has thus been identified with the city schools of Wheeling for the past fifteen years.

There has been a constant and steady growth in the development of the school system in all the years of its history. It has kept pace in buildings and equipment with the steady increase of population; and in methods of teaching, breadth of course of study, and facilities



Wheeling High School.

for instruction, it has kept abreast of all solid educational advancement in cities of its class throughout the nation.

The German language was made a branch of instruction in the elementary schools more than thirty-five years ago. Music, under the direction of a supervisor, has been a part of the work of the schools since 1889. Drawing was added in 1896. High school subjects were taught in the higher grades (called Grammar Schools) in every ward, and large classes were graduated each year. In 1897 provision was made for the establishment of a high school to replace the grammar schools. This school was opened October 5, 1897, the enrollment for the year being 279. A principal and seven teachers

did the work of the first year. The first home of the high school was a brick building at the corner of Market and Twenty-first streets. In 1909 the modern and splendidly equipped high school building was begun, on Chapline street, and was completed in the spring of 1910. The teachers and pupils assisted in the removal from the old building, and school was first held in the new quarters on May 9, 1910. On the election of Mr. Work to the office of city superintendent, he was succeeded by Mr. Charles S. Brilles, the present principal of the high school.

Judged by modern standards, the Wheeling high school, both as to its facilities and its work, would compare favorably with high schools anywhere in the country. For the scientific branches it has its laboratories for chemistry, physics and botany. A business department offers excellent facilities for acquiring the routine of commercial education. A department of manual training, of domestic science, and a gymnasium, are features that commend themselves strongly to all who believe in a wholesome, practical, education of youth.

Some sketches of the other individual schools in the Wheeling district appeared in the special edition of the *Wheeling Intelligencer* for 1911, and possess historical value that deserves preservation in this chapter.

One of the oldest schools of the city is Washington school, established in the first ward in the year 1849. The modern building which now occupies that site is the third school building that has been erected there. The original one was a four-room, two-story brick structure, with a basement containing three rooms. It was used for twenty years.

It was the custom at that time to teach the boys and girls separately, the pioneers apparently not believing in co-education. The school was crowded from the start, and in some of the rooms as many as seventy-five pupils were taught by one teacher.

In 1868 a new three-story, ten-room brick building was erected. Of the new institution Z. G. Bundy was selected the first principal and held the position ten years, making the school a powerful influence for good. During Mr. Bundy's administration the First Ward Lyceum was organized and did excellent work in giving oratorical and literary training to the young people of that period.

The present building was erected in 1887, and is modern and commodious. It contains seventeen rooms in addition to the class rooms and offices. The work was done under the supervision of Architect E. W. Wells, and was formally dedicated on September 3,

1888. For the ensuing fifteen years the school was in charge of Miss Martha Harper, who brought the institution to a very high standard of excellence. Miss Harper was succeeded in 1897 by Charles S. Brilles, now principal of the high school. He was succeeded by S. S. Jacob, Jr., the present principal.

Prior to 1864 Island children attended public school first in the third ward and later in the second ward. The first public school for Island pupils alone was held not on the Island, but in the upper story of the second ward market house in the fall of 1864. The first principal of this school was S. Grafton Naylor, now deceased. He was assisted by Miss Mary Campbell, now connected with the University School of Cleveland.

A site for the first public school building on the island was purchased July 29, 1862, at the southeast corner of Maryland and North York streets, for the sum of \$275. On July 14, 1865, the plans for the building were adopted and the structure was completed in December at a cost of \$6,483.54.

On Wednesday, January 10, 1866, the school was opened with an attendance of 150 pupils. James K. Bane was the first principal and was assisted by Miss Mary Campbell and Miss Virginia Campbell. The Madison district commissioners at that time were Samuel McClellan, G. F. Wickham and J. M. Bickel.

For some years after its establishment advanced pupils from the second ward school were sent to the Island school. In 1866 C. W. Davenport became principal of Madison school but soon resigned and was succeeded by S. W. Boyd, who became principal of both the Madison and Second ward schools. After four years Mr. Boyd was succeeded in 1870 by A. M. Stevenson, who had the distinction of serving twenty-seven years.

In 1873 crowded conditions caused a second building, 18x36 feet, to be erected near the first. This later became the residence of the janitress, Mrs. Catherine Barkley, who filled this position thirty-one years. Two years later a four-room addition was built to the original building, the commissioners at that time being J. M. Bickel, E. J. Stone and D. C. List. A little later a one-room building was added for primary pupils, the Shepherd frame building of two stories was purchased, and still later a two-story brick dwelling was purchased.

In 1889 a project for a new building was carried to successful completion, the commissioners being Charles H. Collier, Myron Hubbard and Samuel Bloch. The building was erected by the Wheeling

Mining & Manufacturing Company at a contract price of \$22,671.20. The designs of Architect David Wells were accepted, but he was drowned in the Ohio river before the building was completed and was succeeded by Joseph Leiner. The building was accepted September 20, 1890, and was occupied the same fall.

In 1905 crowded conditions caused the purchase of the residence of Mrs. Elizabeth Hunter at a cost of \$20,000, the commissioners being A. L. White, R. H. McKee and A. O. Maxwell. At the present time crowded conditions again prevail and a resolution has been adopted by the board of education providing for the condemnation of ground for another new building adjoining the present one.

In 1897 Mr. Stevenson was succeeded by J. C. Gwynn, who served until 1903, and was succeeded by Professor D. T. Williams, the present principal.

Clay school, at the corner of Eoff and Twelfth streets, was established in 1849. It was first known as Clay township school, and was one of the first free schools in the south. The convenience of the school to the car lines and its central location make it especially favored by out-of-town pupils, a large number of whom are found in attendance at every term.

The history of the school has been one of uninterrupted success. The first principal after the reorganization in 1865 was Rev. Mr. Arthur, who took charge upon the completion of the building and placed the methods of instruction on a firm basis. From 1872 to 1887 Sara J. Meholin Leahy served as principal of Clay school, and a tablet to her memory has been placed in the hall. The present principal is Prof. I. E. Ewing, who accepted the position in 1905. Prof. Ewing is a native of Ohio and a graduate of Wooster University. He came to Wheeling in 1903 and taught history in the High school for two years prior to being chosen to his present position.

Union school, located at the corner of Seventh and Jacob streets, which now has one of the most modern buildings in the city, is among the very oldest of the educational institutions of the state, having been one of the first established here under the old Virginia law. Erected only two years ago, the present building may be said to represent the latest ideas in school architecture, and is both handsome and practical.

The original building was erected in 1849 on the present site, and was in constant use until 1871. Then a large two-story structure was built and did splendid service for almost forty years, until it was burned to the ground in February, 1908. Pending the erection of the new building, school was held temporarily in the old postoffice.

The new building, which was completed in 1909, is a handsome two-story structure, with sixteen class rooms, principal's office and teacher's rest room, this latter feature being one of the latest in school construction. The cost of the building was about \$65,000.

Manual training and domestic science, which are now a regular part of the curriculum of the Wheeling schools, were first introduced at Union school in 1906, through Paul O. Reymann, who was then a member of the board of education.

The first principal of Union school was James McKelly. From 1873 to 1879 that position was filled by J. H. Snowden. He was succeeded by W. H. Anderson, who, after serving six years, was elected superintendent of schools. James M. Hammond then became principal and held the position longer than any other incumbent. He was succeeded by Professor C. E. Githens, the present principal.

Center school was one of the first to be established in Ohio county under the free school law of 1846. The original structure contained but two rooms. After a short period this was replaced by a six-room building, which continued in use until 1883, at which time the present handsome structure was built. The building now occupied by the school is three stories in height and has fourteen rooms.

Center school is situated near the geographical center of the city, and its student body is cosmopolitan in a high degree. Children from homes of wealth mingle with foreign boys and girls from homes of poverty, and all are treated alike.

Miss Edda Bingell, the efficient principal of this school, has been in her position for many years past. She graduated there in 1879 and soon after became a teacher. At that time Prof. H. C. Shepherd was principal, and on his resignation after fourteen years of service, Miss Bingell became principal in 1893. The predecessor of Prof. Shepherd was Miss Martha Taylor. Mr. Shepherd came to Wheeling from New Cumberland.

This school bears the distinction of being the oldest in the city, having been organized in 1846. At that time the part of the city in which it is located was outside the city limits, and the school has been a part of the Wheeling system only since 1872. A part of the present building was erected that year, eight rooms having been added later, while an annex, now known as McKinley school, has been built to meet the constantly growing demands of the children of that section of the city.

When the organization of the school was effected in 1846 Robert Clark was selected as the first principal. Mr. Clark was a man of high

attainments and excellent work was done under his supervision. As the school grew, it became necessary to hold part of the classes in a frame building adjoining the schoolhouse. Even since the erection of the new building the rapid increase in population has made it necessary on a few occasions to use the basement of St. Paul's Evangelical church for class rooms. The overcrowding has been permanently relieved by the establishment of the Central high school and the erection of McKinley school.

When Ritchie became a part of the Wheeling school system Prof. H. N. Mertz, of Belmont county, Ohio, a graduate of Bethany college, became the first principal. He resigned in 1879 to accept the superintendency of the Steubenville, Ohio, schools, and was succeeded by J. C. Gwynn, a graduate of Waynesburg, and former principal of West Liberty Normal school. After four years Prof. Gwynn exchanged positions with Prof. F. H. Crago, a former West Liberty principal and graduate of Waynesburg, who was at that time principal of Webster school. With an interval of two years, Prof. Crago has since been principal of Ritchie school, making twenty-six years' service in this one school.

Webster school has the finest and largest ward building in the state of West Virginia. It is located on Eoff street in the block between Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh and commands instant attention by its architectural beauty. It was erected in 1892-1893, at a cost of \$65,000, and contains twenty-one rooms. It is equipped in the most modern manner and may be said without exaggeration to be strictly up-to-the-minute in every respect.

The original building was erected in 1866, and James M. Gallo-way, then principal of Washington school, was selected to head the new institution. After three years he was succeeded by the Rev. Samuel Boyd, who filled the position for eleven years and exercised a great influence for good on the pupils of the district. Rev. Boyd was succeeded by S. S. Gibson, who died a few months later, and was succeeded by Prof. F. H. Crago, now principal of Ritchie school, in 1883. Prof. Crago exchanged places with Prof. J. C. Gwynn, then principal of Ritchie school, who continued as principal of Webster until 1891, when he was succeeded by Miss Mary Reppetto, the present talented and efficient incumbent.

*The First Catholic School.*—The first school organized under distinctively Catholic auspices was opened about the year 1846, and owed its origin to the loyalty of German people to the language and customs of the Fatherland. The German Catholics of Wheeling wishing to

secure for their children a solid, though limited, education like that which they had themselves received at home, and thinking the preservation of the mother tongue would also tend to the preservation of the Catholic faith, upon the advice of a Redemptorist missionary who visited them once a month from Pittsburgh, engaged a German teacher, who started the first distinctively Catholic school in a building which stood east of the Ohio county jail on Eoff street, and which has for many years been incorporated in the furniture factory of Mendel & Co. The name of the first teacher was Anton Becker. The instruction which he imparted was confined to reading, writing, the elements of arithmetic, catechism, and Bible history in the German language, and English spelling, reading and writing for the more advanced scholars. After his death, which occurred about the year 1849, the school was continued by Anton Klein, an Alsatian, who spoke French and gave lessons in that language. Upon his resignation the school was continued by Spirot, a converted Jew.

*St. Vincent's Cathedral School.*—Meanwhile the building of St. Joseph's Cathedral was going on, and as soon as the basement was ready for occupancy the first English Catholic school was opened in it, about the year 1850. This school soon became one of the most flourishing that has existed in Wheeling, and was patronized by non-Catholics as freely as by Catholics. Many of the most prominent business men of that city and (like Col. W. P. Thompson) of other cities received their early instruction from its teachers. At times it numbered as many as 300 pupils.

The course of study included the branches of an ordinary education, as then understood, together with English grammar and composition, history, elocution, higher mathematics, German, Latin, and Greek.

The first teachers employed by Bishop Whelan to carry on this school were young students from All Hallows, in Ireland, who were candidates for the priesthood. They studied theology under the bishop and alternated their lessons with classes in the school. Several among them had brilliant talents, and they proved their fitness for their duty by the success which crowned their efforts in behalf of the youths confided to them. The first principal was the Rev. John Brazill, subsequently vicar-general of the diocese of Dubuque, Iowa. He was succeeded by the Rev. Henry F. Parke, now chaplain of Mount de Chantal. After him Mr. James A. Darnit took charge, and upon his retiring into the novitiate of the Dominicans at Somerset, Ohio, Rev. Henry Malone became principal. This gentleman added a commer-

cial course to the other studies, he having been an experienced book-keeper in Howard county, Md., before entering the ministry. St. Vincent's Cathedral school was suspended in the summer of 1857. Bishop Whelan in that year was obliged to go to Europe on business of the diocese. His brother, Rev. David Whelan, to whom the administration was confided during the bishop's absence, felt unwilling to take upon himself the charge of the young clerics who conducted the school. They were, therefore, sent to different seminaries and the school was virtually suspended until it was revived in 1865, under the title of St. Vincent's College.

*St. Vincent's College.*—This institution was opened in November, 1865, the first faculty being the Rev. August Louage,<sup>11</sup> the Rev. Joseph W. Stenger, Mr. Otto Schnurrer and Mr. Charles O'Rourke. Like St. Vincent's Cathedral school, the new college soon gained patronage, which came not from the city alone, but from other parts of the state and from outside of the state. Among the scholars from its walls who have since become prominent within the state are Senator John E. Kenna; Col. John T. McGraw; Oscar A. Veazy, late state mine inspector; Dr. John A. Campbell, of Wheeling; Dr. Kelley, of Parkersburg; Ferdinand Swan of Charleston; and Lewis Steenrod, ex-sheriff of Ohio county. There are also several members of the Catholic clergy of West Virginia who completed their preparatory education in St. Vincent's college. The course of studies afforded classical or commercial training, or both, as desired, with music and drawing in addition. The college was conducted as a boarding school until 1872; from the middle of that year until the end of the scholastic term of 1875, when it finally closed its doors, it continued its work of education as a day-school.

Considering what was done in this institution under many disadvantages, it is a subject of regret that its existence did not extend beyond a period of ten years. But the difficulty of maintaining a faculty of professors in a diocese in which there was a post calling every priest for the purposes of the ministry, and the fact that lay professors could not be had at the moderate salaries the institution was able to give, made the continuance of St. Vincent's College impossible. In the early '80s St. Vincent's High School for boys, under

---

<sup>11</sup>Father Louage, after leaving Wheeling in 1875, made a brief stay in Canada; joined the Order of the Holy Cross and taught for several years at Notre Dame College, Indiana; was eventually sent on the East Indian missions, was consecrated a Bishop and died in the Indies after several years of great usefulness.

the direction of Professor C. O. Burg, partially supplied for a few years the need of the Catholic boys. But during the time from its close to the opening of the splendid Cathedral High School of the present day, ably conducted by the Xaverian Brothers, Catholic boys who wished to acquire a higher than the common-school education have sought it in the colleges of other states.

*The Schools of the Sisters of St. Joseph.*—After the closing of St. Vincent's College, the Catholic schools of Wheeling, both for boys and girls, were intrusted to the Sisters of the order of St. Joseph, who, since 1865, have been occupying the former monastery of the Visitation order, on the corner of Fourteenth and Eoff streets. They have schools at four different places in the city and teach upward of one thousand pupils. They also conduct an academy for young ladies, in which about 113 young misses are trained in the accomplishments usually imparted in higher female schools. A sketch of the Academy of the Visitation at Mount de Chantal will be found in the second volume of this work.

*Academies.*—The oldest school of the Virginia Panhandle was the Brooke Academy at Wellsburg, and also said to have been the first school on the Ohio river below Pittsburgh. The academy was incorporated January 10, 1799, and its first board of trustees comprised the following citizens, then prominent in this part of the state: Charles Wells, Moses Chapline, Thomas Thompson, J. Doddridge, Bazil Wells, John Connell, James Marshall, Philip Doddridge and William McKennan. In the original building, which stood for nearly fifty years, school was conducted, with such vicissitudes as affected all educational work of the time, for nearly fifty years. In 1848 the old building was torn down and a new one erected on its place. The property was used by the Meade Collegiate Institute, a Methodist school, from 1852 for several years, and under different managements continued to be used as school until about 1865, when it was sold and thereafter used as a dwelling. In 1843 the Brooke Academy had a faculty of four members and a hundred students.

The Jefferson Seminary, built in 1835, was another important school in Wellsburg, and the building during the late '60s was the first home of the free schools.

Among the old educational institutions of Wheeling one that has had many interesting associations was the Wheeling Female Seminary. The institution was first incorporated under that name January 24, 1848. Eight lots were bought on the south side of Wheeling

creek, and the three-story brick building known for so many years as "the seminary" was constructed and school opened in November, 1850. The school was continued successfully until the close of the war, when a joint stock company was formed to take over the property, a reorganization was effected, and a new charter was obtained, the name being changed to the Wheeling Female College. The school was maintained through a period of forty years, during which time more than two hundred and fifty young women were graduated. In 1891 the property was sold to the Woman's Hospital Association of Wheeling, and for twenty years past has been used as part of the City Hospital of Wheeling.

*Linsly Institute.*—Noah Linsly, born in Connecticut, February 9, 1772, of an old New England family, a graduate of Yale College and later studying law, settled at Morgantown, Virginia, in 1797, practiced law there two years, and then located in Wheeling, where he was a successful lawyer to the time of his death, March 25, 1814. He never married, and at his death he bequeathed his property for the cause of education. For the perpetuation of his own name he could not have selected a better memorial, and the school conducted for nearly a century under his name has provided for the training of hundreds of men since well known in business and public life.

Two farms and their stock in Ohio county were the property which was devised by Mr. Linsly "in trust for the use, benefit and advantage of the Lancasterian school, to be established in the town of Wheeling." Judge G. L. Cranmer asserts that this was the first money ever bequeathed for free instruction upon slave territory. The old school founded under these auspices preceded the public schools many years. A charter for the Lancasterian Academy was granted in the fall of 1814. Noah Zane donated two lots on the west side of Chapline street, between Twelfth and Fourteenth streets, and a two-story brick building was erected in 1820. John S. Truax was the first regular instructor, and the school was carried on here for a number of years. Later the trustees sold the old building and site. In 1858 new ground was bought at the northwest corner of Fifteenth and Eoff streets, where the brick building now stands.

Many citizens, of a former generation and of the present, have regarded with peculiar affection the old institution early known as the Lancasterian Academy and now generally called the Linsly Institute. The academy building both on its old site and the new had many other associations than as a school. Public meetings were held there,

social and other organizations held their meetings in its hall. The present building acquired fame as the first capitol of the state of West Virginia, and the first legislature of the new state held its sessions there for a time in 1863.

The Lancasterian system of teaching which the founder of the Linsly Institute desired to exemplify in this school, had two special characteristics—one of which provided for “monitors” or older students to instruct the younger pupils, and the other was the “object” method of teaching. Dickens left an immortal caricature of the Lancasterian system in his picture of the Dotheboys School.<sup>12</sup> In a modified form these methods were more or less characteristic of a majority of the schools in this country throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, so that a description of the pedagogic methods employed in the old Linsly Institute nearly a century ago is not entirely peculiar to this one school. A Wheeling citizen who had been a student in the Lancasterian Academy during the '30s thus describes the old school<sup>12</sup>:

“The room was large and airy, being about 44 by 66 feet, with good height of walls, nearly one-half of which was made up of windows. An aisle 6 feet wide skirted the walls, excepting at a platform window on the eastern side, on which was the seat of as great a tyrant as ever disgraced God's earth. In front of this platform was a cross-aisle extending to the main entrance opposite. The desks and benches were arranged parallel to the shorter way of the room, and extended from aisle to aisle without any intermediate passage, the benches being filled from the ends. At close intervals blackboards 6 feet square were placed along the walls, in front of which semicircles were struck with chalk on the floor for the class to toe when called to recite.

“The reading lessons, which were all from the Old Testament Scriptures, were printed and pasted on boards 14 by 18 inches in size, each board at the upper end having a hole with a string in it by which to suspend it to a nail in the blackboard. Each class had a commandant, styled a monitor, whose business it was to keep order in the class and instruct it. On one end of each desk was a telegraph with signals. These telegraphs were rods  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter and 6 feet long, surmounted with a painted hexagonal block, the rods running freely in holes in the desk in which they were inserted. On the platform and on either side of the master was a monitor's desk and monitor, one of whom was styled monitor of order, the other monitor of reading. Each of the monitors was provided with a telegraphic instrument and whistle. The monitor of each class acted as a signal operator

---

<sup>12</sup>Col. H. B. Hubbard, in Whitehill's History of Education in West Virginia.

for his station and took his cue from the monitor on the platform. At a signal of the whistle for attention from the monitor, say of reading, each class monitor turned his signal to correspond to the signal shown on the platform and governed himself accordingly. If the signal was for reading, each monitor formed his class and moved to his station at the blackboard, the class toeing the chalk mark, and the monitor within the circle facing the class. At a signal from the whistle each monitor wheeled and took up a pointer or long wooden rod and placed its end on the first word of the lesson. At a second signal the head boy or girl of the class commenced to read aloud, and as every class was reading a different lesson it took pretty good lungs to mask the noise made by the adjacent classes, so as to enable the monitors to hear their own readers.

"At each end of the room and forming the first row of benches were the sand boxes. These were shallow, though of convenient width, and contained enough of sand to make a layer a quarter of an inch in thickness. In front of these and above the heads of the pupils in the next row of benches and supported on posts were boards upon which were painted the letters of the alphabet, also the numerals, and these the beginners copied, making the characters with their fingers in the sand.

"All studying was done at will, but mostly aloud, and to an uninterested world would have been a perfect Babel, but each learned to heed no voice but his own and to prosecute his studies quite as well as if no others were studying around him. The peculiar feature consisted in the advanced scholars acting as teachers, the master teaching only those advanced scholars who were not acting as teachers or monitors.

"The instruments of torture were in no wise connected with the plan of teaching, but belonged to the times rather than to the system, and consisted of the cow-hide, ferrule, and cat and rattan. Refractory pupils were also required to sustain weights in the hand with the arm extended, stand on one foot, bend down and sustain the weight of the body on one foot and one hand, holding up the other foot at the same time with the other hand. Some after having been punished with the ferrule or cat were subjected to the indignity of having to wear dunce caps and bells, and march round and round the school with a following of boys with girls' sunbonnets on their heads, hooting them as they marched."

For a number of years in its early history, and up to the time of the Civil war, both boys and girls attended Linsly Institute. Since then it has been exclusively a boys' school. In secondary education it still holds a high rank among the West Virginia schools, though it now comes into competition with many public high schools. To an older generation and to men whose careers were included within the nineteenth century, this school afforded the best advantages obtainable

for a higher education. Among the principals who have been identified with Linsly Institute, the best remembered is the late John M. Birch (see sketch), whose service beginning in 1873 brought the school to its highest degree of usefulness.

*Bethany College.*—Bethany College, which was founded by Rev. Alexander Campbell and as an institution is largely a memorial to his devoted career in education and religion, was chartered by the general assembly of Virginia in 1840. During the present century an electric railway has penetrated to the picturesque region of which the college and the little town of Bethany are the principal features. But for more than sixty years after its founding, Bethany was remote from the railways and other crowded avenues of the world's traffic. Yet there was no intention in the founder's mind of isolating the institution in this manner. In 1840 Bethany was almost as accessible from all parts of the middle west as Wheeling or Pittsburgh. The Ohio river and the National road were still the central routes of travel, and from either one a short journey over a turnpike led to Bethany.

The first session of the college opened in 1841, and its first graduates were ready for active careers in 1844. While the college has trained more of its graduates for the ministry than for any other calling, it is not fundamentally a theological school, nor is it sectarian. From the opening of Bethany the Bible was used as a text book, and it is claimed that it was the only American college for many years which included in its curriculum a systematic study of the scriptures.

Rev. Alexander Campbell, whose little seminary at his home early in the century had been the nucleus for the greater institution which he founded in 1840, was the first president of Bethany and served as such until his death in 1866. Through the college his life work was perfected and continued to its best fruition. In numbers of students and value of equipment Bethany no longer has relatively the rank it had many years ago. But many students of education see a long prospect for beneficent work ahead of the smaller colleges, and judged by the splendid results of the past Bethany deserves a long and prosperous career in carrying out the ideals of its great founder.

*West Liberty Normal School.*—Some of the older citizens of Wheeling and vicinity spent part of their school days in what was for many years known as the West Liberty Academy. This was a school established by Rev. Nathan Shotwell in 1838. By contributions from the friends of the school a good brick building was erected, but it was burned in 1840, and for many years the school was maintained in

quarters ill adapted for the best work. In 1857, again as the result of subscriptions, a two-story brick building was constructed, and this still forms a part of the building equipment of the present state institution.

One of the notable facts of the Civil war was that it drew into the ranks of the army thousands of lads from the schools of the country. As there were comparatively few public high schools, it was the academies and colleges that suffered most from this withdrawal. Many students at West Liberty left to enter the army and the patronage of the school was seriously diminished for some years.

In 1870 the legislature of West Virginia passed an act establishing the West Liberty State Normal School, authorizing also the purchase of the old academy building as the nucleus of its equipment. Under these auspices the school was opened in May, 1870. The normals at Huntington and Fairmont had been established previously to the West Liberty school. More than three hundred alumni represent the West Liberty Normal, and many of them have been and are still engaged in educational work.

This institution, while its chief purpose is for the training of future generations, also performs a grateful service in preserving one of the historic landmarks of the Virginia Panhandle. The removal of the county seat in 1797 took away the main distinction of the town of West Liberty. In the modern era of railroads and electric lines, the locality has still stood remote from these great highways. Yet as a site for a training school it has advantages not possessed by the busy centers of commerce, and in many ways the State Normal School gives the place a distinction which the seat of justice alone could not have conferred.

## CHAPTER XX.

## THE PRESS, THE LIBRARY, AND THE THEATRE.

"They are the books, the arts, the academes, that show, contain and nourish all the world."

While the press is one of the most powerful instruments of modern civilization and the herald of the world's life, it has seldom advanced with the forefront of the army of settlement. A community usually has its doctor and lawyer, its schoolmaster and preacher, before it is ready to welcome the editor. The printing press does not belong among the pioneer things. Its work is at the centers of a nation's people and activities. It is a nerve center, to which reports of truth come from the outmost frontiers of the world, and from which the impressions of the printed page go back again with its collected information over all the lines that radiate from the publishing office.

People had dwelt about the site of old Fort Henry for more than a generation before the first printer ventured to bring his press and outfit into the community. This was Alexander Armstrong, who during the years 1807 and 1808 conducted the *Wheeling Repository*. It was not a newspaper in the modern sense, but rather a weekly literary magazine. It usually contained eight pages, and the page was about eight by twelve inches in size. There was no telegraph news, a very meagre occasional notice of some local happening. The events of the Napoleonic wars of Europe, of the Aaron Burr conspiracy, of the proceedings of the national Congress and the Virginia legislature, all printed many days or even months after their occurrence, occupied a prominent place in what might be called the news columns. Correspondence from residents in this part of Virginia and Ohio was also given liberal space, but the usual topics of discussion referred to state or national politics, and it would be a hopeless task to expect enlightenment from a reading of such letters. The books and periodical publications of the day were apparently appropriated whenever the editor found his "copy" running short. The *Repository* during its brief existence also furnished a medium for the literary output of some of its subscribers. This was usually in the form of poetry. This form of literature was then in a transition period in England and America, and had its highest expression in such men as Burns and

Cowper. Sentimentality was a strong characteristic, and with local poets it could hardly be expected that this literary mode could escape being somewhat ridiculous in modern eyes. But the modesty of literary genius was as marked in the Wheeling of that date as in later times, and it is also evident from the following quotation from a page of the *Repository* that the editor was not averse to accepting unsigned contributions :

A letter box, for the reception of communications for the Repository, is fixed at the head of the outside stairs leading to the Printing Office. The situation is favorable for depositing them without being observed.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>Two quotations from the *Repository* of March and April, 1807, will suffice to indicate the merit of the poetical output of the time, and also the personal nature of the communications :

To Miss R,— of B. County.

Sweet Miss R. you are my fancy,  
But some other's won your heart ;  
Why will you not own to Nancy,  
That Cupid's struck you with his dart ?

Curse upon the day you told me,  
That you never could be mine ;  
I curs'd my fate and instant told thee,  
That I thought thee quite unkind.

But now, sweet maid, one kind adieu !  
May the man that you have chose,  
Be always happy when with you,  
Who are sweeter than the rose.

Since fate has robb'd me of my choice,  
I will look out, although there's few  
That ever had so sweet a voice,  
To charm my tho'ts, sweet maid, as you.

Therefore, dear maid, once more adieu !  
I cannot help what fate has done.  
For you, dear maid, to tell you true,  
I'd gone a thousand miles from home.

LEANDER.

Miss R. need not plume herself upon Leander's sufferings being made public. She will learn from the following that he is no longer the same love-lorn swain described in the *doleful ditty*\* published in the last *Repository*.

\*By the by, it is in every sense of the terms, a *doleful ditty*, and expressed in a *doleful jargon* of words scarcely intelligible. Foisting such a *doleful rhapsody* of jingling unmeaning nonsense into the Parnassian Corner of the *Repository*, as poetry, evinces a *doleful dearth* of poetical productions. Offering such stuff for publication, proves that some person among us is furnished with an abundant stock of vanity and ignorance.

Practically all of the items of local interest in the *Repository* files have been collected for publication in this history, and nothing more need be said about the paper beyond the fact that its publisher, being unable to collect from his subscribers, towards the end of 1808 abandoned the enterprise and at a later date was engaged in the manufacture of paper at Wheeling.<sup>2</sup>

The fortunes of other newspapers during the first half of the century were such that little can be said of them, and only a few years of their files remain. *The Western Post & Wheeling Advertiser* was published here in 1823. A copy of the *Wheeling Gazette* dated Saturday morning, June 10, 1826, is No. 301 of Volume VI, hence probably established about 1821. R. I. Curtis was its publisher in 1826. James E. Wharton was a vigorous editor, a Whig in politics, during the '40s of the *Wheeling Times & Advertiser*, and later had charge of the *Wheeling Daily Gazette*. Both of these papers have

To Miss R.

R. . . . . all at length shall see  
Leander from thy fetters free.  
Too long thy iron chains he wore;  
Thy scorn too long, he tamely bore,  
But now, no more with languid eyes,  
A suppliant, at thy feet he lies.

Cupid, in pity for his grief,  
Hath sent the hapless youth relief,  
And from his eyes transfix'd a dart  
Deep in the lovely Laura's heart,  
Who, sigh for sigh, his flame returns,  
And with a mutual passion burns.

His heart, grown weary in thy toils,  
Receives fresh life from Laura's smiles,  
With gratitude is overflown,  
And pants for her, and her alone,—  
To every female beauty blind,  
But charming Laura, fair and kind.

Z.

---

<sup>2</sup>A bound file of the *Repository* throughout the period of its publication is now owned by Dr. Frank LeM. Hupp, and is probably the only copy in existence.

furnished much data for the history of the decade of the '40s. The *Argus* was another paper of that period, but no copy has been seen during the compilation of this work.

On August 24, 1852, appeared the first number of the *Wheeling Intelligencer*. With a continuous existence from that date, this paper is now approaching its sixtieth anniversary, and is both the oldest representative of the press in Wheeling and has also had the most successful career. Its attitude has been a very important element in public life, and for this reason it has been mentioned so frequently in the course of this history, especially during the period of the Civil war, that only a brief sketch is required at this point.

Eli Bennett Swearingen and Oliver I. Taylor were the first proprietors of the *Intelligencer*, which was really a legitimate successor of Mr. Wharton's Whig journal, the *Gazette*, and was founded to promote the success of that political party. Mr. Taylor was a very concise and often elegant writer, and his locals have a distinction readily recognized. Mr. Joseph H. Pendleton later became associated with the ownership and editorial management of the paper.

In the fall of 1856 Archibald W. Campbell, who was then twenty-three years old and recently come from law school, and John F. McDermot bought the *Intelligencer*. Mr. Campbell, who had already been in the employ of this paper, took the editorial management and his partner looked after the mechanical and business department. Coincident with this change in the paper's control was the first general campaign of the new Republican party, and the *Intelligencer* was the first newspaper in Virginia to espouse the cause of this party. For many years Mr. Campbell was not only the vigorous editor of a newspaper whose influence in civic and political affairs was increasing each year, but was also one of the dominant, forceful citizens of Wheeling and West Virginia. It would be repetition to state here many things that have been said in other chapters of this history concerning his work.

John Frew, who had been connected with the *Intelligencer* since 1853, took Mr. McDermot's place at the beginning of 1866, and was identified with this journal and contributed constantly to its solid success until his death in September, 1901. Among the old newspaper men of Wheeling he was esteemed as one of the strongest managers, and he was chiefly responsible for making the *Intelligencer* a modern newspaper and a solid business enterprise.

In 1868, when Mr. Campbell retired for five years, G. D. Hall and L. A. Hagans, who had already been associated with the business,

came into more active connection, and Mr. Hall took editorial management, with Mr. Hagans in charge of the local department. Both were well known men in West Virginia history. Mr. Hall was the author of a work on the division of West Virginia and of other literary productions, and was an able successor of Mr. Campbell in the editorial chair. Mr. Campbell resumed his place as editor in 1873 and continued for about ten years, when he was succeeded by Charles B. Hart, an accomplished newspaper man from Philadelphia. He remained as active editor until his appointment as minister to Bogota in 1897.

In 1892 the partners had incorporated the business as the *Intelligencer Publishing Company*, under which business title the paper has been published ever since. George A. Dunnington was editor during Mr. Hart's absence until his death in 1899, and Mr. John E. Day succeeded him until 1904. After the death of Mr. Frew, George A. Laughlin bought the interests of his heirs and also Mr. Hart's interests, but the Campbell heirs continued their interest in the business. "The *Intelligencer* continues to be published by the *Intelligencer Publishing Company*. The days of personal journalism have passed; no more is it what the editor says, but what the paper says. The old order passeth, all things are become new." The present directors of the company are: George A. Laughlin, F. P. McNell, S. G. Smith, Mrs. George Wise and H. C. Ogden. Mr. Ogden is managing editor and active director of the affairs of the *Intelligencer*.

Established fully ten years later than the *Intelligencer*, the *Wheeling Daily Register* since its founding has survived all the difficulties and pitfalls of journalism, and is now one of the strongest papers in the upper Ohio valley. In the times preceding and during the first year or so of the Civil war, the opposition paper to the *Intelligencer* and the organ of the old Democracy was first the *Wheeling Union* and then the *Wheeling Press*. The first was conducted with more than the ordinary accompaniments of invective and partisanship, and was suppressed by the dominant forces then in control of the city. The *Press* was then started, and in the fall of 1863 was succeeded by the *Wheeling Daily Register*, of which Lewis Baker and O. S. Long were the proprietors. The experiences of the paper and its owners during the war have been related in another chapter and need not be repeated here. Mr. Baker was an able manager and after the war placed the *Register* on a sound foundation of continued prosperity. He continued as principal owner until 1884, when he sold out and removed to St. Paul.

For nearly thirty years the fortunes of the *Register* have been identified with the name Taney. The sudden death on February 20, 1912, of Charles Henry Taney removed one of the oldest and best known of West Virginia's publishers. At the time of his death he was general manager of the West Virginia Printing Company and managing editor of the *Register*. Born in Wheeling in 1856, he carried a *Register* route while a boy, learned the compositor's trade, and finally bought the *Clarksburg News*, which he conducted until 1883, when he and his brother, James B. Taney, secured the state printing and binding contract, the capital then being in Wheeling. The West Virginia Printing Company was incorporated January 1, 1884, and in the fall of the same year J. B. and C. H. Taney bought the *Register*. The late Mr. Taney was in Charleston with the state printing until 1887, when he returned to Wheeling and became actively connected with the business management of the paper. In 1893 when James B. Taney went to Belfast as United States consul, he was succeeded as general manager by his brother, who continued in that position until his recent death. The *Register* building, which is one of the modern office structures of Wheeling, was erected on the site of the old Opera House, a sketch of which will be found elsewhere.

Besides these two daily metropolitan papers, the Wheeling press at this time consists of the *Wheeling Evening and Sunday News*, the *Evening Telegraph*, the *Wheeling Majority*, published in the interests of the labor party, the *Deutsche Zeitung*, and the *Saturday Review*.

The *News* was founded in 1890 by a joint-stock company, which bought the plant of the old *Sunday News Letter*. Mr. H. C. Ogden, who had been connected with the *Register* during the early part of his newspaper career, took the management of the new enterprise and has been chiefly responsible for its continued existence and success. The company suffered a severe reverse when their building was destroyed by fire, but it has been replaced by the present *News* building, at Fifteenth and Main, a structure thoroughly equipped and built for the publishing business. The directors of the News Publishing Company are the same as those of the *Intelligencer*.

The *Evening Telegraph* was established in December, 1902. Among those interested at first were Roy B. Naylor, John H. Snodgrass and Percy R. Callahan. In 1904 the business was reorganized as the Daily Publishing Company, which has continued the publication of the *Telegraph*, under the management of Campbell Henderson.

The *Wheeling Majority* was established in March, 1907, by Walter B. Hilton, who in 1909 became president of the joint-stock company then formed to conduct this paper. The *Majority* is the official organ of the Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly, the Belmont Central Labor Assembly and the Tin Plate Workers' International Protective Association.

The *Saturday Review*, "a paper for people who do things," was established in 1911 and is published by the Saturday Review Company. Mr. John W. Burchinal is editor and manager.

The *Deutsche Zeitung*, which was established in 1901 with C. W. Bente as editor and manager, is the successor of several German papers which have been published in this city. The first of the kind was issued during the '30s, at which time the German people first became numerous represented here. In 1849 the *Virginia Staats Zeitung* was started by a joint-stock company, of which Conrad Strobel was president and Elias Stifel, father of L. F. Stifel, was treasurer. This paper about 1863 became the *West Virginia Staats Zeitung*, but soon suspended. The *Patriot*, devoted to the Union government, was established and conducted during the war, such well known German citizens as Augustus Pollack, Anton Reymann and others being behind the enterprise. At the close of the war it was absorbed by the *Arbeiter Freund*, which was established in 1865 by Lewis Baker, publisher of the *Register*. Later it was taken over by a company composed of such citizens as J. H. Hobbs, August Wiederbush, Casper Heil, John Pfarr, Henry Stamm and L. C. Stifel. Under various managements and against many obstacles the enterprise was continued until 1887, when it was suspended. Then in October of the same year Louis Colmar again entered the field and brought out the *West Virginia Staats Zeitung*, which he continued until his retirement in 1901. A few weeks later the German American Printing Company began the present paper.

As in every city, the history of the press contains the record of many ambitious undertakings that ran a brief career before being stranded on financial shoals. A complete list would add little to this brief sketch of journalism, which has mentioned all the noteworthy newspapers of the past and those of the present. The names of the principal evening papers which preceded those now published were the *Evening Leader*, the *News-Letter*, the *Evening Standard* and the *Evening Journal*.

*Public Library.*—A traveler who visited Wheeling in 1811, or a century ago, mentioned the fact that the town had previously sustained a printing office, a book store and a library, but the two first had withdrawn, the library alone being supported by public patronage at that time. Two notices taken from the files of the old *Wheeling Repository* give the only available information about this first library of Wheeling:

The Members of the Wheeling  
LIBRARY COMPANY,

Will take notice, that Monday next is the day for choosing the President, Vice-President and Directors for the ensuing year. The election will take place at the Library room, at eight o'clock in the evening. The Members are requested to attend punctually.

C. HAMMOND, *Sec'y.*

Dec. 15th, 1807.

The Annual Payment to the Wheeling  
Library Company.

For the year 1807, became due on the first inst. The Shareholders are desired to take notice, that unless the same, together with the arrearages of Fines incurred during the year last past, be settled with the Treasurer on or before the first day of next month, they will be debited with a weekly accumulation of 25 cents respectively.

A. M. BOLTON, *Treasurer.*

Wheeling, 26th of 12th mo. (Dec.)

Like the association out of which grew the present Public Library, this was a company of subscribers who paid annual dues, which were applied to the purchase of a collection of books, kept at some central room. There was no reading or reference room, and the books were drawn by the members and used for a certain period. Nothing is known of the character of the books, but it is certain that fiction did not predominate. Philosophical and historical writings, religious polemics, were the principal literature of the time, and a list of the books kept by the old library company would probably contain few that are familiar even to the "well-read people" of modern times. It may not be out of place to mention that as long as a hundred years since books owned by individuals sometimes strayed away and were not returned to the owners. The evidence of this is in a notice in the *Repository* signed by Thomas Evans: "Any person who may have the subscriber's copy of 'The British Spy' by William Wirt Esq. is requested to return it."

During the first half of the century, it is probable that one or more of such library companies continued to exist in Wheeling, but nothing has been learned as to their activities. The continuous history of the present library begins with the year 1859, in which year Alonzo Loring, Nathaniel Richardson and others prepared the following resolution presented to the circuit court:

"This is to certify that the persons whose signatures are hereto subscribed are desirous to form a company and to be incorporated as a library and literary association. The object for which it is formed is to maintain a library and to promote useful knowledge. The capital stock shall not be less than \$5,000 nor more than \$50,000. The shares shall have a par value of \$50 each. Land not exceeding an acre shall be held by the association.

"The following officers shall have charge of the affairs of the association during the first year of its existence: President, Alonzo Loring; vice-president, Nathaniel Richardson; secretary, George Baird; treasurer, W. C. Brockunier; directors: Michael Reilly, John H. Hall, J. Gamble Baker, W. J. Bates, David Bayha, James Wilson, T. H. Logan, N. Pigman and Charles W. Russell.

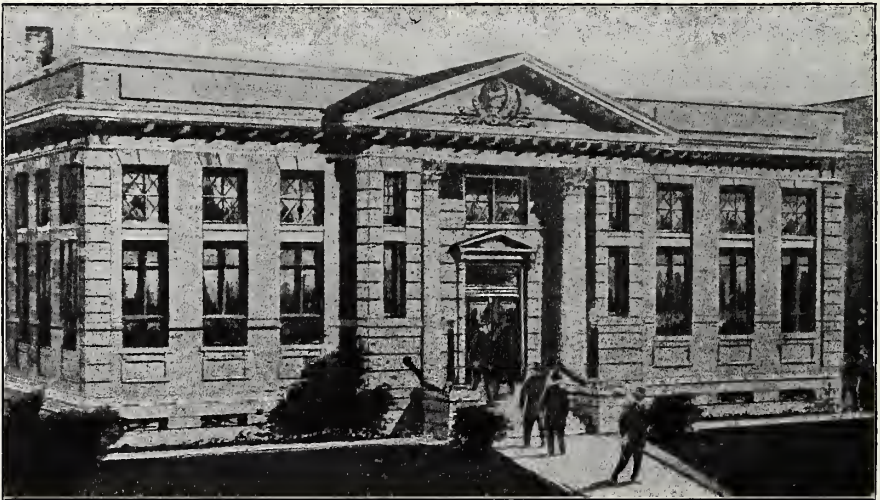
"The undersigned pray the said court to grant them a charter of incorporation in accordance with this certificate: G. Baird, Jr., N. Richardson, D. Bayha, Charles Marshall, J. Boone McLure, Joseph Seybold, C. M. Russell, A. Loring, J. C. Baker, John McCulloch, J. H. Pendleton, George W. Sights." The charter was granted by Judge G. W. Thompson on May 18, 1859.

The first location of the library was in the Odd Fellows hall, at Twelfth and Chapline, and the date of formal opening was May 15, 1860. George Harrison was librarian, at a salary of four hundred dollars a year, and in addition to other duties he kept the fires and the room in order. Library hours were 8 A. M. to 10 P. M. except Sundays and holidays. The membership fee was five dollars a year. The books belonging to the old Wheeling Lyceum became part of the original library collection.

Largely due to the absorption of the citizens in the war, the library was poorly supported for a year or so. In March, 1861, it was reported to be languishing for want of subscribers. Then the salary of librarian was reduced to two hundred dollars, and the library was not open at night in order to avoid the expense of gas. But by the close of the war the library was prosperous. A report made in October, 1865, stated that there were three thousand volumes in the collection. The receipts from subscribers for the year ending September 30, 1863, had been \$205.50; for the next year, \$378; and in

1865; \$640.50. Among the officers and directors in 1865 were the following: George Adams, J. R. Hubbard, S. P. Hildreth, William P. Hubbard, T. H. Logan, A. W. Campbell, George K. Wheat, Dr. J. C. Hupp, Augustus Pollack, Samuel Laughlin. The salary of librarian had been raised to three hundred dollars in 1864 and to three hundred and fifty in 1865. Genevieve Stanisberry had been librarian after the first reduction in salary, and in 1865 her brother G. E. Stanisberry became librarian. By 1869 the salary was raised to five hundred dollars. The association at that time was more prosperous than for some years afterward.

During the '70s the association had financial difficulties, and in July, 1880, the library was closed. In 1877 it had been moved to the



Wheeling Public Library.

state house, occupying what is now the police court room. At that time there were over five thousand books. The librarian's salary was again reduced to three hundred dollars, and the hours of opening were two to five in the afternoon and seven to nine in the evening.

The last meeting of the old association was held in March, 1881, at which time it was decided to pack the books and furniture until a better system could be planned for maintaining a library. The librarians following Mr. Stanisberry had been: Miss Emma Musser, Mrs. M. G. Stevens, Mrs. S. T. Patterson, Mrs. M. J. Thornton.

In January, 1882, a committee was appointed by the board of

education to negotiate with the trustees of the library with a view to securing the property of the association. The trustees agreed to transfer this property "when the board shall secure such legislation as will enable it to assume control of the books and provide for the necessary expense of caring for and perpetuating said library to the satisfaction of the trustees. Andrew Wilson, James M. Todd, J. A. Miller, Dr. S. L. Jepson and Alfred Caldwell were the committee that obtained the necessary amendment from the legislature. Early in 1883 the property of the old association passed to the board of education on the condition that it should "establish and maintain in perpetuity a public library in the city of Wheeling for the use and benefit of all the residents of the city of suitable age under such regulations as the board of education shall prescribe.

A room in what is now the Hub building was secured, and at the opening of the library in October, 1883, Mr. Henry Pendleton, clerk of the board of education, was librarian, with Miss Annie M. Carson, as assistant. Miss Anna B. Wilson became assistant in October, 1884, and in August, 1886, succeeded Mr. Pendleton as librarian. Miss Wilson held this office for practically a quarter of a century, until June, 1911, at which time she was succeeded by Miss Etta Roberts, the present librarian.

The library remained in the Hub building, at Fourteenth and Market, until 1895. During the next twelve years it was in the Masonic temple on Market street, and in May, 1907, was opened in new quarters in the Schmulbach building. Wheeling is one of the cities of America that has not a Carnegie library. The negotiations with the great donor of libraries were not satisfactory, and in February, 1910, the board of education voted to end the correspondence and erect a building through its own resources. The site at Twenty-first and Market, adjoining the new high school, was selected, and the contract for the building was let April 21, 1910. From June until December, 1910, the library was in quarters in the Delaplain building on Main street, and then moved into the handsome structure which is the permanent home of the Wheeling Public Library. The cost of the building was about twenty-five thousand dollars. The library, in a building appropriate to its purposes, is now an important institution of Wheeling, one of the public enterprises which comprise the growing group of the Wheeling civic center.

*The Theatre and Other Public Entertainment.*—Tradition tells that in 1801 an itinerant circus, the chief attractions of which were an elephant and a camel, exhibited on Main street near the site of the

suspension bridge. The wonder spirit of youth was more excited by these two tropical animals, and the memory of them remained longer than would now be the case after a visit of a three-ring circus of the "greatest show on earth."

From the traditional account of this "first show" there is an interval of some years before the first record of public entertainment. The dramatic history of Wheeling began in 1808. Strolling musicians or actors may have visited here before that time, but their melodies and spoken lines effected their ephemeral charm and were not treasured by the muse of history. But the first newspaper of Wheeling became an actual repository of the facts about the first known dramatic achievements, and because of the interest that attaches to all beginnings a somewhat extended quotation may be made from the files. The dates of these two theatrical events was in May, 1808, and the following advertisements indicate the facts:

#### NOTICE.

On Wednesday evening, the 14th of May, 1808, will be represented in the Court-house in Wheeling, (by the young gentlemen of the place) the celebrated comedy called *the Stranger*. At the end of the play a comic dialogue; to which will be added the Farce called *the Contrivances*.

N. B. As some expense will necessarily accrue in preparing the scenes, &c. they deem it proper to exact 25 cents admittance for grown persons, and half price for Children.

Will be performed, on Tuesday evening the 17th instant, at the Court house, by the Young Gentlemen of this place, the celebrated comedy called the

#### HEIR AT LAW,

in five acts: Also a comic Dialogue,  
with several celebrated Songs.

As some expense has accrued in purchasing scenery suitable for the Play, &c. they will expect to receive twenty-five cents from each person for admittance. The door will open at 6 o'clock, and the curtain rise at half after 7.  
Wheeling, May 12, 1808.

The presentation of the "Heir at Law" by the young men's dramatic club of Wheeling, in May, 1808, brought out the first published dramatic criticism in the *Repository*. The critic, who signed himself "A Traveller,"

"did not suppose that boys, born and educated on the banks of the Ohio, who had never been upon a stage, nor had ever seen a play acted, would be able to make any tolerable appearance in the character of actors; but I must confess I found myself much mistaken.

"The entertainment commenced with the celebrated song, 'Ho heave ho.' It was sung by a young man, who appeared in the character of a sailor, to much advantage, and who, in his manner and voice, would not have disgraced a regular theatre. \* \* \* The parts of Baron Duberly, and lady, were acted with considerable spirit. \* \* \* The part of Dr. Spangloss was well sustained. The ridiculous emphasis and conceited swagger of the pedant were well kept up. I am told that the young gentleman who acted this part had never been beyond his native woods. It seems to me somewhat surprising, that he should be able to *take off* the pedantic coxcombs who infest the neighborhood of our universities and colleges, with so much ability. \* \* \*

"The scene at the commencement of the fourth act was also interesting. When the curtain raised and discovered Cicely leading on her brother, and crying, the effect upon the audience was very visible. The buzz which pervaded the house was suddenly silenced. The scene so engrossed their whole attention that every word which was spoken could be heard distinctly. \* \* \* But no character was performed so much to the life as that of Kenrick, which I expected to see completely butchered. He never appeared on the stage, but the audience were in a rapture, and never left it, but he was followed with their claps and huzzas. I doubt whether this character was ever better performed upon the theatre of Philadelphia. \* \* \*

"I found in this exhibition much to applaud, and very little to censure; and I earnestly exhort these young gentlemen to persevere in attempts of this nature. They are calculated to edify and improve their own minds and to polish their manners. They may also have a tendency to refine the taste, and correct the understanding of the neighborhood."

It is evident that the audiences of that time were much the same as those that frequent the modern theatre; perhaps a little more demonstrative and frank in expressing the feelings aroused by the dramatic situations. It is not remarkable, however, that the people of the wilderness country of Ohio county should have a keen appreciation and the ability to present the characters of romance, pedantry, honor and villainy, aristocratic dignity and vulgar ignorance. The changes have been rung on these qualities of human nature, in the writings and dramas of civilized peoples for centuries. The people of Wheeling in the early nineteenth century, though they knew nothing of the facilities of the modern age of electricity and steam, under-

stood human nature in nearly all the phases which it exhibits at the present time.<sup>3</sup>

In 1818 was organized the Thespian Society, and a year later they gave the play "Speed the Plow" in the old Lancasterian Academy building on Chapline street. One of the participants was Dr. John Eoff. Both before and after this undertaking, exhibitions and entertainments of various kinds were among the functions and diversions of local society. The earliest records of such performances are of interest, but a list of subsequent undertakings of this nature would be too long even if it could be compiled.

Until the decade of the '50s Wheeling had no regular playhouse. As mentioned elsewhere, when Jenny Lind sang here in 1851, the Fourth Street M. E. church was the only suitable auditorium. But two companies had already been chartered for the construction of buildings in the city which subsequently played notable parts in the public entertainments and assemblies. One of these was Washington Hall, and the other was the Athenaeum. The former was completed in 1853 and the latter about the same time. Up to the time of the war both were used for the lectures, concerts and theatrical performances. The Athenaeum, at the southeast corner of Sixteenth and Market, was considered a fine playhouse, and many notables of the times, as well as many younger players who afterward attained fame, performed in this old theatre. Almost as soon as the war broke out the government began using this building for the confinement of the prisoners. For a time entertainments were held in the auditorium, while the prisoners were on another floor, but the Athenaeum soon became synonymous with prison and continued to be used for that purpose until the close of the war. The owners of the building tried to secure indemnity for damages to the structure, but with what success is not known. Some time later a fire destroyed the old place,

---

<sup>3</sup>This dramatic movement was not confined to Wheeling. At Wellsburg (then Charlestown) local talent was also busy, as the following notice in the *Repository* shows:

Will be performed, by the young  
Gentlemen of Charlestown,  
On Wednesday evening, the 20th inst.,  
the much admired Comedy,  
JOHN BULL:  
To which will be added, the Musical  
Farce called the SPOIL'D CHILD.  
Price of admittance, 50 cents. The  
curtain to rise at six o'clock.  
Charlestown, April 4th, 1808.

and its memory has long since passed except among people who knew Wheeling during war times.

During the war and for a long time afterward Washington Hall, which was really a hall and was not properly equipped for theatrical purposes, was used for nearly all the public entertainment given in the city. The history of Wheeling just before and during the war, told in other chapters, records some of the artists and companies of entertainers who were among the attractions at this hall.\*

In 1870-71 was built, by Charles Hamilton, what was long known as "the Opera House," at Market and Fourteenth streets. About eight years after its building Mr. F. Reister became manager of the theatre, and for the next score of years many of the leading figures of the English and American stage appeared in this house. Mr. Reister's recollection of the various celebrities that came to the Opera House during his time includes the names of the elder Booth, also Barrett; Joseph Jefferson, father and son, John McCullough, Mme. Modjeska, Ezra Kendall, Sarah Bernhardt, Della Fox, Thomas Keene, Lotta, Maggie Mitchell, Kate Claxton, Marie Tempest. During the early part of 1879 Miss Mary Anderson was here in "Ingomar" and "Evadne"; Denman Thompson played "Joshua Whitcomb" and John McCullough was heard in Othello and Richard III. With the retirement of Mr. Reister as manager, he was succeeded by Mr. Charles Feinler, who operated this old playhouse until its dismantlement, its site being now occupied by the Register building.

When the Washington Hall was restored in 1877 it once more became the home of entertainment, being run for some time as a variety house, and was also known as Charles Shay's Academy. As the People's Theatre it claimed the distinction of having booked the "Black Crook," the first production in Wheeling in which the women appeared in tights. When Mr. O. C. Genther became manager the name was changed to the Grand Opera House. Mr. Charles Feinler,

---

\*Among the old buildings of Wheeling which had some notable associations with the affairs of a former generation was Washington Hall, which stood on the northeast corner of Twelfth and Market streets, until destroyed by fire on the 30th of November, 1875. The hall was built by the Washington Hall Association, and the building and grounds cost about \$46,000. The building was completed in the winter of 1852-53, and its first public use was the grand banquet held in the hall to celebrate the completion of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad. The third story was used for many years by the Masonic fraternity. Here in May, 1861, assembled the "mass convention" which took measures to reorganize the government of Virginia. And for about twenty days before the destruction of the hall in 1875 it had been occupied by the house of delegates of West Virginia. Many references to the hall are made in the various chapters of this work.

who had been treasurer, then succeeded to the management, and raised the general standard of its performances. In recent years the Grand Opera House was given over to vaudeville, finally to motion pictures, and in July, 1911, was begun the work of converting the building into an office structure.

The present Court Theatre and Board of Trade building is one of the typical structures of the modern and Greater Wheeling. The name of the theatre commemorates the fact that Ohio county's old court house occupied the site, an ancient building whose pillared front in later days enclosed a place of storage for household goods and whose court chambers housed a feather-bed renovator. The Court Theatre, whose architect was E. B. Franzheim, ranks among the finest playhouses in the Ohio valley. It was opened in September, 1902, by Frank Daniels in the musical comedy "Miss Simplicity." Mr. Franzheim managed the theatre for several years, and was succeeded by Edward Moore, of the Moore theatrical circuit, which comprises about sixty theatres in the east and middle west. Mr. Charles Feinler is at present the active manager of this theatre, which entertains all the high-class productions staged in Wheeling.

The largest theatre in the city and one of the newest is the Virginia, on Twelfth street, with seating capacity for 1,900 persons. It was built for Mr. Feinler, Mr. Fred Faris being the architect, and is of steel and concrete construction throughout the interior.

During the decade of the '90s the "motion picture" was developed and first exhibited throughout the country. But the exploitation of this now familiar mechanism began less than ten years ago, within which time every city in the country has acquired a dozen or more of the "picture shows." Wheeling has a number of such places, many of them, combining, as the custom now is, the features of vaudeville and music with the motion pictures.

To recall some more of the individual appearances that would interest the old theatre-goer, mention is made of Jefferson in "Rip Van Winkle" at the old Opera House in October, 1874; the visit of the Siamese Twins in April, 1866; the frequent visits of Tom Thumb and his company during the fifties and sixties. At the Wheeling Park casino, opened in April, 1904, Sarah Bernhardt gave a performance in recent years. Among famous platform orators heard in Wheeling was Mark Twain during the '70s. Robert Ingersoll, Wendell Phillips, Bret Harte, John B. Gough and others were here. Blind Tom, the musical prodigy, gave a farewell concert in 1865, and Ole Bull with his violin was heard in 1868.

Some Wheeling people who have attained fame in theatrical circles should also be mentioned. Henrietta Crossman was born in this city in 1865. Kate Rammelsburg was known in musical roles. Frank Hennig was associated with Keene in classical productions. Lawrence Wheat, a son of George K. Wheat, won prominence as a leading character in George Ade's plays. Others who are claimed by Wheeling are Misses Beverly and Nan Sitgreaves, Willie Dunlay, Herman Steinman, Harry Van Fossen, and also several in vaudeville and circus.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup>Many of the facts contained in the later history of Wheeling's theatres have been taken from an article prepared by the late R. T. Beans for the *Intelligencer*.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## FOUNDING AND GROWTH OF THE CHURCHES.

"Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure."

During the pioneer period the settlers in this portion of the Ohio valley gave their favor and support chiefly to three religious denominations. Both in point of time and influence the Presbyterian church was first. The Episcopal church had a considerable following especially among the old Virginia families, and the organized work of the Methodists began not long after the close of the Revolution. After these three, come the Baptists and the Disciples of Thomas and Alexander Campbell, and considerably later in point of time the Catholic church. These five important divisions of the Christian church represent the original forms of religion from which most of the modern churches have descended or developed. The introduction of other faiths has as a rule accompanied the immigration and settlement by people of differing nationalities from those which comprehended the great bulk of the early population in this vicinity.

The character of the pioneers and especially of the Scotch-Irish settlers has been described in earlier chapters, which have appropriately considered the relations of religious ideals and influences to the material life of the people. In this article it is proposed to treat the subject of religion only in its organized churches and other activities, with something about the spread and development of these churches over this part of the country.

Among the Scotch-Irish of western Pennsylvania and Virginia, the prevailing religious attachment was for the Presbyterian faith. From the time of the Revolution down to the present at Washington, Pennsylvania, and vicinity have been the seats of Presbyterian influence and institutions which have served to maintain the power of this church in almost its original vigor throughout this region for a century and a quarter. Rev. John McMillan, Thaddeus Dodd and others first brought the ministry of this church into active service in Washington county and in the neighboring vicinity of Virginia. Hardly secondary to their spiritual ministry was their work in conducting and promoting the cause of elementary and academic education. They maintained schools in their own houses, and it is a very important fact that most of the early churches, in the absence of regular day schools,

supplied some of the deficiencies of instruction. Furthermore, in the old church buildings that by the beginning of the nineteenth century were located in most of the larger settlements all along the Ohio valley such secular schools as were maintained held their sessions. On the other hand, some of the early church societies occasionally found a building that had been erected for school purposes and used that for its place of worship until a church could be built.

Rev. John McMillan first began visiting and preaching at Washington in 1775, and located there permanently in 1778. From there in a few years he and his associates extended their work into the region that is now the Panhandle. Rev. Thaddeus Dodd held church services in old Fort Henry soon after the Indian attack of 1782. The first regular ministers were two students of Dr. McMillan—Rev. James Hughes and Rev. John Birch. West Liberty, as the county seat of most of the Panhandle region from the organization of Ohio county until 1797, was naturally one of the first places chosen for a church center. There was preaching beginning in 1782, and in 1788 a church was organized. Rev. Hughes was ordained its minister on April 21, 1790, and remained there for twenty-four years. The early services had been held in the court house, but a frame church was erected in 1790, and in 1855 this was replaced by a brick church.

It is difficult to estimate properly the work and influence of these pioneer ministers. We know that the religion of that time as expounded from the pulpit and expressed in private discussion largely concerned doctrines of theology and sectarian distinctions; that even the church members of the time became drowsy under the interminable voice of the preacher, and that the Sabbath day was kept with a rigid sacredness and formality that produced a strong reaction among many who had been children during that period. But these things apart, it seems that those early ministers and the churches had a stronger and more intimate relation with the daily life and thought of the people than the modern church has. The presence for a quarter of a century of such a man as Rev. Hughes in the little community of West Liberty was a positive force in directing and improving the ideals of his people at a time when they were practically insulated from such influences as now pervade the remotest corners of the nation. The pioneer preacher was a real shepherd of his flock, and served it not only in birth, marriage and death, but assisted in training the young in character and the practical things of education, and was an adviser to all.

On the eastern outskirts of the village of Elm Grove, at some

distance from the main-traveled road, and on an elevation surrounded by some of the native forest trees, stands the old "Stone church," one of the most venerable and historic institutions of religion in this vicinity. The building itself, while representing the simple architecture of previous generations, is in its present form comparatively recent, having been built in 1860. But most of the materials for its walls were the stones which had entered into the construction of the building early in the century, and which gave the name by which it has long been known.

The organization of this church in the settlement at the "Forks of Wheeling" took place in 1787, so that the society is as old as the Constitution of the United States. A sentence from the first church record book contains one of the most interesting commentaries on the settlers of this region:—"Ohio county no sooner began to be settled than the settlers provided for themselves a place of public worship and obtained the preached gospel even in perilous times, receiving the spiritual bread with the weapons of defense in their hands to protect themselves from a ruthless savage." It has been said that the elevated site of the church was chosen because of its advantages for military defense, though there seems little to support such an assertion.

The first services at this locality were held under the forest trees and the preacher was sheltered by a wooden structure called "a tent." A log church preceded the first stone church. As the first regular pastor of this congregation, Rev. John Birch was ordained on April 22, 1790, the day after the ordination of Rev. Hughes at West Liberty. In 1812 Rev. James Hervey, one of the most valuable servants of the church during the first half of the century, began preaching at the "Forks" and was ordained two years later. For forty-seven years he remained in the pastorate, though he gave part of his time to Wheeling. Later Rev. Laverty Grier served this church for a similar period of time, and since the founding of the church it has had only five regular ministers.

When Rev. Hervey began his ministry at Elm Grove in 1812, there were only three or four adherents of the church living at the village of Wheeling. However, he occasionally came into town and preached at the court house or in a small brick building used as a schoolhouse, near the present market square. The first organization of a Presbyterian congregation here was begun in September, 1823, and was finally completed in 1826. In 1816 Noah Zane had donated a portion of the ground on Chapline street now occupied by the First

Presbyterian church, and on this in 1831-32 a brick building was erected. In 1854 the rear of the church was rebuilt, and the church was again remodeled in 1871. But the quaint old tower at the front



First Presbyterian Church.

has remained practically the same for eighty years, and is probably the oldest example of church architecture in the city.<sup>1</sup>

From the original stock of the First Presbyterian church several

---

<sup>1</sup>Until the building of the state house, the tower of this church contained the official clock of the city. During the '30s there were very few clocks in the homes, most of those being the Yankee wooden clocks. Redick McKee took the leading part in getting a popular subscription to place a clock in the church tower, but he had to run counter to many objections. Some who were asked to subscribe did not admit the value of any time-piece, saying they could regulate their affairs by the sun, or if they must know the time they could run into the home of a neighbor who possessed a watch or clock. The money was finally raised and the clock installed in 1835, and during the generation of its service the old clock tower was probably observed more often than any structure in the city.

branches were later formed. The Second Presbyterian society was organized in 1847-48, and for a time held their services in the Masonic hall of that period and on the third floor of a store at the northwest corner of Twelfth and Market. The ground on Market between Twentieth and Twenty-first was then obtained, and the old home of William Chapline which stood there was first remodeled and used as a church until the church still standing on that site and in use by the congregation was completed in the spring of 1850. The Third Presbyterian church, in Ritchietown, now the eighth ward, was organized 1849, also among former members of the first church. A Fourth Presbyterian church on the north side was organized in 1851, and their services were held in the first ward hose house until the completion of their building in 1853. This church was dissolved in the '70s.

At Moundsville a Presbyterian congregation was organized about 1830, the meeting being held in an orchard. Their first church was built in 1837. At Wellsburg the church was organized during the '30s, and their first building was completed in 1838.

With the extension of settlement up the Wheeling creek valley in recent years, churches have also been built. The Vance Memorial at Woodsdale, one of the finest church edifices in the state, was the outgrowth of a Presbyterian Sunday school established in that vicinity in 1893.

Previous to 1858 there existed the Associate and the Associate Reformed Presbyterians, who came together in that year and have since been the United Presbyterian church. Of one of these former branches a church was organized in the Cross Creek neighborhood about 1799. The first preaching was in a three-sided wooden structure for sheltering the preacher and pulpit, the seats for the congregation being under the trees in front. From this fact the church was known for many years as the "Tent church." Later a log building was erected and used until 1873. This church was about three miles north of Cross Creek station. Societies at West Middletown and Short Creek were also formed early in the century, and were united into one church about 1827, their first church building being erected in 1832.

At Wheeling an Associate mission was conducted for many years and a building put up for its use in 1832-33. In 1843 the church was regularly organized, and the church on Chapline between Eleventh and Twelfth erected in 1867. At the time of his death in 1900 Rev. J. T. McClure had been pastor of the First church for half a century. The Second U. P. church was organized in November, 1900, and its church

at the rear of office buildings at the corner of Fourteenth and Chapline, was dedicated in July, 1901.

Among the early religious movements of Wheeling that deserve special consideration was the union Sabbath school, which was established in 1818, Redick McKee and Daniel Peck being the leaders in the undertaking, and many other well known men and women of the city afterwards joined in the work. Members of the Presbyterian, Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist and Quaker faiths were represented in the movement, which was notable in many ways. It was the first school of the kind regularly organized in the town. As the individual churches grew in membership they withdrew their own members to separate schools, the Methodist and Episcopal churches being first to establish their own Sunday schools, but after that for a number of years the organization continued to flourish. In this movement is seen the co-operation between secular and religious instruction which has been alluded to before. In the absence of day schools which were attended by all the children of the town, an almost necessary feature of this Sabbath school was the teaching of the elements of the English language to the younger pupils, and no doubt many of the citizens of the next generation learned how to read during the Sunday sessions of this school. In 1818 a teacher by the name of Remington kept a private school in a room at the corner of Eighth and Main streets, and he offered this room and his services for the use of the Sabbath school. On the second Sunday there were between seventy and eighty scholars, and the school increased so rapidly that it became necessary to take quarters in the old court house, then in a brick school-house on the site of Market square, and then in the building of the first Lancasterian academy on Chapline street.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>The Wheeling Directory of 1839 names the churches of the city at that time as follows:

Presbyterian, 103 4th street (Chapline) Rev. Henry R. Weed, pastor.  
Episcopal, corner of Monroe (12th) and College (Byron) Sts., 32 on College. Rev. William Armstrong, rector.

Catholic, St. James' chapel, corner of 4th and Union streets, 156 on 4th. Rev. James Hoerner, pastor.

German Evangelical, 145 Clay (18th) street. Rev. Francis F. Langhoff, pastor.

Methodist Episcopal, 197 4th street. Rev. Wesley Kenney, minister.

Associate Reformed, 241 Market street. Rev. William Wallace, pastor.

Methodist Protestant, seminary and Sabbath school room, 97 Monroe street. Rev. Fielding Davis, minister.

Reformed Baptist Society, occupy for the present the upper story of the Lancasterian Academy, 4th street.

Previous to 1784 Methodism in America was unorganized and was represented by itinerant ministers. In that year the first general conference assembled at Baltimore and formally organized the Methodist Episcopal church. The very next year the Rev. Wilson Lee, then in charge of the "Redstone circuit," preached in the Wheeling settlement, and a class was soon organized, Mrs. Elizabeth Zane being the first member, and her home one of the early places for preaching. Bishop Asbury, the first bishop of the church in America, visited Wheeling and preached at the court house. In 1811 the East Wheeling circuit was formed. In 1818 Noah Zane donated the ground on Chapline street (then known as Fourth street) south of Twelfth, where the first church was built. This was, so far as can be determined, the first building erected in Wheeling for church purposes only. It is described as a one-story structure, situated on a high sand and gravel bank, with the entrance on the west side. The lighting was with tallow dips, which was of course the regular method of lighting all homes at that time. A customary form in giving notice of an evening meeting was to announce the time as "early candle lighting."

During the early '30s this congregation had grown so that a new church was needed, and the large brick church completed in 1836 was the most commodious in the city at the time. This was the parent church of various other Methodist organizations in the city and suburbs. In 1866 the old building was torn away and the present church, still known as the Fourth Street M. E., was dedicated in May, 1868. Though the congregation has been diminished by the establishment of various other churches, it is still one of the largest in the city and one of the most prosperous.

The first offshoot of this church was the First German M. E. church, which was organized in 1839 with twenty-six members, and the next year completed its own home at Chapline and Alley 18. This society has the distinction of being the first German church of the Methodist Episcopal denomination in the United States or in the world. It has been a flourishing organization, and its present building was erected in 1860 and has since been remodeled.

The Chapline Street M. E. church was organized among the members of the first church living south of the creek in 1848 and its first home erected the same year. The present church was built in 1901-02, being located on Chapline below Twenty-third. The North Street church was also organized in 1848, its present location being at Fifth and Market. In 1850 the Wesley Chapel was organized in Ritchietown, the present church being at Thirty-seventh and Jacob.

It is noteworthy that the spread of churches from the parent organizations has followed the growth of the city. About 1850 Wheeling attained the size and distinction of a city in population and activities, and this accounts for the organization of various new churches not only of the Methodist but of other denominations as well. As mentioned elsewhere, the settlement of the island as a residence district began about this time, and the organization of a union Sunday school there in 1854 was the precedent to the formation of what is now the Thomson M. E. church. A frame building was first used for the



Fourth Street M. E. Church.

occasional meetings of the Methodists of this vicinity, and in 1866 the Thomson church was formally organized, and a brick building replaced the old frame structure. The Zane Street church was also organized in 1866, and the same year the Simpson chapel was constituted for the meeting of the colored Methodists. Before the war the colored people had been assigned seats in the white churches. Up the Wheeling creek valley the Steenrod Methodist church on the National

road in Fulton was organized in 1882, and in recent years other churches have been organized in the suburban communities out to Elm Grove.

Outside of Wheeling one of the early centers of Methodist influence was the home of Cornelius H. Gist, in Brooke county near the Pennsylvania line. About 1814 he erected on his farm a log house for both school and church purposes, and this became the nucleus for what was afterwards the Franklin M. E. church. About 1832 the church center was moved to the Washington and Wellsburg pike, and the church was reorganized under the name of Franklin. A brick church was built in 1835. In Wellsburg a Methodist church was built in 1816. At Moundsville the first society was organized about 1820, and worshipped in an old log building for some years. A new church was dedicated in 1844. From this survey, it is evident that the Methodists have been active in this vicinity since the early years of the last century, and in number of churches and membership they have always retained a leading position among the religious bodies.

Rev. Joseph Doddridge, whose writings on the pioneer life of the people in the upper Ohio valley are among the most valuable contributions to the history of that period, was the pioneer missionary of the Episcopal church in this region. The Doddridge family settled near West Middletown in Washington county, Pennsylvania, in 1773, when Joseph was fourteen years old, and he began his ministry in this part of Virginia about twenty years later. In 1792 he collected a congregation at West Liberty and held services in the old court house of Ohio county. In 1793 he had three parishes,—West Liberty, St. John's and St. Paul's, the two latter being in Brooke county. The church at West Liberty was practically disorganized on the removal of the county seat to Wheeling in 1797. St. John's church had a small log building in 1793, situated several miles east of Steubenville, and in 1849 the congregation erected a brick church about a mile east of the first site. St. Paul's church was situated five miles east of Wellsburg, in the midst of the forest. A few years later the Trinity parish of Wellsburg was formed, and the services were held in the old Brooke Academy beginning in 1799. Wellsburg was the home of Dr. Doddridge at the time of his death in 1826. Some of his former parishioners moved to St. Clairsville in Belmont county in 1813, and he occasionally visited them there.

Bishop Chase, the first Episcopal bishop west of the Alleghanies, held services in Wheeling while on a missionary tour during 1816-17,

and soon afterward the members of the church in this vicinity began the erection of a frame building on the east side of Market square, between Tenth and Eleventh streets, this being the second church built in Wheeling. This building though small had a tower and a bell, which gave it some distinction among the simple structures of that period. The church was formally organized in May, 1819. The second church, at Twelfth and Byron, was consecrated in October, 1837, and was used by the congregation of St. Matthew's nearly thir-



St. Matthew's Protestant Episcopal Church.

ty years, and the site has since been used by the Baptist church. The present beautiful church of St. Matthew's was completed about the close of the war. St. Matthew's is one of the oldest and most prosperous churches of the city, and has always been prominent in the religious and benevolent activities.

An Episcopal Sunday school was established on the island in 1869, and a mission chapel built in 1873. In June, 1881, the members

were organized as the St. Luke's church. The church was built in 1883 and was remodeled in 1907. Another mission of the first church was established in South Wheeling, and in 1894 was organized as the St. Andrew's church. The present home of the church at Thirty-seventh and Eoff, was erected in 1908. Another mission was conducted in Fulton until 1910, when it was moved to Elm Grove and organized as the St. Paul's church.

Outside of Wheeling and Wellsburg the Episcopal church has extended its activities at comparatively recent times into the other towns. Episcopal services were held in the court house at Moundsville between 1837 and 1847, and the home of the Trinity parish was not built until 1853.

In their early history in this region the Baptist church and the Disciples of Alexander Campbell were closely related. The Christian church, as it is now generally known, while it represented a new and independent movement in doctrinal and practical religion, was at the same time a branch of the Baptists, during the early years of its existence. And in origin, again, the church was an offshoot of the Presbyterian Seceders, both Thomas and Alexander Campbell having represented that sect at the beginning of their careers in America. In point of time the Baptist church is first to be considered.

So far as all accounts go, the first Baptist church in the Panhandle region was organized on Short Creek October 20, 1794. In 1803 this became the Short Creek Baptist church, which erected a little frame church near Saunders Mill. This church continued for many years until a division occurred during the '40s, when a portion of the members withdrew and organized what was afterwards known as the Ebenezer church.

At Wheeling the first Baptist church was formed in May, 1833, but the congregation for a number of years had no church of its own, and worshipped in a schoolhouse on Sixteenth street, in halls and private homes. In 1847 they built a church on Eighteenth street, which was used until 1866, when the old home of the St. Matthew's Episcopal church was bought at Twelfth and Byron, where the Baptist church has since been located.

Thomas Campbell, who was born in county Down, Ireland, in 1763, was the son of an Episcopalian, but joined the Scotch Seceders and was ordained a minister. On his arrival in America in 1807 he was assigned to the Chartiers Presbytery and located at Washington, Pennsylvania. During subsequent ministry he was censured for not adhering strictly to the church standards of doctrine, and largely on

that account withdrew and continued an independent ministry, preaching at times in a maple grove and wherever his adherents came together. In August, 1809, the Christian Association of Washington was formed, and he continued as spiritual leader of this independent organization. In the meantime his son, Alexander, who was born in county Antrim in 1785, arrived in Washington, Pennsylvania, in October, 1809, and joined the new movement under his father. Their followers who lived on Buffalo creek selected a site for a church, and here the son preached the first sermon in September, 1810. In May, 1811, the society assumed the position of an independent church, and the first baptisms occurred on Buffalo creek about two miles above Brush run. The practice of immersion gave the new church favor among the Baptists, and in 1813 the Brush Run church was received into the Redstone Association of Baptists. In 1818 Rev. A. Campbell opened the Buffalo Seminary as a training school for young men, and continued this school for five years. In 1840 he founded at Bethany the college with which his name will always be associated (see sketch of Bethany College).

The Baptists of Wellsburg had first worshipped with the Short Creek church. In 1816 Rev. Campbell secured means to erect a church building in Wellsburg, and this was used as the house of worship for the Disciples until 1848, when they built a new church.

At West Liberty, a number of members having been received by baptism, were organized by Mr. Campbell into a church about 1829, and the members from Short Creek having joined them, a brick church was erected at West Liberty in 1833. This society replaced the old church with a new one about 1870.

The Disciples at Wheeling were organized as a church in 1832. They worshipped in a school room on Market street, in private homes, and in the old Lancasterian Academy, until in 1855 they built a frame church on the west side of Market street below Twenty-first. In 1875 the society bought the Episcopal church on the opposite side of the street, which has been the place of worship to the present time.

In other localities the Christian and Baptists founded their churches at a considerably later time, but both denominations are now represented in the principal towns on both sides of the river.

One of the earliest Catholic settlers in this vicinity was Henry Montague, who settled near West Alexander in 1794, and his home was the original center of Catholic influence for the few people of that faith during the following twenty years. In a log house on his land a priest from Pittsburgh said mass in 1811. His home was near

the National road, and Father Fenwick, later the first bishop of Cincinnati, on his tour into the Ohio wilderness in 1814, also celebrated mass in the Montague home. During the period of the construction of the National road to Wheeling, Father Maguire of Pittsburgh visited the Catholic workmen at different points along the route.

The three or four Catholic families living at Wheeling in 1818 were likewise occasionally visited by Father Maguire, who was the first representative of the church to hold services here during the era of permanent settlement. He was a man of wit and extended knowledge, and by reason of these qualities was a favorite visitor at the home of Noah Zane, by whom he was always entertained when in Wheeling. In appreciation of this kindly priest Mr. Zane donated the site at the corner of Chapline and Eleventh streets for the first church, which was a small brick building erected in 1821-22. The first regular pastor of the parish was Rev. James Hoerner, who began his work here in January, 1833, and remained here ten years.

The Rt. Rev. Richard Vincent Whelan, the first bishop of the Wheeling diocese, was the real founder and energizer of the Catholic church and its varied institutions in this city. Among the older members of the church his memory is regarded with peculiar affection, for he assisted many young Catholics at the beginning of their careers in Wheeling during the '40s and '50s. Besides being the spiritual leader of his people, he also possessed great executive and business talents, and the institutions which he founded have continued to flourish and are in many respects monuments to his life.

In March, 1841, he was consecrated Bishop of Richmond, which then comprised all of Virginia. Rev. Eugene Comerford had supplied the vacancy created by the resignation of Father Hoerner, at Wheeling, but the church being again without a pastor, Bishop Whelan himself came here at the close of 1846 to supply temporarily the place of priest. But he made a protracted stay and never in fact returned to Richmond as bishop of that see. At Wheeling he found a wide field of work. The congregation had outgrown the little church, and in 1847 he laid the cornerstone of what since 1850 has been the cathedral church of the diocese of Wheeling. In 1848 he brought the Sisters of the Visitation to Wheeling, and in the same year founded the St. Vincent's School. And in addition to his duties of bishop he performed the work of parish priest for more than a year.

In July, 1850, the western part of Virginia was made a separate diocese, with Bishop Whelan its first bishop, an office which he held until his death in July, 1874. His administration was characterized

by a courage that was heroic, and an unlimited endurance. In the early years it was embarrassed by lack of money and priests, yet the solid developments of the present are the result of the wise provisions of the first bishop. Many of the older citizens still remember him and incidents of his humble and unpretentious life. He performed manual labor, was a broad-minded and careful financier, accurate in his business dealings, a devout priest and an apostolic bishop.

For a few months after Bishop Whelan's death the diocese was administered by Very Rev. H. F. Parke, until the consecration in May, 1875, of Rev. John J. Kain as second bishop of Wheeling. Bishop Kain was for eighteen years bishop here, and in 1893 became coadjutor bishop of St. Louis and a few months later succeeded Arch-



St. Joseph's Convent and Cathedral.

bishop Kenrick in that see. Wheeling diocese made great gains in the number of schools, churches and parishes during Bishop Kain's administration.

The Rt. Rev. Patrick James Donahue, present bishop of the diocese of Wheeling, was consecrated to this office April 8, 1894, having been rector at the Baltimore Cathedral previous to that time. In the sixty years since the establishment of the diocese its population and parishes have grown many fold, and though the work of the bishop is no longer of the pioneer character of that performed by Bishop Whelan it has many complex responsibilities such as the first bishop did not have to cope with.

The St. Joseph's Cathedral, which was dedicated as St. James' church in November, 1849, has been for more than sixty years one of the conspicuous landmarks of Wheeling city, and from its central influence and authority have originated the many other institutions and departments of church activity in this vicinity. The Wheeling Hospital, as the oldest of the charitable institutions, the Cathedral high school for boys and the St. Joseph's Academy for girls, the Visitation Academy at Mt. de Chantal, are described in other chapters. The Sisters of St. Joseph also have charge of St. Vincent's Home for Girls and St. John's Home for Boys at Elm Grove; the Sisters of Divine Providence conduct an orphan asylum in St. Alphonsus parish, and the Sisters of the Good Shepherd have the home for homeless and wayward girls at Edington Lane. Wheeling also has a number of flourishing Catholic societies, both charitable and social. The Carroll Club is one of the best known of the city's clubs. The Holy Name Society for men has a large membership and influence. The Knights of Columbus have a council in the city.

The first parish created from the original St. Joseph's was the St. Alphonsus, founded for the German Catholics and now under the religious direction of the Capuchin fathers. This church, on Market between Twenty-first and Twenty-second, was dedicated in 1858. The parish of the Immaculate Conception, in the eighth ward, was founded in 1872, and the first church was dedicated in 1873. This church was destroyed by fire in 1875 but was at once rebuilt. The parish of St. Ladislav was founded in August, 1902, among the Polish families in the south end. The church, at Eoff and Forty-fifth, was dedicated in February, 1903. The church of the Sacred Heart, at First and Main streets, was dedicated in 1904, the parish having been organized the preceding year.

Triadelphia was one of the early centers of Catholic activity. The employes on the National road supported an organization which about 1825 began the construction of a church on a fine scale. But with the decline of the road as a national enterprise the congregation was dispersed, and the church was never completed. In 1868 a little frame church was dedicated, but the parish has since been conducted as a mission of the St. Vincent de Paul church at Elm Grove.

The church of St. John at Benwood dates back to about the close of the war, the first church being dedicated in 1868. The church at McMechen was for a number of years one of the struggling parishes, and for some time was a mission of St. John's. In 1889 it was organized as St. James parish of McMechen, and in 1900 the corner-

stone of the present church was laid by Bishop Donahue. At Moundsville a brick church was built in 1856 and a church at Cameron in 1870. The parish of Moundsville is now known as St. Francis Xavier, and the Cameron church is one of its missions.

At Wellsburg the Catholics had occasional services in private homes up to 1854-55, when the first church was completed, and St. John's parish has since had a succession of pastors, Father Duffy having been in charge of the church since 1892.

The distinctive influence of the German nationality in the population of Wheeling is traced in the growth of churches supported by and maintained for the benefit of Germans. The organization of the German Methodists in 1839 and of the German Catholics in the '50s has been mentioned. The first German church in Wheeling was what was called in the Directory of 1839 the German Evangelical, whose church was on Eighteenth street. The regular title of this church is now and has been for many years St. John's German Evangelical Protestant church. The society was organized in 1834, and services were first held in north Wheeling. In 1836 the building on Eighteenth near Jacob was erected and used until 1869. In 1871 their church on the site of the present B. & O. passenger station was finished. On removing to make room for the railroad, ground was secured at the northwest corner of Chapline and Twenty-second, where a modern building costing over a hundred thousand dollars was erected. This is one of the large congregations of the city. The present pastor, Rev. W. G. Ulfert, has been in charge of the church for the past twenty-seven years.

The St. James Evangelical Lutheran church, which has a large congregation and a prosperous organization, was organized in May, 1856, and the first services were held in Union hall on Main street. The cornerstone of the church on Chapline south of Fourteenth was laid in 1860, and the building was remodeled in 1890. Rev. A. W. Werder, the present pastor, has been with the congregation since 1864. This church also has a chapel in Elm Grove.

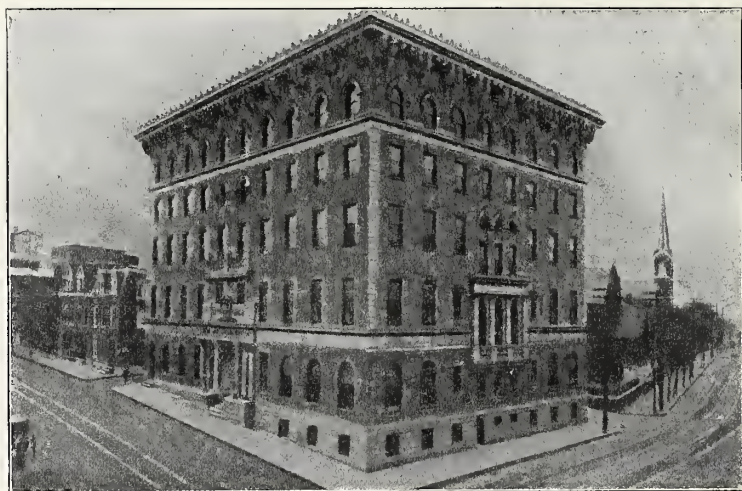
There is one church of the German Evangelical Reformed in Wheeling. The St. Stephanus church was begun among some twenty German families in 1875, and the church at Eoff and Thirty-sixth was built in 1878.

Of the English Lutherans the oldest church is the First English Evangelical, on Sixteenth between Market and Chapline. The first services were held in 1859, and the church was organized in August,

1860. The society was reorganized in 1862 by Rev. Barnitz, and worshipped in halls and other churches until 1870, when they first occupied the chapel on Sixteenth street, the cornerstone of which was laid in November, 1868.

Other Lutheran churches of more recent organization are: Christ Lutheran church in Mozart; the First German Zion Evangelical Lutheran, on Market near Twenty-first; and the Trinity Evangelical Lutheran, on Eoff near Thirty-sixth.

There were a number of Hebrew families in the city during the '30s, and about 1840 a congregation of that faith was organized, and has maintained its worship almost continuously to the present time.



Y. M. C. A. Building.

The temple on Eoff street, the second in the history of the church, was built in 1891.

Among other religious bodies that are represented in the modern life of the city may be mentioned the Unitarians, the Christian Scientists, the Spiritualists, the Latter Day Saints and the Salvation Army.

*The Wheeling Young Men's Christian Association.*<sup>3</sup>—In 1859 a Young Men's Christian Association of the Second Presbyterian church of Wheeling was organized. Within a year a similar association

---

<sup>3</sup>This sketch of the Association is adapted from an article written by the general secretary in 1911 for the *Wheeling Intelligencer*.

was organized at the Fourth Street Methodist Episcopal church. These two associations were united November 26, 1860, under the name of the Young Men's Christian Association of the City of Wheeling. Much good was accomplished by the association, but the work was desultory. During that period the movement had no clearly defined and generally accepted mission. The last recorded meeting of that association was held January 11, 1874.

The present association was organized in 1884. After some preliminary discussions, on December 27, 1884, a meeting was held in the parlor of the McLure House at which the Young Men's Christian Association of Wheeling was organized, and a board of twenty-four directors was elected.

The following men were included among the first directors and have served the association in that capacity continuously: William B. Simpson, John J. Jones, Guy R. C. Allen and Lawrence E. Sands. April 1 a dwelling on Market street, where the McFadden building now stands, was rented and was opened with a men's meeting Saturday evening, May 16th. There were double parlors, used for meetings, and a kitchen on the first floor, and a reading room, office and small room used for physical exercise on the second floor. The building was kept open during the summer, but the activities of the association date from September 1, 1885, when John C. Lynch, of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, who had been called to the general secretaryship, became the executive officer. There were established Saturday evening and Sunday afternoon men's meetings, a young men's Bible class and a Sunday school teachers' meeting for the study of the international lessons. By its usefulness that first year the association proved its right to live. At the second election J. N. Vance, John M. Brown, J. E. Hughes and Charles S. Morrison were among the directors chosen, and are serving the association in the same capacity at present.

The association was instrumental in getting Dwight L. Moody to come to Wheeling, and joined with the churches in preparing for his great work. Mr. Moody conducted meetings from November 1st to 9th, 1886, in churches and the skating rink that stood on the corner of Chapline and Twenty-second streets, where the St. John's German Evangelical church is now located. The religious work of the association received an impetus from the spiritual interest that pervaded the community as a result of the Moody meetings. The membership numbered 198 at the close of that year.

Special features of the third year were the holding of largely attended men's meetings in the old opera house on Market street and

the organization of a South side branch association in the Eighth ward. That year closed with a membership of 234.

The fourth year the methods of work were unchanged, but the year was memorable in the history of the association, for in January, 1888, the president received for the association the voluntary offer of the property on the southeast corner of Market and Twentieth streets from Mrs. Ruth Maxwell and her daughters, Miss Sally J. Maxwell (Mrs. Louis Bennett) and Miss Mary E. Maxwell. They also generously offered to remodel the building. An addition was erected containing a gymnasium and hall, and the old building was so changed as to present a very attractive appearance.

The donors expended for the property and rebuilding about \$16,000. The association spent nearly \$5,000 on the building and equipment, which amount was secured by subscriptions. The rented building was closed with a religious service for men Saturday evening, December 30, 1888, and the following afternoon the first meeting was held in the new building. The dedication of the new building, January 1, 1889, was a notable event for the association.

No Young Men's Christian Association can fill its true place without an equipment in some measure adequate to the many sided demands of its mission to men. This equipment was now provided and marked the beginning of an important era. New agencies put into operation were a gymnasium, baths, social room with games, lecture and entertainment course and evening educational classes. The membership increased to 433. Ladies had rendered much valuable assistance in the work of the association. It was recognized that their services would be more effective by organization, and in the fall a Ladies' Auxiliary was formed. May 29, 1891, Mrs. Ruth Maxwell, the association's benefactress, entered into her eternal rest.

In some respects the year 1895 was the biggest and best. An addition to the building was erected at a cost of \$5,000, containing three bowling alleys and a swimming pool. The membership was larger than any previous year, numbering 744. The current expenses and the cost of the new addition amounted to \$8,633.12. A bequest of \$5,000 was received that year from the late Dr. R. W. Hazlett. Henry K. List, who was trustee of the association, and always manifested a deep interest in its welfare and usefulness, died in 1900. George A. Laughlin was appointed to the vacant trusteeship. Mr. Hubbard retired and Dr. John L. Dickey was elected president January 1, 1901.

The association lost by death Major W. J. W. Cowden, in 1904.

Major Cowden was elected a director at the time the association was organized and served in that capacity until he entered into rest. A notable event of this year was the conveyance of the property from a trustee to the association, with all restrictions removed. Mrs. Louis Bennett and Miss Mary E. Maxwell magnanimously transferred the title to the property unconditionally to the association.

The work of the association continued to be carried on aggressively and effectively each year. It steadily grew until the building was no longer adequate, and the need of larger and better facilities to meet the demands of the association became apparent.

At the twentieth anniversary, held in the Court Theater, special reference was made to the importance of a new building. The matter was agitated and the directors decided to undertake to provide such an adequate modern equipment as they felt was imperatively needed, to cost not less than \$100,000. In 1905, J. N. Vance made the initial and munificent subscription of \$25,000. Much preparatory work was done, but an active canvass for funds was not inaugurated until the fall of 1906, when a thirty-day campaign was enthusiastically projected. The campaign was conducted from the middle of October to the middle of November. The rooms of the Board of Trade were the headquarters. The directors, under the splendid leadership of President John L. Dickey, did active and effective work, and many of the older citizens as well as young men engaged in the canvass for subscriptions. The sum of \$100,877 was subscribed by 1,560 persons in every walk of life, including rich men and laborers, business houses, public spirited women, representatives of all religions and of no religion.

In March, 1907, a disastrous flood occurred, and the association building was placed at the disposal of the relief committee. Through Mayor C. C. Schmidt and the Board of Trade a large fund was raised with which to purchase supplies for the immediate relief of flood sufferers. All supplies were handled at the building.

Many things conspired to delay the beginning of building operations. A careful study was made of modern Young Men's Christian Association buildings in the large cities and competitive plans were submitted by local architects. Messrs. Giesey & Faris were selected as the architects, completed plans were finally adopted and the contracts let. All contracts were given to home contractors. Before the contracts were awarded the directors knew that the buildings would cost more than the amount subscribed, but they decided to erect such a

building as they believed the city needed, and borrow the necessary money as the work advanced.

Rented rooms on Twentieth street, opposite the old building, were opened April 27, 1908, and provided for meetings, social gathering and reading, during the building period. The old building was demolished and the ground cleared, and on June 15, excavation was begun for the new building. The corner stone was laid October 11, 1908. After same unavoidable delays the building was completed and equipped, and was opened to the public with a reception, April 29, 1910, and dedicated May 1, "To the Glory of God and the Good of Men." The cost of the building, equipment and furniture, exclusive of the ground, was \$155,000. The building subscriptions were collected within two per cent. of the full amount subscribed, and \$50,000 was borrowed on notes.

The five stories and basement are devoted exclusively to association activities. The building is provided with reception room, parlor, reading room, lecture room, boys' rooms, four first-class bowling alleys, shower, needle and tub baths enclosed by marble partitions, white tile-lined swimming pool, fine gymnasium, educational class rooms, sixty-three comfortable dormitories available to men away from home and a beautiful auditorium. The auditorium is called the Maxwell Memorial hall, in which is a bronze tablet containing the following inscription:

"Maxwell Memorial Hall,  
In Memory of

James Maxwell, his wife, Ruth, and their only son, James.

The original home of The Young Men's Christian Association of Wheeling, on this site, from 1889 to 1908, was the gift of Mrs. Ruth Maxwell and her daughters, Mrs. Sallie Maxwell Bennett and Miss Mary E. Maxwell, as a memorial to James Maxwell and his only son, James H. Maxwell."

Miss Mary E. Maxwell provided for the complete equipment of the hall.

For the liquidation of the debt a six days' campaign was conducted from Monday morning, June 27, to Saturday night, July 2, 1910. Of the \$50,000 subscribed nearly all has been paid.

No other organization of men in the city has a richer history. To have sought to develop a strong, pure, righteous and effective manhood for more than twenty-six years is a record to be proud of. There were days of trial and discouragement, but each year presented features of encouragement and growth. Each year hundreds of young men and boys have taken advantage of the opportunity for good

fellowship and social enjoyment, mental culture, physical development and recreation and religious instruction. Judged by what it has accomplished and what it is doing every day, the Young Men's Christian Association must be acknowledged as one of the greatest agencies for the upbuilding of this community. It makes men. It is helpful, not only now and then, but all the time.

For the past ten years the two important offices of president and treasurer have been filled by Dr. John L. Dickey and Howard Hazlett, who have taken a genuine, active and helpful interest in all the work of the association. S. P. Parker has faithfully served as recording secretary for fifteen years.

*Charitable Organizations.*—From the very earliest years Wheeling has had its poor and helpless. The county and the city have for many years maintained official charities. These long established agencies deserve recognition, and it is no disparagement of their work when attention is called to the modern organizations which represent both the increased efficiency and also the new spirit in methods of caring for the unfortunate members of society. But society is no longer content to turn over this work to the routine management of one or two public officials and to the haphazard philanthropy of individuals. Between the almsgiver and the cold official charity have been developed various organized and semi-official bodies, that have done and are doing a splendid work. It is conservatively estimated that through these organizations seventy-five thousand dollars a year are expended for charity work, and the permanent investment in the various charitable institutions totals a million dollars or more.

Until recent years the work of constructive charity in Wheeling was inspired by the religious spirit that prompts and commands loving kindness to the poor, and was carried on largely by the different church bodies represented here. To the one common task that belongs to all denominations and social classes, were applied the efforts of a dozen or more different bodies. It was inevitable that the efforts were often at cross purposes, that help was given in one quarter and sore need neglected in another. It is not a criticism of the spirit and abiding charity of those methods to say they were inadequate to solve the problems which a larger city and changing social conditions have presented. First and foremost in point of time and efficiency among the institutions of constructive charity during that era was the Wheeling Hospital, which by a change of charter soon after its founding extended its work to provision and care for orphan children.

And besides the active and liberal charities of the individual churches, other organizations have subsequently undertaken special tasks in the field of charity.

Only three years ago the various religious, civic and social forces working separately for the alleviation of poverty and misfortune have combined for greater efficiency and system in directing their efforts through a central organization—the Associated Charities. The Associated Charities is in reality a “clearing house” for the other organizations which make poor relief one of their functions. Charity patients in the hospitals, applicants at the Tuberculosis dispensary and sanitarium, those seeking food and clothing, fuel and shelter—are all recommended through the central agency of the Associated Charities, whose officers give their trained services to the investigation and relief of such cases. The year 1909 was notable in the history of Better Wheeling for the organization of the Associated Charities, and at the same time for the establishment of the Anti-Tuberculosis League, and the Play Ground Association, whose purpose is to furnish places for children to play under proper supervision and conditions. Other institutions which should be mentioned in this connection to afford a brief summary of what Wheeling is doing for the unfortunate members of society are: The Home of the Good Shepherd for deserted children and wayward girls, established in 1900; the Florence Crittenton Home, of similar character; the Children’s Home of Wheeling for dependent and neglected children of Ohio county; King’s Daughters’ Day Nursery and Kindergarten; the St. Vincent’s Home for Orphan Girls, established in 1856; St. John’s Home for Orphan Boys, established in 1887; the St. Alphonsus Waisenhaus, established in 1890 for orphan children in the St. Alphonsus parish. Also should be mentioned the West Virginia Home for Aged and Friendless Women, founded in 1890; and the Altenheim Home for the Aged.











